IN MEMORIAM

Professor Dr Douwe G. Yntema

(1948 - 2020)

When Douwe Yntema unexpectedly passed away on 28 March 2020, many people were left in shock – in the Netherlands, and in Italy, where his longstanding involvement in the archaeology of southern Italy and the Salento area in particular was highly valued. Following Douwe's death, Francesco D'Andria, emeritus professor of Archaeology at the Università del Salento (Lecce) and a close friend, almost instantly had an article published in the *Nuovo Quotidiano di Puglia* (3 April 2020), remarking that *"Il Salento perde un amico, grande, gentile e sapiente"*. Douwe belonged to a group of international scholars who had helped put the archaeology of southern Italy on the map and he played an instrumental role in leading it into a new direction, pleading for a stronger focus on landscape archaeology and pre-Roman, indigenous populations. But this was only one of his many merits, as he was also a capable manager (a term he detested) and an inspiring teacher. He published regularly in *BABESCH*, including a widely read article in 2000, in which he critically examined and compared the literary and archaeological evidence pertaining to early Greek colonies in south-eastern Italy.

Douwe Geert Yntema was born in Utrecht on 3 June 1948 as the son of a primary school teacher. After graduating secondary school in 1967 –'gymnasium α' at Utrecht's Christelijk Gymnasium – he studied Classics and Archaeology at Utrecht University, before passing his so-called 'kanditaatsexamen' – similar to today's Bachelor's degrees – in Classics in 1971. In 1975, he obtained his master's degree *cum laude*, majoring in Archaeology with minors in Latin and Ancient History. During his doctoral studies, he would spend several months a year at the Royal Netherlands Institute in Rome as a bursary. After graduating, he was appointed to the position of scientific assistant of Classical Archaeology at the Institute in Rome for a period of six months. In 1975, he was made assistant professor ('wetenschappelijk medewerker') at the Archaeological Centre of the Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam. In 1985 he received his doctoral degree *cum laude* after successfully defending his PhD thesis entitled *The matt-painted pottery of Southern Italy: a general survey of the matt-painted pottery styles of southern Italy during the final Bronze age and the Iron age* at the Vrije Universiteit under supervisor Professor Johannes (Hans) Boersma. After Boersma's early retirement, Douwe was appointed professor of Mediterranean Archaeology at the same university in 1998. From 2006 to 2011, he served as dean of the Vrije Universiteit's Faculty of Arts. In 2002, he was welcomed as a member of the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences; acting as the chair of the Humanities Domain from late 2009 to mid-2011 and serving, in that capacity, as vice-president and Academy Board Member. In 2007, he was elected as a member of the Koninklijke Hollandsche Maatschappij der Wetenschappen. The oldest 'learned' society in the Netherlands, founded in 1752, this society aims to promote scientific research. Douwe retired from the Vrije Universiteit in 2013.

Douwe's interest in archaeological fieldwork – and archaeological surveys in particular – was manifest from the earliest stages of his academic career. In 1971 and 1972, Douwe joined the fieldwork project in Uzita, Tunesia, directed by Professor Jan Willem Salomonson, chair of the Archaeology Department of Utrecht University. Since 1960, Salomonson had carried out prospections of Late Roman production sites of African Red Slip Ware in Tunesia and Algeria. Between 1970 and 1972, he organised three excavation campaigns at the ancient urban settlement of Uzita near present-day Sousse, bringing to light several Roman houses with peristyles and mosa-

Fig. 1 Douwe Yntema at the Goritsa survey in 1973 (photo: Reinder Reinders).

ics, a necropolis, a city wall of the Republican period and private and public baths.[1] Fellow students who also took part in this campaign included Arnold Beyer, Barbara Heldring and Ko Feye, who became a life-long friend of Douwe and was one of the driving forces behind the Utrecht Archaeological Institute. In 1973, Douwe joined the survey of Goritsa (*fig. 1*) led by Dr. Cees Bakhuizen, assistant professor of Ancient History at Utrecht University. The site had been home to a short-lived, fortified city of the 4th century BC, lying on a spur of Mt. Pelion on the northeast shore of the Gulf of Volos. Bakhuizen assembled a team that would continue to work with him over the years, consisting of senior scholars such as Dr. Hans Boersma and Dr. G.J.M.J. te Riele, and a host of students and junior archaeologists, including Tom Bloemers, Ko Feije, Marjan Galestin, Barbara Heldring, Kees Neeft, Reinder Reinders, Paulien de Roever and Yvonne Goester. For many of them, the campaigns with Bakhuizen were a formative experience, and quite a few became active field archaeologists, as well as pursuing careers in academia. The working conditions during these campaigns were harsh, not in the least due to the ΑΓΕΤ cement factory located at the foot of the hill that blew virtually invisible clouds of fine particles up to the acropolis. Douwe was in charge of the study of and publication on the so-called Great Battery, a structure that facilitated the use of heavy artillery to defend the city. The final publication, 'by the Gorítsa Team', as was written on the front page, appeared in 1992, including a description of the Great Battery 'mainly by D.G. Yntema'.[2] Other fieldwork projects that Douwe joined after obtaining his bachelor's degree included excavations at the Roman site of De Meern in the Netherlands (1973) and Boersma's research project on the Domus del Protiro ('House of the Porch') in Ostia Region V – Insula II (1974).

During his studies, Douwe was also involved in the study and publication of antiquities in the Utrecht University collection, which is also how he became acquainted with indigenous Messapian or Apulian ceramics. Still a student, he published his first articles about this class of pottery, based on research carried out for his bachelor and master thesis and during his stays in Rome. His expertise in Messapian pottery was recognised from an early stage of his career onwards, which was one of the reasons for his close and longlasting collaboration with Italian colleagues working in Salento, the heartland of the ancient Messapians. Although he was somewhat derogatory nicknamed *quello trozellaro* ('that trozella man') at first, a reference to a characteristic but quite ugly type of vessel in the repertoire of indigenous ceramics (*fig. 2*), he made his name as the leading authority on southern-Italian matt-painted pottery over time. After taking part in the excavations at Santa Maria di Leuca in 1975-1976, he was invited by D'Andria to participate in the newly established interdisciplinary project focusing on the indigenous site of Cavallino near Lecce. The project was a collaboration of the University of Lecce, the Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa and the École française à Rome. As D'Andria remembers in his article in *Nuovo Quotidiano di Puglia*, Douwe's involvement added a Dutch component to this international project. Following on from this project, he joined the excavations of D'Andria et al. at Otranto, which marked the first time that stratified Greek and indigenous material was found together in contexts belonging to the 9th to 7th centuries BC. This was of great importance for the chronology of indigenous pottery styles and gave food for thought to rethink the earliest encounters between Greek visitors and local populations in the Iron Age. It was also of key importance for the publication of his study *The Matt-Painted Pottery of Southern Italy* in 1990, which constituted an updated and reworked version of his PhD thesis. This book provided the first manual for the classification and chronology of indigenous, painted pottery of southern Italy. It is still widely used as a standard reference work for this category of ceramics.

In his ceramic studies, Douwe tested his rigid typological analyses against stratigraphical data from a range of fieldwork contexts. In 1979, he started his own fieldwork project in Salento on behalf of the Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam together with Johannes Boersma. Over a period of 10 years, they organised yearly summer campaigns in the province of Brindisi, bringing with them dozens of Dutch archaeology students. The first campaigns concerned systematic field surveys of the countryside surrounding the town of Oria. Douwe was a fervent advocate of this field method, which was still in its experimental phase in the Mediterranean in those years. The Oria surveys proved to be a formidable source of information for the landscape history of the area from prehistorical times to the Middle Ages and in particular of the Messapian and Roman settlement patterns. Douwe's thorough analysis of these data was published in 1993, in the *Scrinium* series of Thesis Publishers, making it the first field survey project in southeast Italy to be systematically published. From 1984 until 1989, the focus shifted to excavations of the Messapian fortified site of Valesio. Whilst the excavations were directed by Marijke Gnade, Boersma interpreted the architecture of the Roman thermal complex in the midst of Valesio and Douwe studied the Messapian remains that came to light. The result was a large series of publications, among which Douwe's studies of Apulian black and grey gloss ceramics, based on the stratigraphy of the excavations, stand out. Both the Oria and Valesio projects were carried out with a formal permit from the Italian Ministry of Culture, in close collaboration with the University of Lecce and the regional archaeological heritage board, then the *Soprintendenza per I Beni Archeologici della Puglia*. They became milestones in the archaeology of southeast Italy, as they shed significant light on the process of Romanisation of the indigenous Messapian tribes. These explorations were part of a much larger research project at the Vrije Universiteit on Romanisation, comparing the Brindisi province in Salento with northern frontier areas of the Roman Empire, as studied by Douwe's colleague Jan Sloftra. At the same time, this fieldwork set the scene for a broader Dutch regional fieldwork programme in Salento, which developed in the 1990s and 2000s and which is still running to this day, with field surveys and excavations throughout the larger so-called Isthmus of Salento, between Taranto and Brindisi.[3] Among the latter were the Muro Tenente and L'Amastuola

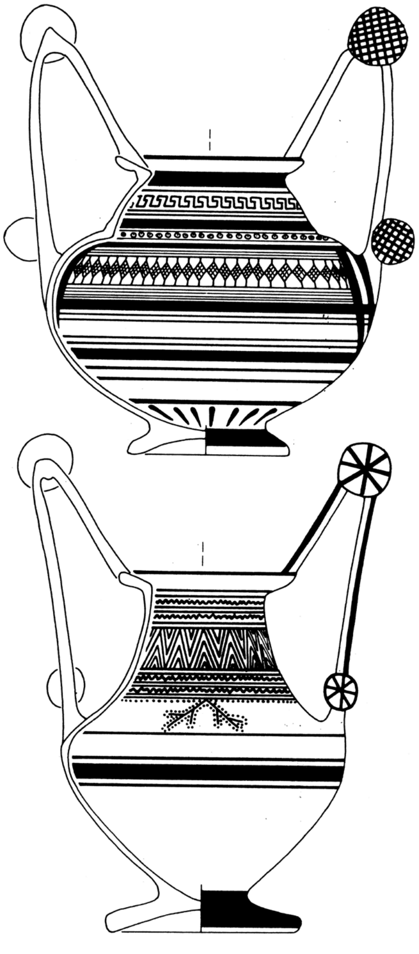

Fig. 2. Two trozella's (drawing by Douwe Yntema; after Yntema 1990, fig. 317).

Archaeological projects, directed by the present authors. These projects owe much to Douwe's ceramological knowledge, intellectual legacy and personal as well as professional networks.

Apart from producing high-level field reports and ceramic studies, Douwe was also a prolific writer of interpretative studies. His main focus was on the long-term landscape and settlement history of southeast Italy and in particular on the impact of processes such as Hellenisation and Romanisation on that history. He drew inspiration from currents that had earlier come into vogue in anthropologically oriented prehistoric archaeology, history and geography. Especially the so-called Processual Archaeology and Fernand Braudel's *histoire totale* had a major influence on Douwe at first. This can be recognised in his Oria book, for instance, but also in his later monograph *The Archaeology of South-East Italy in the First Millennium BC*, published in 2013 in the Amsterdam Archaeological Studies Series of Amsterdam University Press. Synthesising some 30 years of archaeological research, this book discusses how small tribal groups in southeast Italy developed into complex societies during the first millennium BC. It also highlights how these societies adapted to increasingly wide horizons, and why Italic groups and migrants from the eastern Mediterranean interacted and created entirely new social, economic, cultural and physical landscapes. Developing this approach as early as the 1980s, Douwe was one of the pioneers in the transition from Classical to Mediterranean Archaeology. Questioning the traditional, Classical archaeological bias towards Greek and Roman cities and High Culture, his focus was rather on the cities, landscapes, social groups, histories and material categories that were previously considered marginal; on city and countryside, centre and periphery, global and local, often in conjunction, in the context of more general historical themes such as colonisation, city and state formation, migration and Mediterranean interconnectivity.

In other, later works he was increasingly inspired by postcolonial theoretical debates, emphasising human agency, social identities and cognitive aspects instead of physical landscape and settlement processes. This is the case, for instance, in his 2009 book chapter on 'Material culture and plural identity in early Roman Southern Italy' and also in his much cited paper of 2000, titled 'Mental landscapes of colonization. The ancient written sources and the archaeology of early colonial-Greek south-eastern Italy'. The latter publication, as already referred to in the introduction, garnered ample attention and contributed to a fierce debate on early Greek-indigenous relationships. In this paper, he takes a critical, deconstructivist approach to 'traditional' models of reading Greek colonisation in terms of a full-fledged colonial enterprise, to argue that it was only from the 5th century BC that this model was projected onto the 'origins' of the early settlements, conceived and elaborated in terms of 'foundation narratives'. In reality, the early 'Greek' settlements would have originated mostly from 'private' initiatives of 'migration' by mostly mixed groups, welcomed by indigenous tribes. In Douwe's view, during the phase of first contact in the 8th and 7th centuries, Greek encounters with southeastern Italy in particular constituted a phenomenon that took place in the margins of a developing cultural and political landscape dominated by indigenous communities.

Douwe was unburdened by compartmental thinking. In the 1970s and '80s, when a deep divide between Classical archaeologists and prehistorians also characterized Dutch academia, he sought to bridge this gap by looking for common ground. This he found, for instance, in shared topics and methodologies, including processes of Romanisation in southern Italy and in the South of the Netherlands. This was also the theme of the inaugural lectures that he and his colleague Nico Roymans held in 1998 during a joint session to acknowledge their appointment as professors of Mediterranean and Northwest European archaeology, respectively.

Douwe's ability to think across the board was also manifest in his work for the Academy of Sciences. In 2006, he chaired a committee that set out to reconnoitre the changing position of archaeology in the Dutch academic landscape with the implementation of the Valetta treaty. The committee organised expert meetings with archaeologists working in the Netherlands and abroad. The report the committee published[4] demonstrated that, since the 1990s, the number of academic staff employed by universities had been reduced substantially, while numbers of archaeology students had increased dramatically and commercial archaeology continued to generate enormous amounts of data. This had made it increasingly impossible for university archaeologists to perform their main tasks: giving young field archaeologists the practical *and* intellectual training they needed to cope with the current situation, bringing together dispersed findings and writing synthesising studies, and producing images of the past that are meaningful for society at large. The committee recommended funding academic archaeology on an equal basis with the natural sciences, to make the national research school of archaeology into a national platform for research, and give university-based archaeologists a preferential position to excavate sites that are instrumental for helping the academic field forward. Unfortunately, policy-makers did not follow these recommendations and many of the problems identified in the committee's report remain issues today.

Douwe was of the opinion that all academic staff, including professors, had a role to play in teaching, which he believed to be one of the core activities of academic life. He himself was a gifted and inspiring teacher, who had the ability to reduce complex matters to their very essence. As a dean, he remained a very approachable person and continued to build bridges. He can be considered the spiritual father of the Amsterdam Centre for Ancient Studies and Archaeology (ACASA), in which Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam and University of Amsterdam collaborate to offer joint bachelor and master programmes.

Douwe had a clearly defined idea about how he wished to end his academic career, as he did not want to 'linger on' in academia for an indefinite period after his retirement. In his opinion, he had become out of touch with the field during the time he served as a dean and did not feel that he could catch up again. His retirement was almost a full stop. He could appreciate an initiative such as being awarded the Gran Premio Zeus Città di Ugento in 2018,[5] but was averse to any bigger events to celebrate his achievements or status. He vetoed our proposal to organise a two-day conference in his honour, even after we presented him the topic and venue we had in mind and the provisional list of speakers. He preferred reducing his farewell event to a small gathering for his closest colleagues with a limited number of speeches and dinner in an Italian restaurant in Amsterdam. In the years immediately before and after his retirement, he finished one last article on Greek colonisation and devoted the rest of his time to systematically going through the ancient sources, preferably lesser known or obscure writers, digging up all kinds of information about food provision, agricultural practices, land division and colonisation, slavery, public administration, or Gaul and the Gauls. He would then share his notes on these topics with his former colleagues in the departments of Archaeology and History. Somewhat to the astonishment of his colleagues in southern Italy, he never visited the country again – not even for guest lectures or vivas.[6] Instead, he went on long bike rides around Amsterdam and talked enthusiastically about specific species of birds he spotted on his way.

Unfortunately, Douwe was not able to enjoy his retirement for very long. Afflicted with several illnesses during the last years of his life, he passed away on 28 March 2020. His career was one of great prestige and his studies have had a profound impact on Mediterranean archaeology and the archaeology of southeast Italy in particular. He continues to be a source of inspiration for his former colleagues and students, both in the Netherlands and in Italy. His intellectual legacy is still with us in our fieldwork and other research projects in Italy and Greece. However, we will remember him not only because of his academic achievements, but also because of his companionship and his amicable and warm personality, especially his dry, friendly humour and his aversion to intellectual arrogance.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Writing this *In Memoriam*, we consulted Douwe's wife Renée Duinker, prof. em. Johannes Boersma, prof. em. Reinder Reinders, prof. Marijke Gnade, and prof. Ineke Sluiter and Linda Groen (both KNAW) for specific details about Douwe's life and career; we wish to thank them for their help. Special thanks to prof. Eric Moormann for his contribution to assembling Douwe's bibliography

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NOTES

[1] See Hasenzagl 2017. See Docter 2021 for Im Memoriam recordings of Salomonson.

[2] Bakhuizen 1992.

[3] Douwe also joined the Satricum project for a brief period in 1991 where he assisted in studying the pottery. He and the late Demetrius Waarsenburg distinguished a new category of bad-quality, grey pottery, which they dubbed Gnade ware – a term which is used at Satricum up to the present day.

[4] K. Hilberdink and D. Yntema (eds.), *De toren van Pisa. Verslag van de Voorstudiecommissie Archeologie*, KNAW, Amsterdam, 2004; *De toren van Pisa recht gezet. Over de toekomst van de Nederlandse archeologie*, KNAW, Amsterdam, 2007.

[5] In 2020 a special Premio Zeus was posthumously awarded in honour of Douwe Yntema.

[6] In the article in *Nuovo Quotidiano di Puglia* D'Andria quotes from a letter Douwe wrote in reply to D'Andria's invitation to visit Lecce: "Finora non ho deciso di tornare in Italia. Le memorie di questa fase della mia vita sono bellissime… lascio il campo ai più giovani. Tocca a loro decidere sul future dell'archeologia e delle scienze umane".

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BABESCH 97 (2022), 1-22. doi: 10.2143/BAB.97.0.3290530

Long-term spatial dynamics and city-state development in the Anapodaris catchment (south-central Crete, Greece)

Quentin Drillat

Abstract

*This paper proposes to model historically coherent microregions in which long-term dynamics of spatial organization can be studied. Using published datasets from a 520 km² catchment area in south-central Crete (Greece), settlement evolution is traced by evolutionary trajectories whose variability is then analyzed with State Sequence Analysis. Around diachronically major settlements from Early Iron Age to the Hellenistic period, microregions are modeled using Site Catchment Analysis (SCA) based on a modeled road network. This enables us to observe the development of small rural city-states, and to date the start of their formation process to the 9th century BC.**

INTRODUCTION

This paper aims to study the progressive structuration of a rural landscape during the development of Greek *poleis* (city-states), based on the analysis of previously published archaeological data. Since N.D. Fustel de Coulanges,[1] the rise and development of the Greek city-state has been an extensively debated subject.[2] If city-state is a social and political phenomenon, its geographical dimension is often studied as one of its archaeologically perceptible remains. Hence, the geographical aspect of city-state organization has been expansively studied[3] and it has led to the development of the concept of *Normalpolis*.[4] It describes city-states as Central Places that can be treated as large villages surrounded by small scale territories able to provide them with necessary goods. During their development, some of these city-states absorbed neighbors Central Places that became secondary settlements. In this case study from south-central Crete, that concept is reemployed considering Central Places and their territories are stable on the *longue-durée*. Dealing with legacy data, this paper proposes a methodological framework to detect stable Central Places and model historically coherent territories around them, from an approach based on State Sequence Analysis and Site Catchment Analysis. Confronting spatial modeling with historical and archaeological data, this paper aims to contribute to the understanding of the spatial and political dynamics that occurs in the Anapodaris catchment organization from Early Iron Age to the Hellenistic period, during the development of Greek City-States.

THE ANAPODARIS CATCHMENT CONTEXT AND DATA

The Anapodaris catchment is a 520 km² catchment located in south-central Crete, Greece (*fig. 1*). It includes the eastern part of the Mesara valley, the largest flat area of the island. The Mesara plain is drained by two rivers flowing in opposite directions, the Geropotamos to the west and the Anapodaris to the east. While only a few kilometers from the Libyan Sea, the eastern Mesara is disconnected from it by the Asterousia mountains that mark the southern boundary of the study area. Only a few gorges, including the Anapodaris gorge, cross the Asterousia from the eastern Mesara to the south coast. To the east, the Anapodaris catchment is closed by the Lasithi mountains that reach 2148 m above sea level and separate central and eastern Crete. Finally, the northern boundary of the catchment is located in the hilly area of the Pediada, with reliefs much less marked on the landscape.

In her monograph on the Mesara from Late Minoan III B to the Orientalizing period, D. Lefèvre-Novaro describes the Anapodaris catchment as a 'terra incognita'[5] between major settlements of the western Mesara and north-central Crete. Indeed, a gap in the record occurs in Bronze Age period, with no palatial center known in the area. Later city-states are not much better known. Only two *poleis* are securely attested in the area: Priansos, at Kastellos-Ano Kastelliana,[6] and Arkades, whose city-center is located at Kephala-Ini or Profitis Ilias-Afrati.[7] (*fig*. 2). Moreover, some settlements have been identified with ancient toponyms. That is the case of Kephala-Rotasi, ancient Rhytion,[8] and, with a lower level

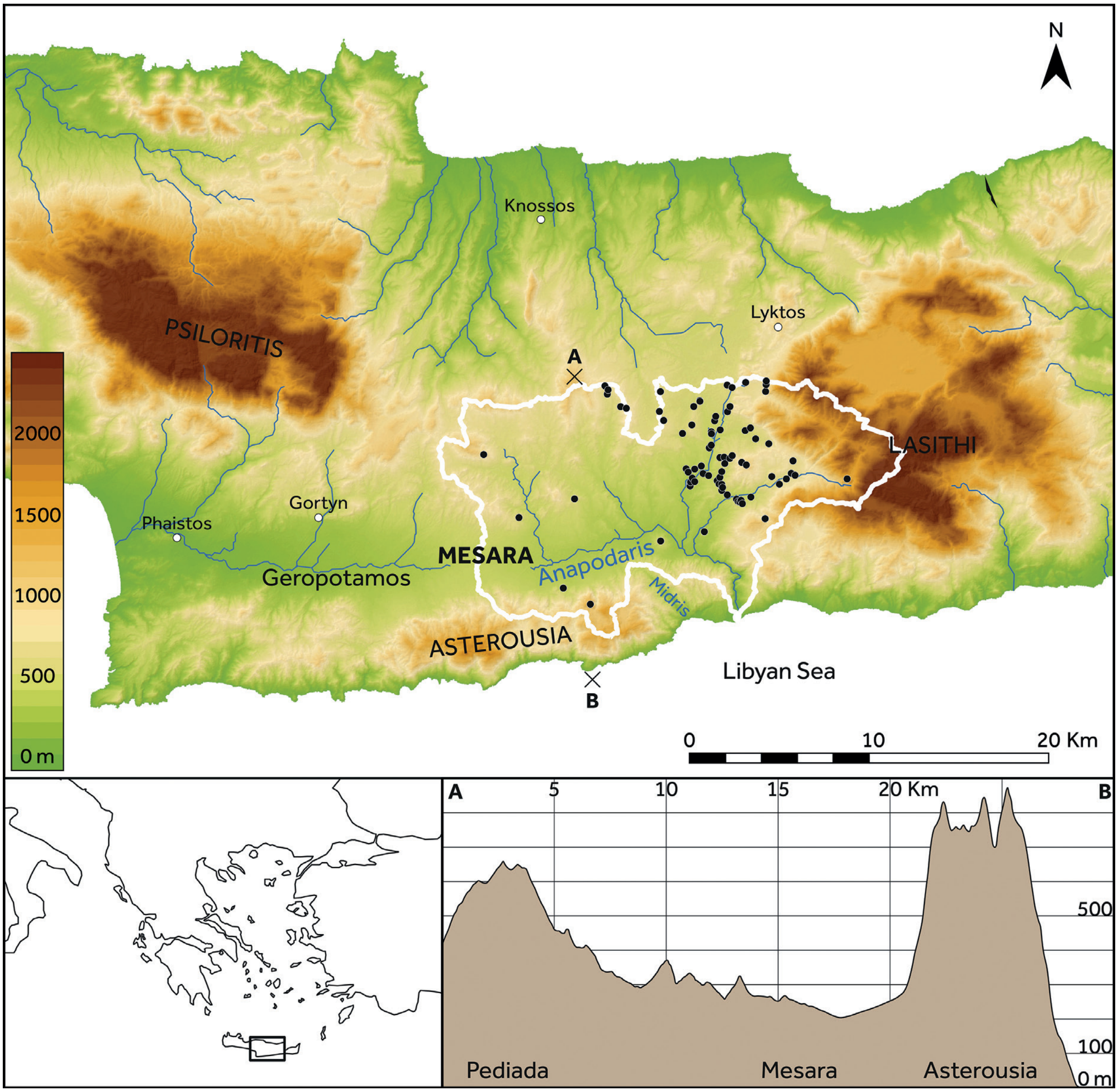

N
Knossos
Lyktos
PSILORITIS
LASITHI
A
Gortyn
Phaistos
MESARA
Geropotamos
Anapodaris
Midris
ASTEROUSIA
Libyan Sea
B
2000
1500
1000
500
0 m
0
10
20 Km
A
5
10
15
20 Km
B
500
100
0 m
Pediada
Mesara
Asterousia

Fig. 1. Location and geographical setting of the Anapodaris catchment.

of confidence, of Kasteriotes-Melidochori, maybe ancient Hyrtaia,[9] and Kephala-Ligortynos, possibly ancient Pyranthos.[10]

In the Anapodaris catchment, available data mostly comes from early archaeological works. In the second half of the 19th century, Captain T. Spratt was the first to publish information on archaeological sites in the area, as he described his travels via Kasteriotes-Melidochori and Kephala-Rotasi, and attempted to identify their ancient toponyms.[11] Between the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th, archaeological explorations began with the excavations of F. Halbherr in the region of Erganos and Afrati, east of the Anapodaris catchment.[12] His interest in south-central Cretan necropolises was shared by S. Xanthoudidis, who excavated the tomb of Kourena-Damania.[13] In the 1920s, D. Levi directed the only excavation of a settlement to date in the Anapodaris catchment, at Profitis Ilias-Afrati.[14] In the 1930s, J. Pendlebury's *Journeys in Crete* described several sites of the study area.[15] His later monograph[16] provided a record of archaeological finds in Crete from the Bronze Age to Roman times and describes some settlements in the Anapodaris catchment that have since been destroyed.

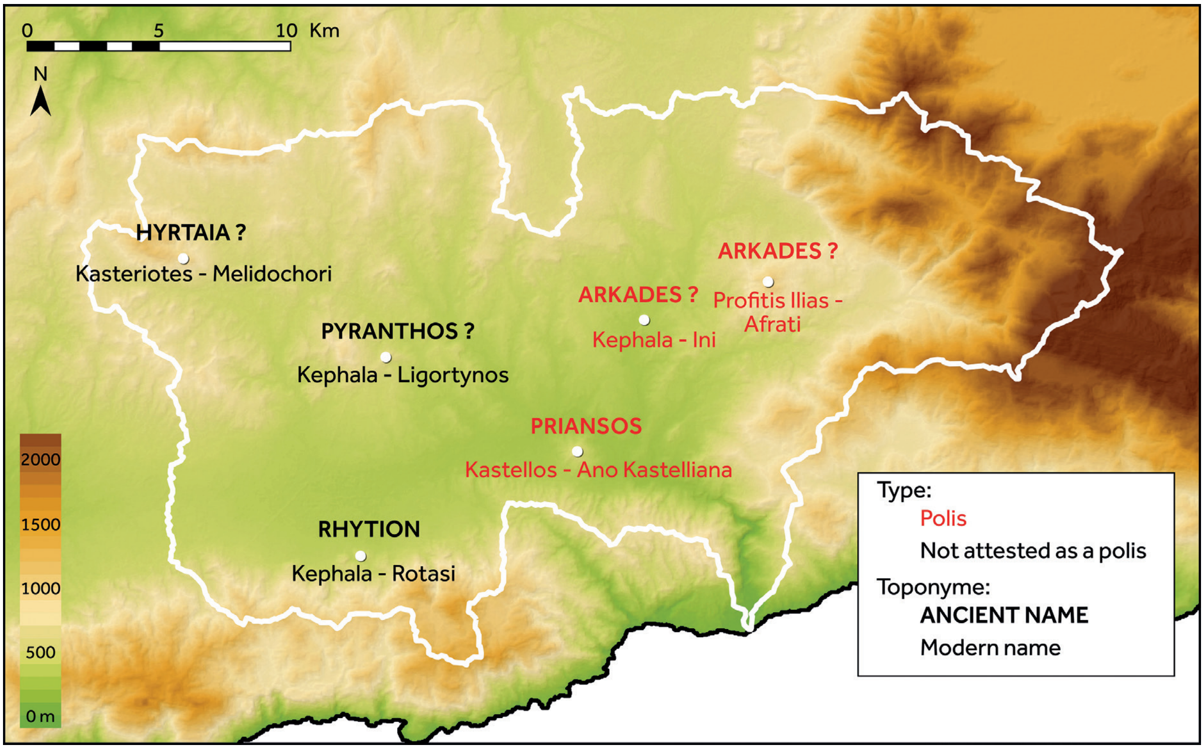

0
5
10 Km
N
HYRTAIA ?
Kasteriotes - Melidochori
PYRANTHOS ?
Kephala - Ligortynos
ARKADES ?
Kephala - Ini
ARKADES ?
Profitis Ilias - Afrati
PRIANSOS
Kastellos - Ano Kastelliana
RHYTION
Kephala - Rotasi
2000
1500
1000
500
0 m
Type:
Polis
Not attested as a polis
Toponyme:
ANCIENT NAME
Modern name

Fig. 2. Major sites of the Anapodaris catchment.

Since the 1950s, archaeological research has become more intensive. Rescue excavations have been carried out mostly in funeral contexts.[17] In the 1960s, P. Faure also explored Crete and the Mesara, producing ample data and interpretative hypotheses.[18] More recently, N. Panagiotakis conducted an extensive survey in the Pediada, and part of this is included in the Anapodaris catchment, where he inventoried 86 sites between Late Minoan III and the Roman period.[19]

The combination of all this data produces a database of 134 archaeological sites known in the Anapodaris catchment from the Postpalatial period to Roman times.[20] However, such heterogeneous data leads inevitably to important bias in the analysis. In order to evaluate data's relevance, a confidence map can be produced (*fig. 3*),[21] that maps both representation (i.e. variation to the expected number of sites) and reliability (i.e. intensity of the inventory). In our case, the representation is evaluated in three independent area, depending on reliefs (plain, hills, mountainous areas) and the expected density of settlements is calculated independently.[22] The resulting confidence map highlights the low average level of confidence that can be given to the data in spatial analyses. Particularly, out of Panagiotakis' survey area, the reliability of the data is low. And even in Panagiotakis' survey area, the representation is not homogenous. Hence, it will not be possible to interpret local land-use variations inside the Anapodaris catchment as real patterns, since they are more likely linked to the spatial heterogeneity of the data.

The chronological resolution of the data suffers also from the use of multiple legacy datasets. First, except at Kephala-Ligortynos,[23] Kephala-Rotasi[24] and Profitis Ilias-Afrati,[25] where new researches have produced updated data and more precise chronological indications, the dates assigned in first publications have to be trusted and are used in this paper. Hence, some unusual

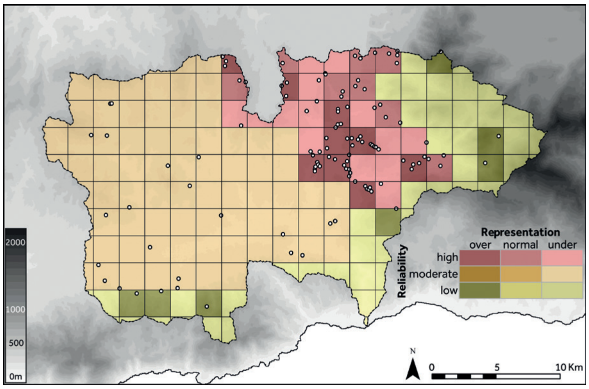

Representation
over
normal
under
Reliability
high
moderate
low
2000
1000
500
0m
N
0
5
10 Km

Fig. 3. Confidence map.

Period	Absolute Dates	Duration (in years)	Number of sites
Late Minoan III (LM III) - Sub-Minoan (SM)	1430-970 BC	460	78
Protogeometric (PG)	970-810 BC	160	15
Geometric (G)	810-700 BC	110	16
Orientalizing (O)	700-600 BC	100	13
Archaic (A)	600-480 BC	120	47
Classical (C)	480-323 BC	157	13
Hellenistic (H)	323-66 BC	257	19
Roman (R)	66 BC-330 AD	396	80

Tab. 1. Simplified chronology used in this study and chronological repartition of recorded settlements. The absolute chronology follows Momigliano 2007 and Lefèvre-Novaro 2014.

patterns are observed and cannot be neither confirmed or reject without new researches on collected material.[26] Additionally, a simplified chronology (*Tab. 1*), in which every known occupation fit, had to be used while entering settlements in the database. The poor resolution of the Late Bronze Age data, with many settlements dated to the Late Minoan III period without further precision, led to the gathering of all sub-phases of the Postpalatial period, from Late Minoan III A2 to Subminoan,[27] in a single period. Its duration makes it impossible to study settlement patterns in detail, but its inclusion in the database allows us to see whether settlements of the following periods are situated in new places or not. Likewise, the almost 400 years long Roman period has been included to indicate the stability of some settlements until the end of the city-state organization.

Despite its important heterogeneity and biases that inevitably affect the results, the combination of multiple legacy datasets offers the possibility to study cultural processes at a regional scale that exceed the scale of an intensive survey.[28] In that context, data resolution is generally not sufficient to detect with certainty clusters of settlements and gaps between them, that are generally interpreted as competing polities.[29] However, it is possible to work on hierarchical ranks and relationships between known settlements, since it can be studied with samples of a population.[30] Hence, our method is first based on the study of hierarchical ranks to detect stable Central Places.

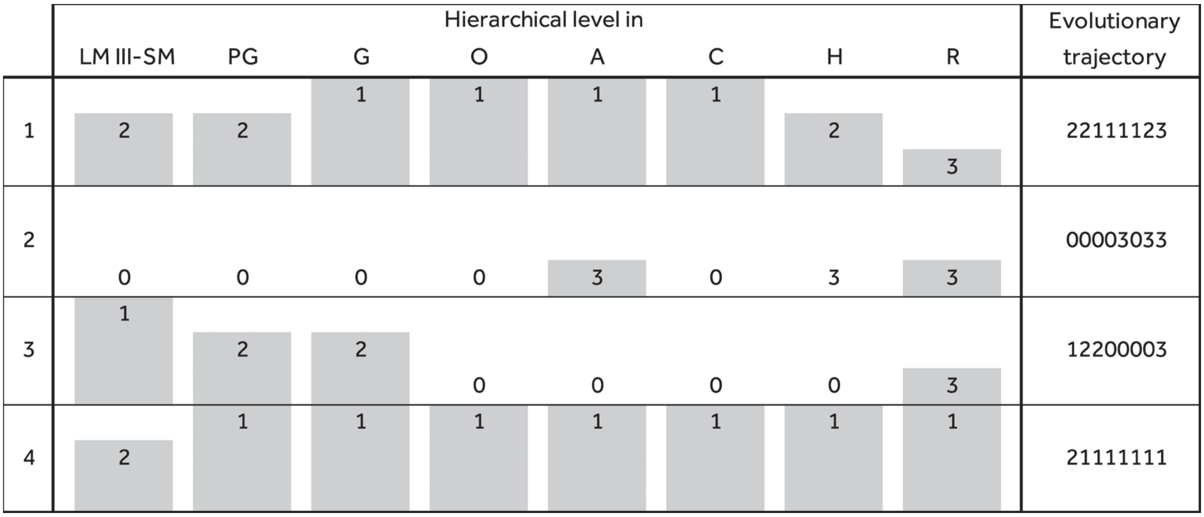
METHODOLOGY

The approach developed in this paper relies first on the study of the evolutive history of settlements.[31] Thus, Central Places that had a strong impact on long-term spatial organization are extracted from the settlements dataset. Territorial units are then modeled around these settlements.

Application of State Sequence Analysis to the study of settlements' long-term evolution

Considering the available data in the Anapodaris catchment, sites known as major settlements (*fig. 2*) cannot be considered as Central Places without further study. Instead, a hierarchical classification of the settlements' evolutive history is built to identify those that contribute most to the structuring of regional space. To achieve this, the settlement patterns are described, for each chronological phase, in a three-level hierarchy. Settlement size is the most important criterium used here to categorize settlements. Indeed, in the dataset published by N. Panagiotakis, which provides an important part of the data studied here, habitation sites are only differentiated as "large settlements" ('*habitats étendus*') and "settlements" ('*habitat*'), without further detail for most of the recorded sites.[32] Hence, small settlements are considered to belong to the third level of the hierarchy. Large settlements are mostly in the second level of the hierarchy, the first level being attributed only when archaeological or historical sources refer to the political and central functions of a settlement. The size of settlements is therefore used to distinguish dispersed and nucleated settlements, while other archaeological and historical evidences classifie large settlements into "towns" and "villages".[33]

After attributing a hierarchical rank to all settlements, for every period, "life course trajectories" of settlements can be studied following the evolution of the settlements' hierarchical level across the studied time-window. Since A. Abbott's innovative work,[34] such sequences are frequently analyzed in social sciences to study life- and career trajectories.[35] State sequences give an indication on the succession of events and their duration, as each element of a sequence includes temporal information. With Optimal Matching analysis, it is possible to measure the dissimilarity



	Hierarchical level in								Evolutionary trajectory
	LM III-SM	PG	G	O	A	C	H	R	
1	2	2	1	1	1	1	2	3	22111123
2	0	0	0	0	3	0	3	3	00003033
3	1	2	2	0	0	0	0	3	12200003
4	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	21111111

Fig. 4. Example of evolutionary trajectories of four settlements. "0" signals that no occupation is recorded for the given period.

of sequences and to cluster individuals (here settlements) depending on their whole trajectories.[36]

The most natural way to build the state sequence of the evolutionary trajectory of a settlement is to list its successive hierarchical levels during the considered time-window, with one element of the sequence encoding the hierarchical level for one period in the relative chronology (*fig. 4*). Theoretically, all states – hence all periods – should have the same duration in the sequences. However, in this study, unequal periods from the relative chronology (*Tab.* 1) are kept for two reasons. First, from the available data, it is not possible to be more precise in the dating of settlements, so it is difficult to date development phases better. Second, limits between hierarchical levels are blurry, so it is difficult to distinguish one level from another and to assess any exact time of transition. Using wide relative periods, the risk of error when attributing hierarchical levels decreases. Moreover, in the Optimal Matching analysis performed here, the chosen metric and costs limit the importance of the duration of periods.

To measure pairwise dissimilarities between sequences, Levenshtein distance is applied.[37] This very common metric determines the minimum number of operations to transform one sequence into another with substitution, deletion and insertion of elements. Costs allocated to each transformation can be chosen. Hence, substitution is privileged – by lowering the cost – to deletion and insertion to limit the effect of the variability of period duration in the sequences' alignment process. Substitution costs are also defined according to what seems to be closer to the archaeological reality (*Tab. 2*): settlements of the two first levels in the hierarchy are closer than level-2 and level-3 settlements. The cost is maximized between a settlement occupied at whatever level and a non-occupied site. The calculation and gathering of all the Levenshtein distances between pairs of sequences produce a dissimilarity matrix. A cluster analysis is then performed to find relationships among settlements: from the dissimilarity matrix, an agglomerative hierarchical clustering is computed with Ward's method[38] in R, using the *Cluster* package.[39] This clustering gathers settlements with the least dissimilarity between their evolutionary trajectories, to find patterns in the evolutionary history of settlements.

Modeling territorial units

The next step in the study is to divide the territory into units around settlements that structured the landscape during the studied periods. The modeling of archaeological territorial units has a long research history that relied first on earlier geographers theories.[40] Two main approaches can be distinguished, depending if the landscape is equitably shared between polities or if settlements ranks play a role in territorial allocation. The first approach was introduced with the use of Thiessen polygons that split space in polygons

Compared hierarchical levels	Substitution cost
1 - 2	1
2 - 3	2
1 - 3	3
No occupation - 1 / 2 / 3	4

Tab. 2. Substitution costs in the Optimal Matching analysis.

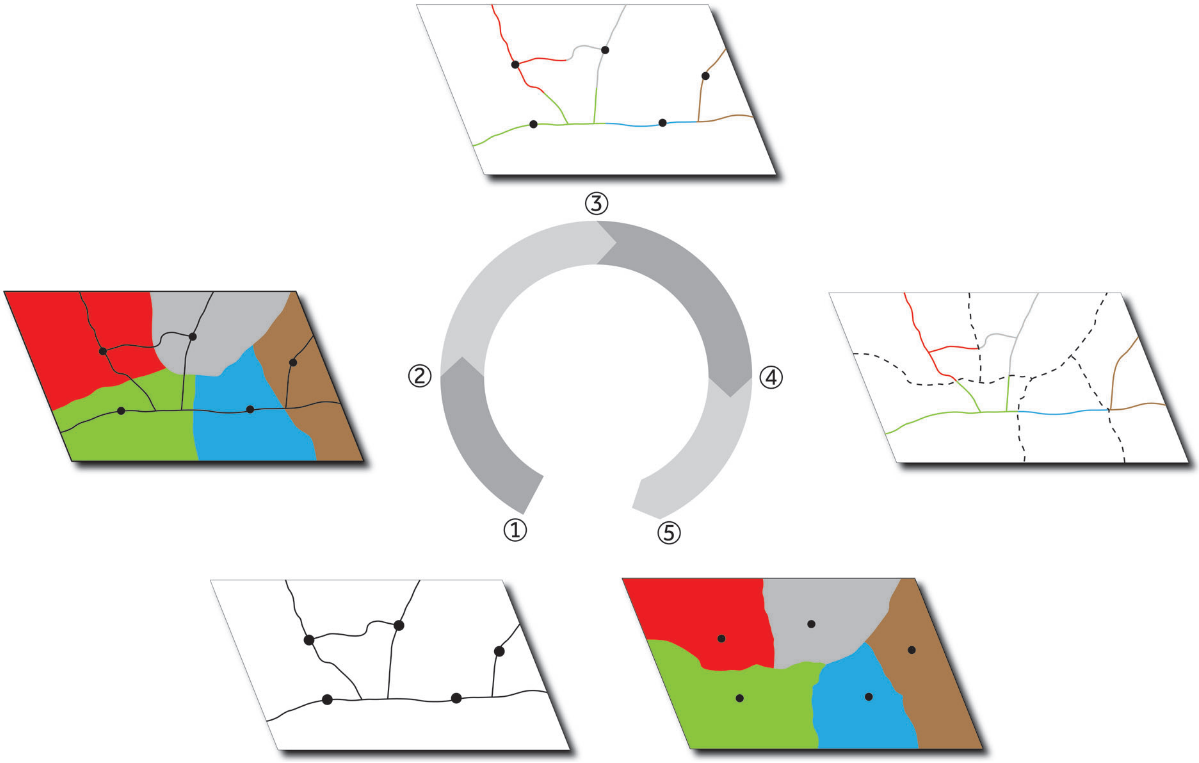


Fig. 5. Process to model territories around settlements using road network.

whose sides are equidistant from settlements.[41] However, since the introduction of GIS in archaeology, Site Catchment Analysis (SCA) mostly replaces Thiessen model employing a travelling cost through the landscape instead of the Euclidian distance to define boundaries.[42] With cost-based methods, relief is taken into account and results appears to be much more reliable. Thus, S. Fachard demonstrated the applicability of SCA in a Greek City-State context as his modeling of Attic demes boundaries fits impressively well with the location of known boundary markers.[43] One the other hand, weighted Thiessen polygons[44] or Xtent models[45] require to assess settlements ranks, and landscape is shared based on the rule that major sites control bigger territories.

In this study, landscape is shared between supposed same level settlements, the Central Places. Moreover, because it seems to fit Greek city-state context, the present study is based on SCA. Using Bell and Lock cost function,[46] least-cost analysis is employed to measure the cost-distance of any place to main settlements. Because major settlements of the area are located on hills, and registered as punctual elements at their top in the geodatabase, a buffer zone with a radius of 500m has been targeted during the analysis to encompass the entire hills and delete their effect in the analysis. Indeed, even if the extension of settlements is not known, sherds scatters suggest that settlements were covering hills to their feet.[47] Moreover, the population that commuted from city-centers to nearby lands was probably not settled in top-positions.

A slightly modified approach that gives more importance to main road network is also proposed in this paper. In traditional SCA, theoretical movement through the territory targets the central settlement, resulting in a largely radial movement network. Indeed, from each place, the most direct – i.e. the least costly – path is sought to reach the central settlement. Adaptation to the relief – implied by cost surface – leads to detours, but the Least Cost Paths (LCP) between each point in space and the central site will tend to radiate. To model territories with a more realistic movement pattern, a new approach reinforcing the part of movement along defined axes is also employed and compared to traditional SCA. It supposes that movement between a city and the surrounding territory mostly follows major paths. It only leaves the road network when getting as close as possible to the destination.

Practically, a road network is modeled on the territory (*fig. 5, step 1*; the detailed methodology is given below) and traditional SCA is applied

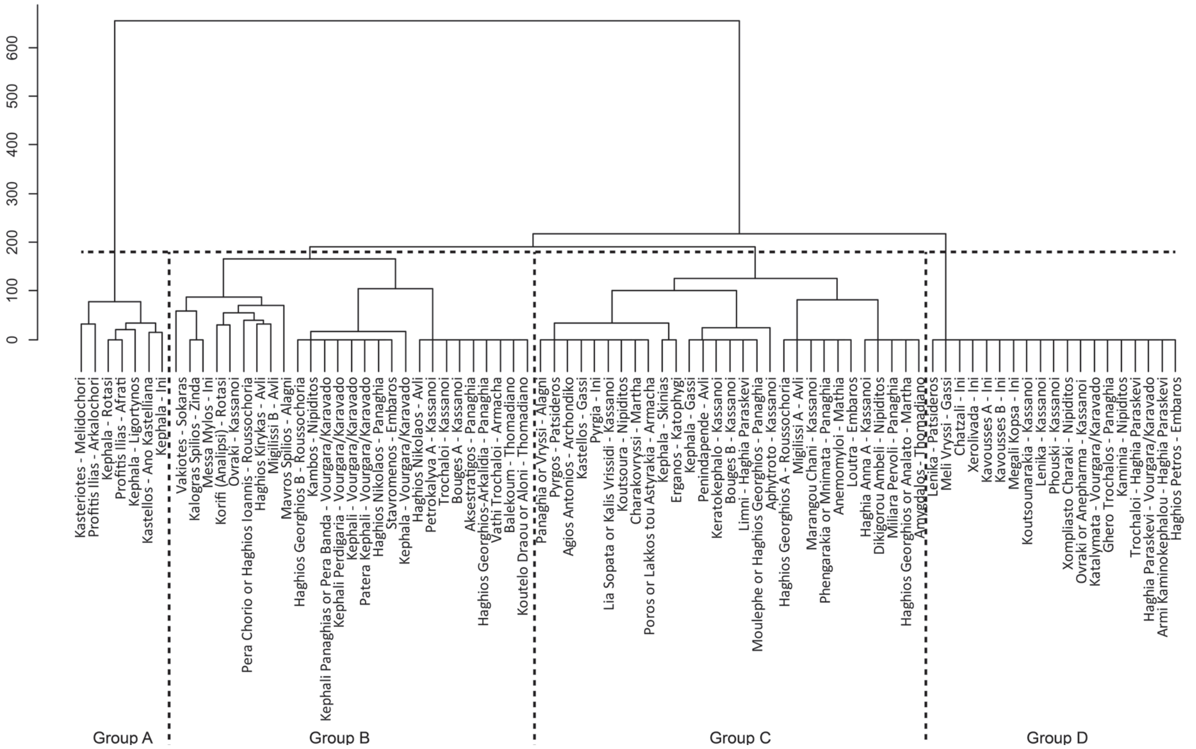


Fig. 6. Hierarchical cluster analysis plot of the evolutionary trajectories of the Anapodaris catchment settlements.

around settlements (*fig. 5, step 2*) to split the network into portions according to the nearest site (*fig. 5, step 3*). Then, these attributed paths become the targets of a least-cost analysis (*fig. 5, step 4*). Hence, the assignment of each point in space to a territorial unit is evaluated based on the cost distance to the nearest point in the network. "Road catchments" are finally attributed to settlements used to split the network (*fig. 5, step 5*).

In this approach, road network plays a major role in the territorial units modeling. Therefore, its modeling is a key step in the study. In the diachronic perspective of this paper, the network should be stable over time: only principal axes are modeled, since secondary axes are more likely to evolve. The road network developed here attempts to combine the transit through the studied area and the internal movements between major settlements. Consequently, natural accesses to the Anapodaris catchment are first identified, and axes allowing to cross it via the major settlements are then modeled by LCPs. To propose a network presumably close to the ancient reality, the cost surface used to build the LCPs is derived only from a slope raster, using Bell and Lock cost.[48] Other parameters, such as vegetation, or soil type, more likely to evolve over time,[49] are not considered here. Taking into account the very low reliefs that delimit the north and west borders of the Anapodaris catchment, morphometric-based analysis (as proposed by P. Murrieta-Flores)[50] are not relevant. The alternative developed here is to calculate many LCPs between random points in the catchment and others around it. Intersections between the Anapodaris catchment boundary and LCPs are natural accesses given by geographical landscape features, and the most important ones are identified by counting the number of LCPs crossing the border at each access. Finally, branching rules, i.e. the way one settlement is linked to the network via LCP, are determined considering historical and archaeological evidences. For instance, proof of important contacts between a settlement and an area beyond a natural access indicates their straight linkage with an LCP.

RESULTS

Typology of settlements according to their evolutionary trajectories

Hierarchical clustering allows us to gather settlements in the Anapodaris catchment in four groups according to their evolutionary trajectories (*fig. 6*). Group A presents an important dis-

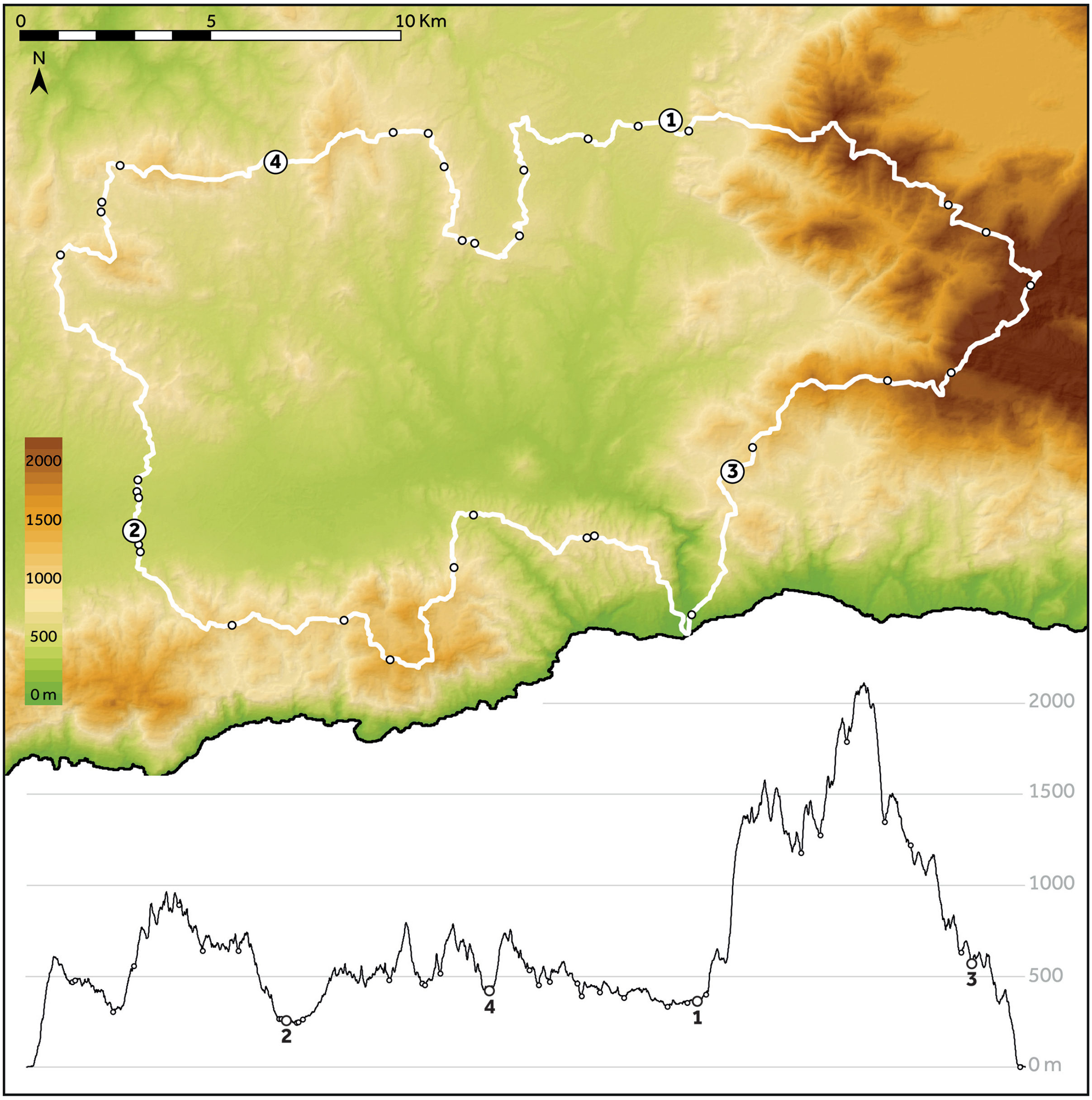


Fig. 7. Natural accesses to the Anapodaris catchment. Above, the accesses are mapped on the Anapodaris catchment's boundary. Below, they are point-marked in the watershed's profile. Numbers 1 to 4 indicate the most important accesses, in their order of importance.

similarity with the other three groups, whose limits are more blurred.

Group A is composed of seven settlements: Kasteriotes-Melidochori, Kephala-Rotasi, Kephala-Ligortynos, Profitis Ilias-Arkalochori, Kastellos-Ano Kastelliana, Kephala-Ini and Profitis Ilias-Afrati. These sites present a very long occupation period between Postpalatial and Roman periods together with important hierarchical status in part or all of their history, suggesting that they were important and permanent landmarks in the Anapodaris catchment. They are thus considered as stable Central Places and used to model the road network and the territorial units.

The other three groups, which will not be considered further in the present paper, are mostly composed of smaller settlements with a shorter occupation history. Group D sites were all settled in the Roman period, without previous occupation. The 29 Group C settlements were occupied during the Postpalatial period and abandoned in the Protogeometric, but 11 were reoccupied during the Archaic period and 13 in the Roman period, including six sites which were reoccupied in both periods. Finally, the 27 settlements of Group B present a more important internal variability. 23 were occupied during the Archaic period, which is the first occupation phase for 18 of them. Moreover, 18 sites were occupied during at least two phases, including the four that were not occupied during the Archaic period.

Long-term territorial units

Around Group A settlements, territorial units are first modeled with SCA (*fig. 9*, black dotted lines). For the second modeling, the first step is to model the road network, starting with the determination of natural accesses to the Anapodaris catchment. In a 10 km buffer zone around the study area, a dot grid with a square distance between dots of 5 km has been created. From each of the 19 points inside the catchment to each of the 48 points outside, LCPs have been calculated, resulting in 1154 intersections with the watershed. To select the most important potential accesses, the number of LCPs crossing each have been counted. Accesses located less than 100 m from another with a higher number of LCPs have been removed, and the number of crossing LCPs cumulated in remaining accesses. Some accesses that are artificially created by the grid shape (i.e. when dots have been generated very near the catchment boundary and attract LCPs to that location in the watershed) have been manually excluded. In the end, only the most significant accesses have been kept, carrying 95% of the flow of movement between the inside and the outside of the study area (*fig. 7, upper*). These 37 accesses correspond to the naturally favorable zones to enter the Anapodaris catchment considering the landscape topography (*fig. 7, lower*). Since this study only seeks to model the main network, only the four accesses that carry more than 5% of the flow of movement across the catchment boundary are used hereafter (noted 1 to 4 in their order of importance in *fig. 7*). The choice of the threshold value of 5% is strengthened by the fact that selected accesses correspond to current accesses to the area, indicating the stability of road networks over time (and the apparent reliability of this approach).

The accesses have been linked by the different axes of the road network (*fig. 8*) that runs inside the Anapodaris catchment connecting Group A settlements. First, an east-west axis connects

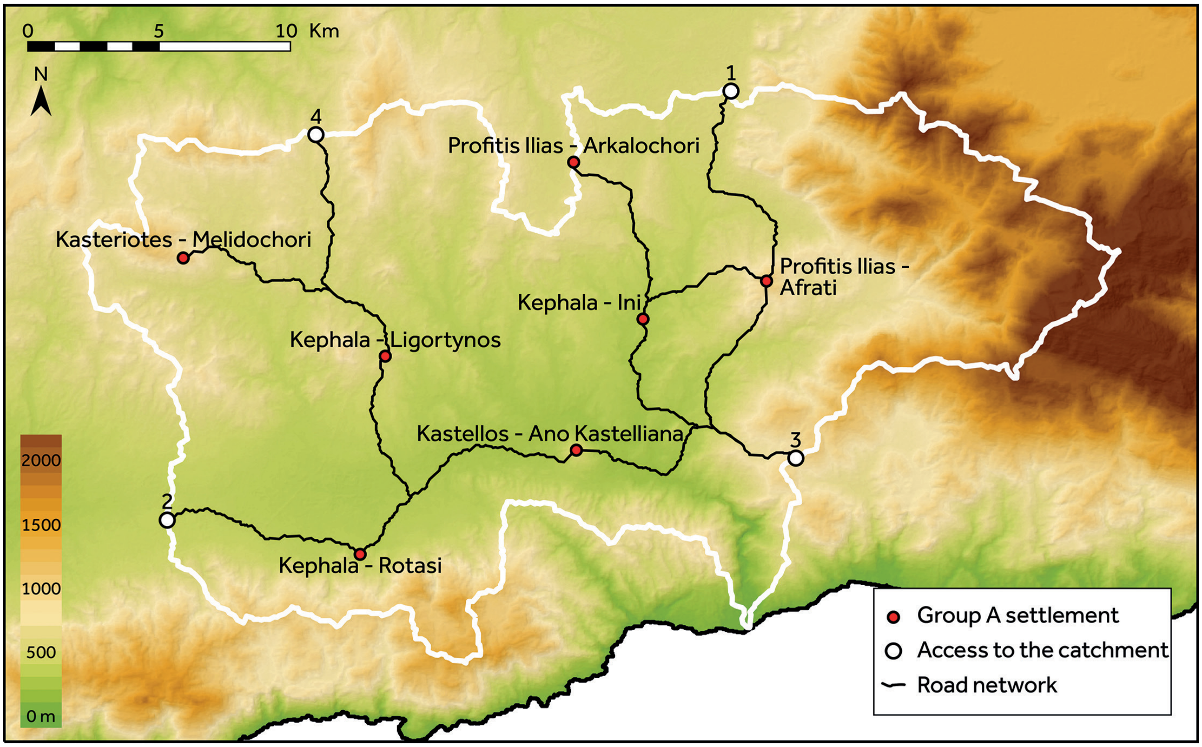


Fig. 8. Road network modeled in the Anapodaris catchment.

Accesses 2 and 3. It is an extension of the road that crosses the Mesara plain from the Mesara bay[51] along the Asterousia mountains, in the southern part of the study area, via Kephala-Rotasi and Kastellos-Ano Kastelliana. This axis is made up of three LCPs, from Access 2 to Kephala-Rotasi, from Kephala-Rotasi to Kastellos-Ano Kastelliana, and from Kastellos-Ano Kastelliana to Access 3. The connection between the eastern Mesara and south-east Crete is further indicated by a Hellenistic inscription relating to the border between the cities of Priansos (Kastellos-Ano Kastelliana) and Hierapytna, currently Hierapetra.[52] This document deals with transhumance between the territories of the two cities[53] and confirms the existence of movements in that direction, probably via Access 3.

Three other axes connect the road network to the north. First, from Access 4, a natural axis connects Kephala-Ligortynos. Two LCPs were calculated there, from Access 4 to Kephala-Ligortynos, and from Kephala-Ligortynos to the E-W axis. The junction between the two axes occurs between Kephala-Rotasi and Kastellos-Ano Kastelliana. Similarly, from Access 1, the first portion of the axis follows the LCP to Profitis Ilias-Afrati, and the second part runs to the E-W axe with a junction midway between Kastellos-Ano Kastelliana and Access 3. Because Profitis Ilias-Arkalochori is located on the border of the study area and classified in Group A, a third axis from the north is built into the modeled network. It runs, via LCPs, from Profitis Ilias-Arkalochori to Kephala-Ini and from Kephala-Ini to the E-W axis between Kastellos-Ano Kastelliana and Access 3. Each of these three north-south axes are supported by archaeological and historical considerations. The axis that links the eastern Mesara to Archanes and Knossos via Access 4 has been studied extensively in Bronze Age literature with purely archaeological approaches,[54] LCP analysis,[55] or focal mobility network procedure.[56] The axis that crosses the Anapodaris catchment limit at Arkalochori is also thought to have been in use from the Bronze Age. D. Lefèvre-Novaro argues that this axis reaches Galatas and joins the previous one around Archanes.[57] The last north-south axis is articulated around Profitis Ilias-Afrati and would have allowed the settlement to maintain relations with the north-eastern part of central Crete via Access 1 and with the south coast of eastern Crete via Access 3. Such relations are confirmed by archaeological and historical data. As regards the relations between the north and Afrati, D. Viviers has shown that a “cultural community” existed between Afrati and Lyktos, north of Access 1.[58] Profitis Ilias-Afrati may even have been politically linked to Lyktos, perhaps as a dependent city.[59] To the south, the link between Afrati and the area beyond Access 3 has been demonstrated by B.L. Erickson.[60] The study of ceramic remains from Afrati and the sanctuary of Kato Syme, about 10 kilometers east of Access 3, shows that materials deposited at the sanctuary in the 6th and 5th centuries BC came from a workshop in the Afrati region.

To complete the internal network, Kasteriotes-Melidochori (Group A) is linked to the network through an LCP to Kephala-Ligortynos that joins the axis between Access 4 and Kephala-Ligortynos. Finally, a last LCP between Profitis Ilias-Afrati and Kephala-Ini has been added to the network considering that the geographical proximity between these two settlements (less than 5 km) is not supported by the modeled network without that axis.

With the major settlements identified and a road network built, modified SCA based on road network is finally applied to define the boundaries of the seven territorial units (*fig. 9*, white lines).

Discussion

Results validity and edge effect

Before proposing interpretations of the evolution of settlement patterns in the Anapodaris catchment, the validity of the modeled territorial units needs to be discussed. S. Fachard has demonstrated the validity of boundaries modeled with cost-based methods in a Greek city-state context[61] and since both methods produce close results (*fig. 9*), those given by modified SCA seem satisfying as well. Yet, two elements suggest that the second modeling, in addition to using a more realistic theoretical movement, gives better results here. A first argument comes from the border configuration, and especially the tripoints and quadripoints, i.e. the places where three or four territories are in contact. Quadripoints are extremely rare in any context. Yet, the classic method produces one in the center of the study area, between the territories of Kephala-Ligortynos, Profitis Ilias-Arkalochori, Kephala-Ini and Kastellos-Ano Kastelliana (*fig. 9, A*). It disappears, however, with the method proposed in this paper in favor of two more likely tripoints 1600m away. Moreover, even if the presence of a single quadripoint is not impossible, Fachard’s results, mentioned above, seem to indicate that quadripoints are artifacts related to cost-based methods. Indeed, the map of his model of Attic demes boundaries[62] shows several, which is rather unlikely to correspond to a historical reality.

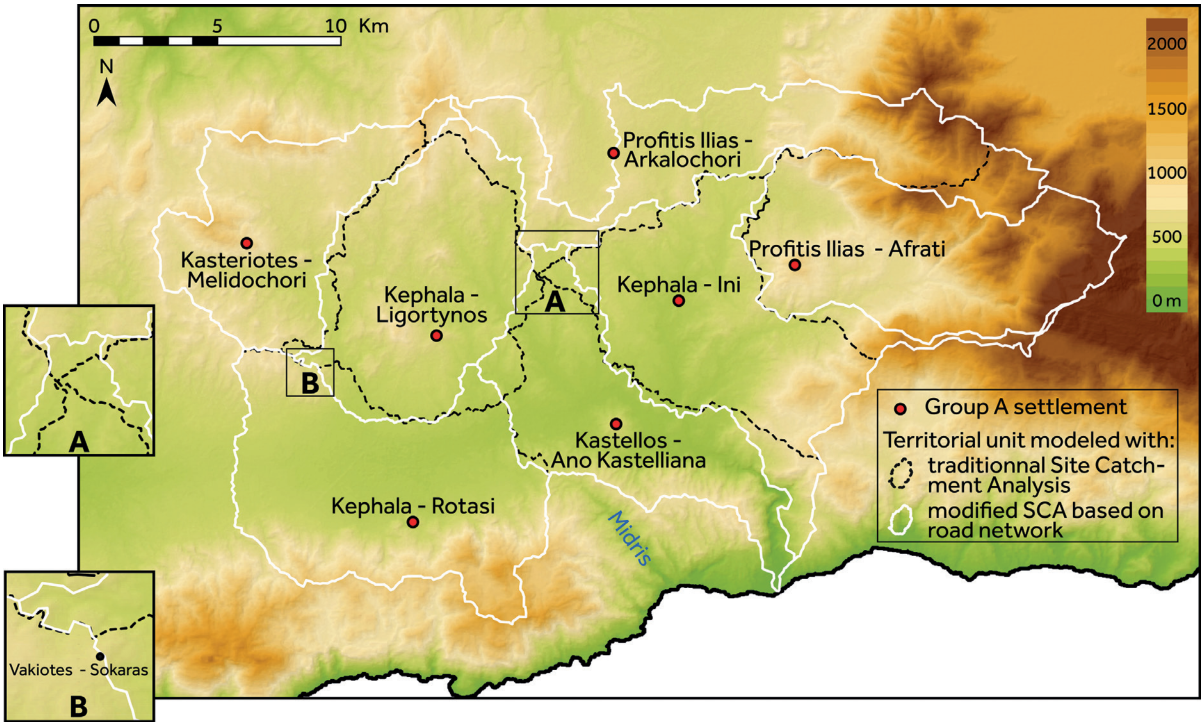

0
5
10 Km
N
2000
1500
1000
500
0 m
Profitis Ilias - Arkalochori
Kasteriotes - Melidochori
Kephala - Ligortynos
Profitis Ilias - Afrati
Kephala - Ini
A
B
Kastellos - Ano Kastelliana
Kephala - Rotasi
Midris
Group A settlement
Territorial unit modeled with:
traditionnal Site Catchment Analysis
modified SCA based on road network
Vakiotes - Sokaras

Fig. 9. Comparison between territorial units modeled with traditional SCA and modified SCA based on road network.

The second argument comes from the settlement of Vakiotes-Sokaras, in the eastern Mesara (fig. 9, B). This site, still poorly known, lies on a small limestone hill where structures excavated in the bedrock and sherds from Classical to Roman periods have been identified.[63] The interpretation of the site remains tentative considering the absence of systematic investigation.[64] It is traditionally seen as a residential settlement, and its most characteristic structure, a 4m deep cavity (*spilia*, cave, see *fig. 10*), is regarded as a tomb. Hence, it is considered as a level-2 settlement in the following archaeological maps (*fig. 11*). Faure has proposed the identification of the site with the unlocalized city of Ariaia.[65] However, he also proposes a second interpretation of the *spilia* as a public fountain and place of worship because of its architectural characteristics.[66] If so, Vakiotes-Sokaras would be a cult place. Only future fieldwork could corroborate this interpretation, but if it is correct, its location, exactly on the border between the modeled territories of Kephala-Rotasi and Kephala-Ligortynos, would coincide with the model. Indeed, the presence of a cult place on a city-state's border would be far from surprising, as extra-urban sanctuaries were sometimes used as boundary markers.[67]

Nevertheless, there are clear limitations to the methods employed here to model boundaries. Since they are circumscribed by the Anapodaris watershed, the polities' territories are not completely reconstructed. This seems particularly clear in the south of the study area, where polities certainly reached the Libyan Sea, as indicated by an epigraphic document presenting an agreement between Gortyn, Hierapytna and Priansos.[68] It describes the borders of the city-state of Priansos (Kastellos-Ano Kastelliana) and allowed H. and M. Van Effenterre to partially reconstruct them.[69] From the estuary of the Anapodaris, the border line crosses a mountainous area, arguably the Asterousia, before reaching a place where boundary markers were necessary, probably the plain itself. After crossing several tributaries of the Anapodaris, it returns and ends near the sea. N. Coutsinas felt that this return probably took place through the Midris valley.[70] This description of Priansos' boundaries fits the reconstructions proposed in this paper (*fig. 9*), but also shows that boundaries did not end with the watershed on the Asterousia range.

Hence, even if the areas of modeled territories (*Tab. 3*) seem to fit the theoretical size of the *Normalpolis* (between 25 and 100 km^2),[71] the size of polities territories cannot be estimated from this study because of side effect. Indeed, the modeling makes it appear as though settlements could not control lands outside the catchment, and vice

	SCA	Modified SCA
Profitis Ilias - Afrati	91.1	78.1
Kasteriotes - Melidochori	58.3	58.1
Profitis Ilias - Arkalochori	71.2	68.7
Kephala - Ligortynos	73.0	75.0
Kephala - Ini	72.2	86.9
Kastellos - Ano Kastelliana	62.2	62.1
Kephala - Rotasi	92.6	91.7

Tab. 3. Areas of modeled territorial units (in km²).

versa. Yet control of areas close to the limits of the catchment could well have fallen to establishments located on the other side of the watershed. This constitutes the main limit of the modeling: the closer the edges of the study area are, the more questionable the modeling becomes. The issue is particularly evident for the territorial unit modeled around Profitis Ilias-Arkalochori. This site is located on the boundary of the study area, and the territorial unit modeled around it extends over a large part of the northern boundary of the Anapodaris catchment (*fig. 9*). This extension is linked to the method. It is indeed likely that large establishments located north of the watershed controlled part of this territory. The territory modeled around Profitis Ilias-Arkalochori is therefore excluded from the following discussion on territorial organization.

The limits of the other territories are more reliable. Arguably, as Kasteriotes-Melidochori lies at the north-west corner of the study area, delimiting the entirety of its territory would also require enlarging the study area. However, given its reduced size, it is reasonable to assume that the territory allocated to Kasteriotes-Melidochori really did belong to it. The boundaries of the Kephala-Rotasi and Kastellos-Ano Kastelliana territories are also satisfactory, except to the south. Those of Kephala-Ligortynos and Profitis Ilias-Afrati are certainly almost complete, since the first is fully included within the watershed and the second is delimited by a very important relief to the east. Around Kephala-Ini, the modeled territory suffers side effects that artificially stretch its limits towards the south and east but it is still satisfactory overall. Finally, because of the side effect, the proposed boundaries appear to be more realistic approaching the center of the study area.

Settlement patterns

Results of the hierarchical classification can be presented for each chronological period within the territorial units modeled with SCA based on road network, admitting their reliability. Because they are modeled as territories that are stable over the *longue-durée*, these microregions can be applied as "clipping masks" on the archaeological maps of every period, as a tool to better perceive and describe settlement patterns. As already noted, LM III and Subminoan have been merged, and with such a long period, it is not possible to interpret the settlement patterns, as all settlements were not contemporaneous. Roman period settlement patterns are not studied in this paper for the same reason. Hence, settlements patterns are only described from Protogeometric to Hellenistic periods in what follows (*fig. 11*).

During the Protogeometric period, three settlements, Kephala-Rotasi, Kephala-Ligortynos and Profitis Ilias-Afrati, present level-1 characteristics. Three others, Kasteriotes-Melidochori, Profitis Ilias-Arkalochori and Kastellos-Ano Kastelliana, are classified in the second level of the hierarchy. Only three level-3 settlements complete the map of habitation sites. Finally, some funerary sites (necropolises or isolated tombs) are recorded around Kephala-Rotasi and Profitis Ilias-Afrati. Each level-1 or -2 settlement is located in a different territorial unit, and classified in the evolutionary Group A. In that group, only Kephala-Ini does not appear to have been an important settlement at that time.

In the Geometric period, the settlement pattern does not appear to have changed much. The three level-1 settlements remain unchanged, and new necropolises appear in their vicinity. Kasteriotes-Melidochori, Profitis Ilias-Arkalochori and Kastellos-Ano Kastelliana stay in level-2 and are joined by a new large settlement at Haghios Kirykas-Avli.[72] This site was settled in the only territorial units left free of level-1 or -2 sites in the Protogeometric period.

The occupation of the territory during the Orientalizing period is difficult to grasp since few sites are known for this period, and sometimes associated with the Archaic period.[73] Level-1 sites and their necropolises continue, but there is now significant variation among the level-2 sites. Nothing changes in the settlements of Kastellos-Ano Kastelliana and Profitis Ilias-Arkalochori, but no occupation is known at Kasteriotes-Melidochori or Haghios Kirykas-Avli in the Orientalizing period. However, considering that both were occupied during the Geometric and Archaic periods, it is likely that this apparent gap is linked to lacunous data rather than to an actual desertion of the settlements. Apart from Kephala-Ini, which continues to host a level-3 settlement, only one

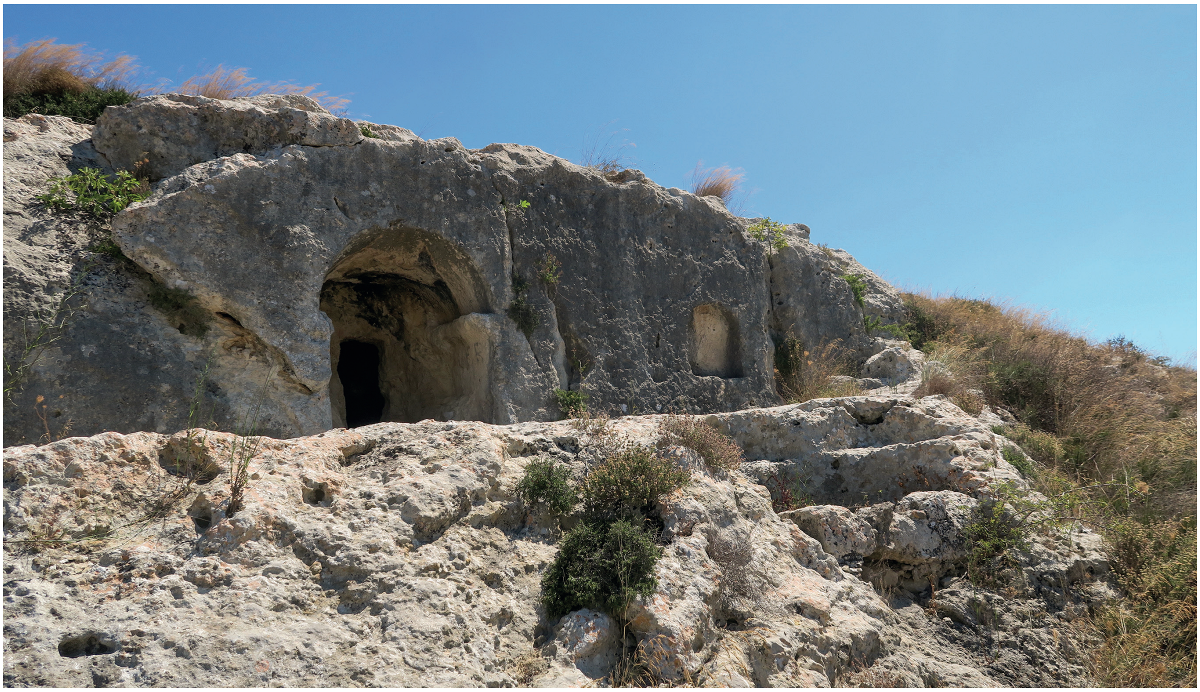


Fig. 10. Excavated structure (spilia) in the hill of Vakiotes-Sokaras.

rural site is known for the period, at Migilisi B-Avli,[74] north-east of the same territorial unit.

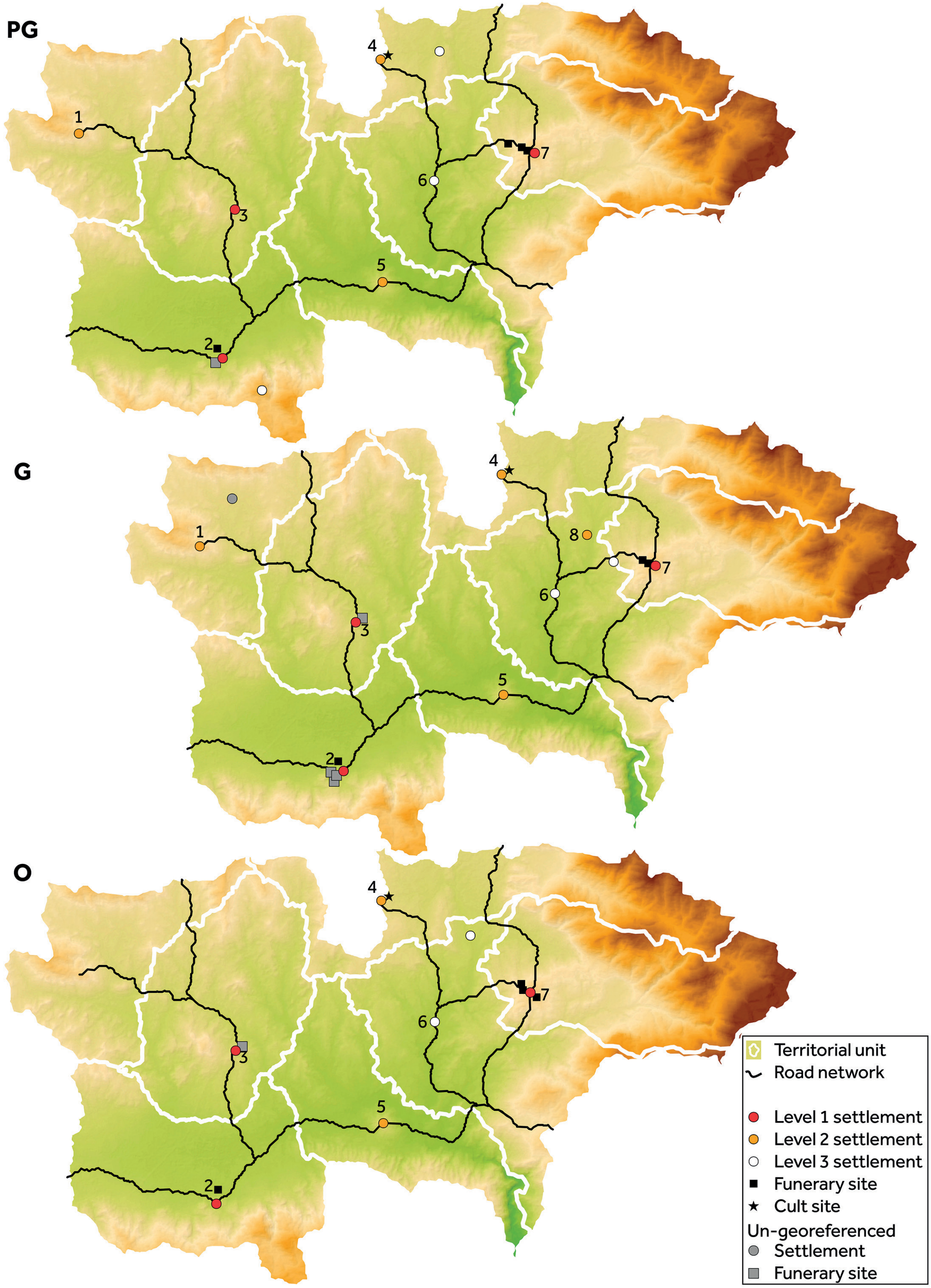
During the Archaic period, the number of settlements increases significantly. In total, 47 archaic sites are known in the Anapodaris catchment. Every Group A site hosts large settlements of hierarchical level-1 (Kephala-Rotasi and Profitis Ilias-Afrati) or -2 (Kasteriotes-Melidochori, Kephala-Ligortynos, Profitis Ilias-Arkalochori, Kastellos-Ano Kastelliana and Kephala-Ini). In the territorial unit of Kephala-Ini, two other level-2 sites exist: Haghios Kirykas-Avli, already occupied in the Geometric period, and Kephala-Vourgara/Karavado,[75] a site only known in the Archaic period. Small rural sites also appear in the eastern part of the study area, in the territorial units of Profitis Ilias-Arkalochori, Kephala-Ini and Profitis Ilias-Afrati. Their spread corresponds to the extension of the survey campaigns conducted by N. Panagiotakis and thus reflect the spatial heterogeneity of the archaeological data in the study area more than a real historical pattern (*fig. 3*). Hence, rural sites seems to appear in the countryside during the Archaic period.

After a peak period in terms of territorial occupation during the Archaic phase, rural sites almost disappear in the Classical period. A new large site was settled at Vakiotes-Sokaras, on the border between the territories of Kephala-Rotasi and Kephala-Ligortynos. Hierarchical levels of the other important settlements, all belonging to Group A, also change relatively to the previous period. In the western part of the study area, Kephala-Rotasi declines to level-2 while Kasteriotes-Melidochori and Kastellos-Ano Kastelliana present evidence of a higher hierarchical level. In the eastern part of the Anapodaris catchment, Kephala-Ini, the only remaining settlement in its territorial unit, also becomes a level-1 settlement while Profitis Ilias-Afrati declines to level-2.

Finally, the settlement pattern does not appear to change from the Classical to the Hellenistic period, based on available data. No differences are observable for large settlements, and a very small number of sites are known for this period.

Evolution of the territorial and political organization in the Anapodaris catchment

After this first description of the settlement patterns within microregions, it appears clearly that the nucleation phenomenon that characterize the Protogeometric and Geometric phases in Crete cannot be observed because of the data resolution. This nucleation phenomenon is accompanied by the establishment of fixed boundaries[76] around the small territories[77] that are exploited by communities gathered in large settlements. In the Anapodaris catchment, level-1 and -2 settlements are uniformly spread across the territory,


PG
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G
1
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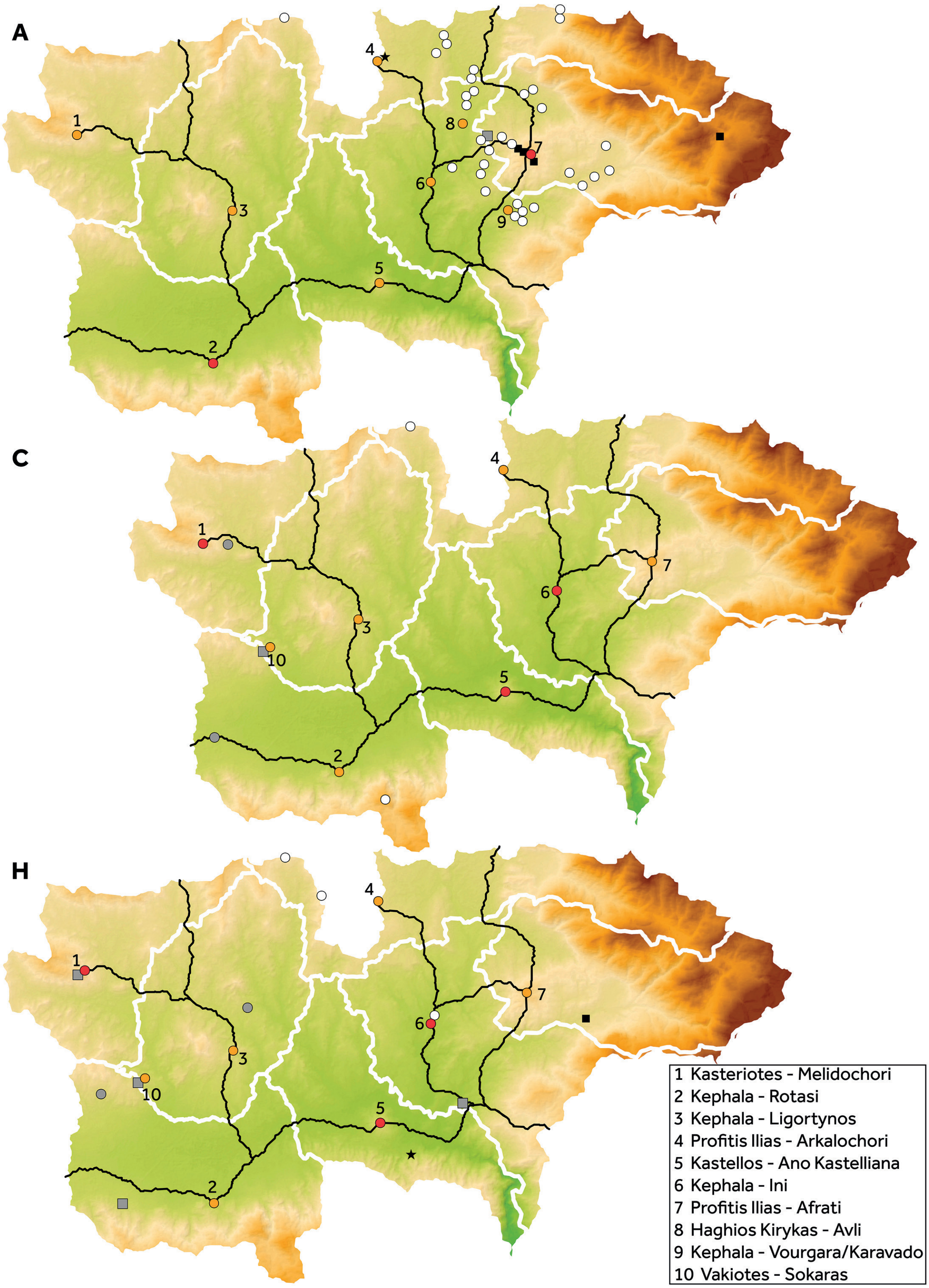
O
2
3
4
5
6
7
Territorial unit
Road network
● Level 1 settlement
● Level 2 settlement
○ Level 3 settlement
■ Funerary site
★ Cult site
Un-georeferenced
● Settlement
■ Funerary site

Fig. 11. Archaeological maps of the Anapodaris catchment from the Protogeometric to the Hellenistic period. The territorial


A
C
H
1 Kasteriotes - Melidochori
2 Kephala - Rotasi
3 Kephala - Ligortynos
4 Profitis Ilias - Arkalochori
5 Kastellos - Ano Kastelliana
6 Kephala - Ini
7 Profitis Ilias - Afrati
8 Haghios Kirykas - Avli
9 Kephala - Vourgara/Karavado
10 Vakiotes - Sokaras

units are modeled with modified SCA based on road network.

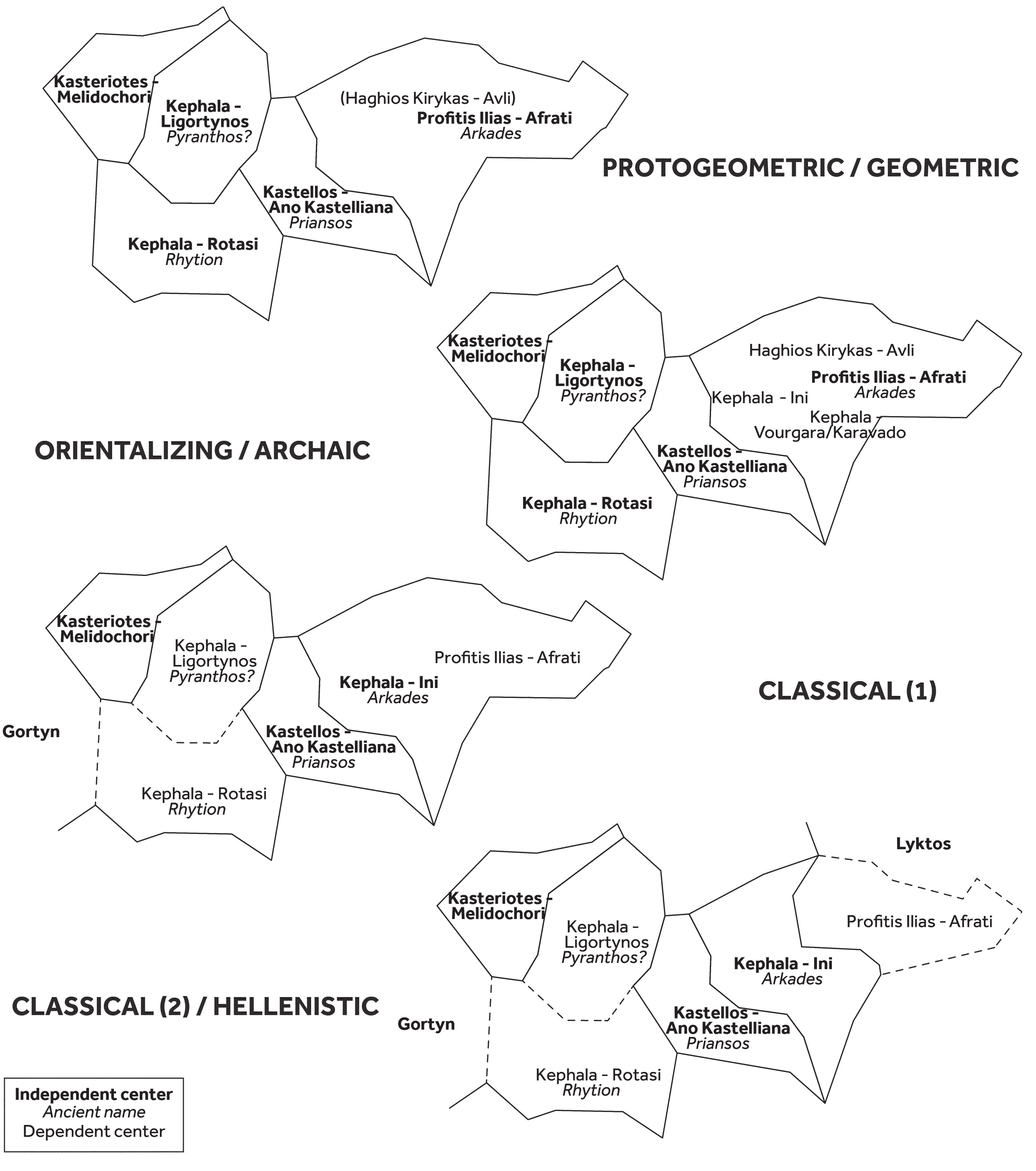

Kasteriotes - Melidochori
Kephala - Ligortynos
Pyranthos?
(Haghios Kirykas - Avli)
Profitis Ilias - Afrati
Arkades
PROTOGEOMETRIC / GEOMETRIC
Kastellos - Ano Kastelliana
Priansos
Kephala - Rotasi
Rhytion
Kasteriotes - Melidochori
Kephala - Ligortynos
Pyranthos?
Haghios Kirykas - Avli
Profitis Ilias - Afrati
Arkades
Kephala - Ini
Kephala - Vourgara/Karavado
ORIENTALIZING / ARCHAIC
Kastellos - Ano Kastelliana
Priansos
Kephala - Rotasi
Rhytion
Kasteriotes - Melidochori
Kephala - Ligortynos
Pyranthos?
Profitis Ilias - Afrati
Kephala - Ini
Arkades
CLASSICAL (1)
Gortyn
Kastellos - Ano Kastelliana
Priansos
Kephala - Rotasi
Rhytion
Lyktos
Kasteriotes - Melidochori
Kephala - Ligortynos
Pyranthos?
Profitis Ilias - Afrati
Kephala - Ini
Arkades
CLASSICAL (2) / HELLENISTIC
Gortyn
Kastellos - Ano Kastelliana
Priansos
Kephala - Rotasi
Rhytion
Independent center
Ancient name
Dependent center

Fig. 12. Evolution of the political organization in the Anapodaris catchment.

each in a different modeled territorial unit. These five settlements, classified in level-1 or -2 during the Protogeometric period, probably polarized space equally given the general trend of the island. Their dissimilarity appears to be essentially linked to the state of the research and not to real hierarchical differences. Hence, necropolises such as those known at Rotasi and Afrati, that demonstrate the presence of local elites, probably also exist near level-2 settlements. Thus, Kasteriotes-Melidochori, Kephala-Rotasi, Kephala-Ligortynos, Kastellos-Ano Kastelliana and Profitis Ilias-Afrati can be all considered as independent centers that each controlled a territory (*fig. 12*). However, the territorial unit of Kephala-Ini is not allocated to a settlement, as Kephala-Ini does not seem to have been more than a small rural site in the Protogeometric period. Considering its geographical proximity, the settlement of Profitis Ilias-Afrati is probably the best candidate to have controlled lands around Ini. Moreover, the richness of its necropolises[78] confirms that it was certainly the most important site in the region during the Protogeometric period. Hence, it is not unlikely that Profitis Ilias-Afrati controlled a larger territory, made up of territorial units modeled around Ini and Afrati.

During the Geometric period, one new large settlement, likely of less importance than the five extended settlements already in use in the Protogeometric period, developed at Haghios Kirykas-Avli in the territorial unit of Kephala-Ini.[79] If the area really was controlled by Profitis Illias-Afrati, Haghios Kirykas-Avli could be seen as a dependent village allowing Profitis Ilias-Afrati to establish its dominion over its vast territory (*fig. 12*).

The Orientalizing phase is considered to be the period when the political system of the Greek city-state developed fully in Crete. Indeed, it is generally felt that the *poleis* were established during the 7th century.[80] The observation of settlement patterns in the Anapodaris catchment, however, leads to the assumption that no major changes took place here during this period. The division of the territory appears to be identical to that of previous periods, and no independent centers seem to have disappeared or appeared during this phase (*fig. 12*). Rather, the roots of city-states seem to go back to the Protogeometric period here. Such a chronology is not entirely surprising, considering that recent studies on Greek city-state organization suggests that "it was fully formed by the late eighth century, i.e. before the end of the Geometric period",[81] and that based on archaeological evidence, the rise of the Greek city-state can be traced back to 850-750 BC.[82] Moreover, based on a comparative study of the Cretan cities of Phaistos, Dreros and Praisos, D. Lefèvre-Novaro situates the beginning of city-state formation in the second half of the 9th century, during the Protogeometric period.[83] If, in the Anapodaris catchment area, it is not possible to affirm that *proto-poleis* already existed in the Protogeometric period considering the lack of data from settlements themselves, it is at least notable that the territorial entities and independent centers later attested as city-states were already independent centers from the Protogeometric period on, and that the territories they apparently controlled were already delimited at that time.

During the Archaic period, the observed densification of the territorial occupation was certainly the result of new economic choices, perhaps associated with the structuring of the new political system in place.[84] It also resulted in the development of two new large settlements in the territory controlled by Profitis Ilias, in addition to Haghios Kirykas-Avli, at Kephala-Ini and Kephala-Vourgara/Karavado. The increase in the number of dependent sites in this large territory may indicate a progressive decentralization of the city-state centering on Profitis Ilias-Afrati.

In the Classical period, the settlement underwent a retraction, and the small rural sites installed in the Archaic period disappeared. In the easternmost territorial unit, the two large settlements of Haghios Kirykas-Avli and Kephala-Vourgara/Karavado also disappeared. Kephala-Ini, on the contrary, gained in importance, as shown by epigraphic documents discovered there.[85] Profitis Ilias-Afrati, that was the major settlement of the area, decreased considerably; in particular, the necropolises ceased to be used after the Archaic period.[86] A transfer had thus occurred: within a territory still politically unified, the site of Kephala-Ini became the center of the city-state, at the expense of Profitis Ilias-Afrati. Relocation of city-centers is known elsewhere in Crete in the Archaic period.[87] Here, the chronological precision is not sufficient to date it precisely, but as it seems to have already been completed in the Classical period, it is probably another case of Archaic city-center relocation.

Newly organized around Kephala-Ini, the territory constituted a city-state whose name, Arkades, can be linked to the site of Kephala-Ini given the numerous epigraphic documents discovered there and mentioning this toponym until the Roman period. As it is hardly conceivable that the city-state's name changed over time, Arkades had probably been the name of the *polis* previously centered at Profitis Ilias-Afrati too. Its plural form may reflect its organization in multiple hamlets,[88] which corresponds to the observed settlement patterns in the microregions modeled around Ini and Afrati. Dattalla, the toponym that D. Viviers proposed as the name of the city-state of Profitis Ilias-Afrati,[89] could be either the toponym of Profitis Ilias-Afrati, or a city-state name outside of the Anapodaris catchment. The first would fit with the interpretation of the first line of the epigraphic document known as the Spensithios decree, that sees an opposition between the terms Δαταλεύσι and πόλις.[90] However, the interpretation of this document is still an open question, so the possibility that Dattalla was the name of an unlocated city-state cannot be excluded.[91]

In the western part of the catchment, the previously independent settlements of Kephala-Rotasi and Kephala-Ligortynos lost importance. At Rotasi, the necropolises were abandoned, and surface surveys on both settlements show a decrease in occupation compared to previous periods.[92] Moreover, while the epigraphic documentation becomes more abundant in the Classical period, Rhytion, the ancient name of Rotasi, is never attested as an independent city in these sources.[93] It therefore seems that these settlements lost their political independence. P. Perlman suggests, through the study of epigraphic and historical documents, that these settlements were dependent on Gortyn.[94] Moreover, the site of Vakiotes-Sokaras was settled in the Classical period, and many Gortynian coins were discovered there.[95] If, as proposed above, the site should be interpreted as a place of worship, its frequentation by Gortynians could mark the will of the city-state of Gortyn to legitimize the possession of the territory of Kephala-Rotasi. Considering the border location of Vakiotes-Sokaras, a conquest in two stages can be envisaged: after the attachment of Rhytion to the Gortynian state, the extra-urban sanctuary of Vakiotes-Sokaras marked its limit, and was then pushed towards Pyranthos. However, Vakiotes-Sokaras is only 900 m from the proposed border with the territory of Kasteriotes-Melidochori, so it could also indicate a policy of territorial pressure from Gortyn towards the city-state of Kasteriotes-Melidochori. Indeed, unlike its neighbors to the south and east, Kasteriotes-Melidochori remained independent, as suggested by its urban fortification dating from the Classical and Hellenistic periods.[96]

In a second phase of the Classical period, the situation east of the Anapodaris catchment changed (*fig. 12*). Indeed, around 425-400 BC, destruction occurred at Profitis Ilias-Afrati.[97] In the following years, between 400 and 390, the origin of the ceramics deposited by pilgrims at the sanctuary of Kato Syme changed from a workshop in the Afrati region to a typically Lyktian production.[98] B.L. Erickson proposes this change as proof of the extension of the Lyktian territory to Kato Syme, located at the south-eastern end of the territory of Profitis Ilias-Afrati, outside the Anapodaris catchment.

Subsequently, the integration of Profitis Ilias-Afrati within Lyktian territory would explain the destruction layers found there, the arrival of Lyktian material at Kato Syme and the statement by Pseudo-Skylax (47) that describes Lyktos as a city with access to both Cretan and Libyan seas.[99] The communication axis which, passing through Profitis Ilias-Afrati and following LCPs, connects Accesses 1 and 3 (*fig. 8*), could have carried this progressive territorial expansion of Lyktos towards the south. Once the settlement of Profitis Ilias-Afrati was attached to Lyktian territory, Arkades was cut off from its eastern half. However, the city centered on Kephala-Ini continued to grow: in Hellenistic times, it minted coins, like its neighbor Priansos. At this period, a *status quo* seems to be maintained in the political organization of the study area: no evolution is noticeable in the archaeological and historical data. The only remarkable fact is the installation of a fortress at Profitis Ilias-Afrati[100] that could reflect the Lyktians' desire to ensure their control of the territory.

Conclusion

The aim of this paper was to propose a methodology to study the structuration of the territory in a region where archaeological data is available from various and heterogenous sources. Due to the Anapodaris catchment settlements dataset resolution, usual observations on the nucleation or dispersion of the settlement patterns were not possible. Hence, another approach is proposed to study the rise of the city-states. First, State Sequence Analysis is employed to study evolutionary trajectories of settlements in order to build a diachronic typology. In this south-central Cretan case study, one of the evolutionary groups has been interpreted as the grouping of sites around which space is organized in a long-term perspective. Microregions have been modeled around these Central Places with SCA to interpret settlement patterns within historically coherent spatial units. Superimposed on archaeological maps, they make it possible to put forward the hypothesis that city-state roots go back to the Protogeometric period in the area, considering the apparent stability of the territorial divisions around independent centers. This high chronology, in a seemingly remote place of the Greek world, could be understood taking into account the wider links that the region, and particularly the eastern settlement of Profitis Ilias-Afrati, have had with the East Mediterranean from the Protogeometric period on.[101] The study of the evolutionary trajectories, and the modeled territories, allow us to supplement archaeological and historical interpretations of the development of the cities of Profitis Ilias-Afrati and Kephala-Ini (Arkades), Kastellos-Ano Kastelliana (Priansos) and Kasteriotes-Melidochori, that became Classical city-states, and of Kephala-Rotasi (Rhytion) and Kephala-Ligorthynos (Pyranthos?) that instead lost their independence after the Archaic period. Clearly, as in every study based on legacy data, the results largely depend on the quality of the evidence, and the tentative conclusions would benefit from further chronological refinement. However, even considering its methodological limitations, the approach of this paper enables to go further in the historical interpretation of the settlement patterns in the Anapodaris catchment. Finally, the Postpalatial period, substantially excluded in this paper because of the database architecture, should be studied more carefully with the aim of better circumscribing the transition that led the Anapodaris catchment to split into multiple small independent territories after the end of Bronze Age territorial state organization.

NOTES

[*] This article is based on a Master's thesis carried out under the supervision of Daniela Lefèvre-Novaro (University of Strasbourg, France), and re-elaborated at Ghent University as part of my PhD project. All figures are mine. I am thankful to Roald Docter who read and commented a draft version of this paper and to Maud Webster who corrected the English text. I also thank the two anonymous reviewers for their comments that improved the quality of this manuscript. Any errors remain entirely my own.

[1] Fustel de Coulanges 1864.

[2] See e.g. the major works of Snodgrass 1971, Morris 1987, or Hansen/Nielsen 2004; in Crete, see Wallace 2010a.

[3] Since Kirsten 1956, see e.g. Bintliff 1994 and Hansen/Nielsen 2004.

[4] Ruschenbusch 1985, Hansen 2004, Bintliff 1999, 2006, 2007, Gallego 2017.

[5] Lefèvre-Novaro 2014, I, 40.

[6] Perlman 2004, 1184-1185.

[7] Levi (1927-1929) identified Profitis Ilias-Afrati as the city of Arkades, also identified more recently as Dattalla (Vivier 1994). Perlman (2004, 1152) considers Kephala-Ini as 'the most likely location for the polis town of Arkades', which seems reasonable considering the number of indicative inscriptions found near Ini (Guarducci 1935, 6-28).

[8] Perlman 2004, 1146.

[9] Identification of Kasteriotes-Melidochori as Hyrtaia (Faure 1960, 198-199) rests on the supposed geographic order of a list of cities as guarantors of Gortyn in a Milesian inscription (Rehm 1914, 308), which is very hypothetical. Hence, the toponym of Hyrtaia is not mentioned further in this paper.

[10] The ancient toponym of Pyranthos is supposedly linked to a settlement in the vicinity of modern Ligortynos, either at Kephala-Ligortynos (Faure 1960, 196), where an extensive, albeit rather unknown settlement is located, or at Trochaloi-Pyrathi (Pendlebury et al. 1932-1933, 85), two kilometers north, whose modern name reflects the ancient toponym. These two identifications do not seem contradictory since the sites are close enough to be part of the same community.

[11] Spratt 1865, 310-336.

[12] Halbherr 1896, 1901a, 1901b.

[13] Xanthoudidis 1916.

[14] Levi 1927-1929. An ongoing PhD project by G. Fadelli (Ghent-Verona) is currently re-studying the archive data from Profitis Ilias-Afrati (see Fadelli 2020).

[15] Pendlebury et al. 1932-1933.

[16] Pendlebury 1939.

[17] Sjögren 2004, 68-74; Wallace 2010b, 16.

[18] See e.g. Faure 1960, 1965, 1993.

[19] Panagiotakis 2003. Some settlements inventoried by Panagiotakis have also been recorded in the recently published Galatas survey (Watrous et al. 2018), conducted very close to the Anapodaris watershed, southwest of modern Arkalochori, where a Hellenistic settlement was excavated by the Greek Archaeological Service and partially published in Galanaki et al. 2015.

[20] The database is available on the webGIS ArkeoGIS (https://arkeogis.org/).

[21] Ostir et al. 2008.

[22] Expected density is derived in the plain from Watrous et al. 2003 survey in western Mesara and from Panagiotakis 2003 data in hilly areas. In mountainous areas, the mean density is used as expected density of settlements, for lack of more reliable information.

[23] Wallace 2010b, 55-63.

[24] Wallace 2010b, 48-55.

[25] Biondi 2013; 2015.

[26] For instance, the increase in the number of sites during the Archaic period (from 16 recorded settlements in the Geometric and 13 in the Orientalizing to 47 in the Archaic period) relies on Panagiotakis 2003.

[27] Subminoan is here included in the Postpalatial period, following Lefèvre-Novaro 2014, I, 29.

[28] e.g. Alcock 1993, Alcock-Cherry 2004, Witcher 2006, Attema, et al. 2010, Casarotto 2018, Spencer/Bevan 2018.

[29] Whitelaw 2018. In more intensively explored regions however, such analysis has been conducted (see e.g. Gaignerot-Driessen 2016 in the Mirambello area, Eastern Crete).

[30] See e.g. Bevan/Wilson 2013, Favory/Van der Leeuw 1998, Favory 2017, Nüsslein 2018.

[31] Only habitation sites are considered for the analyses. However, the site type is not always clearly identified during field surveys, so only clear non-habitation sites such as tombs or burial caves are excluded here.

[32] Panagiotakis 2003. The final publication of the Pediada survey is still to come.

[33] For a review of hierarchical classification of settlements in a *polis* context, see Hansen/Nielsen 2004, 74. Whitelaw 2018 expresses justified concerned on the reliability of the size criteria, especially on the fact that it can mask chronological changes. However, it remains the first criteria used on most diachronic Greek and Cretan surveys, including central Cretan surveys around Phaistos (Watrous et al. 2004) and Galatas (Watrous et et al. 2018), next to the Anapodaris catchment.

[34] Abbott 1983.

[35] e.g. Blair-Loy 1999; Bras et al. 2010.

[36] Studer/Ritschard 2016.

[37] Levenshtein 1966.

[38] Ward 1963.

[39] Maechler et al. 2019.

[40] von Thünen 1826, Christaller 1933.

[41] Clarke 1968, 1972 popularized the use of Thiessen polygons in archaeology. In Greek archaeology, see Bintliff 1977.

[42] The concept of Site Catchment Analysis was first developed in Vita-Finzi et al. 1970. For more recent reviews, see Wheatley/Gillings 2002 and Bintliff 2009 for its applications in Greek archaeology.

[43] Fachard 2016.

[44] Okabe et al. 2000.

[45] Renfrew/Level 1979, reviewed by Ducke/Kroefges 2008. Bevan 2010 applies Xtent model to palatial Crete.
[46] Bell/Lock 2000.
[47] Wallace 2010b.
[48] Bell/Lock 2000.
[49] Déderix 2017, 11.
[50] Murrieta-Flores 2012, 110.
[51] Lefèvre-Novaro 2014, I, 78; 2015, 98.
[52] Guarducci 1942, 43-49.
[53] Chaniotis 1999, 199.
[54] Pendlebury 1939, 12; Lefèvre-Novaro 2014, I, 78; 2015, 101.
[55] Siart et al. 2008, 2923-2924.
[56] Déderix 2017, 20-22.
[57] Lefèvre-Novaro 2015, 101.
[58] Viviers 1994, 249-252.
[59] Viviers 1994, 254-255.
[60] Erickson 2002.
[61] Fachard 2016.
[62] Fachard 2016, 200, Fig. 7.2.
[63] Pendlebury et al. 1932-33, 85; 1939, 353; Faure 1960, 199.
[64] Lefèvre-Novaro 2014, II, 164.
[65] Faure 1960, 198-199. This identification follows the same reasoning as that of Kasteriotes-Melidochori (see note 9).
[66] Faure 1960, 199.
[67] de Polignac 1995.
[68] Guarducci 1950, 237-245.
[69] Van Effenterre/ Van Effenterre 1994, 124-125.
[70] Coutsinas 2013, 319.
[71] Ruschenbusch 1985.
[72] Panagiotakis 2003, 384.
[73] Panagiotakis 2003, 358; Wallace 2010a, 26; Lefèvre-Novaro 2014, I, 30.
[74] Panagiotakis 2003, 385.
[75] Panagiotakis 2003, 427.
[76] Wallace 2010a, 252.
[77] Gaignerot-Driessen 2016, 172-173.
[78] Levi 1927-1929.
[79] Panagiotakis 2003, 384.
[80] See e.g. Kotsonas 2002; Gaignerot-Driessen 2016, 176.
[81] Kourou 2017, 440.
[82] Hansen 2006, 45.
[83] Lefèvre-Novaro 2018.
[84] Wallace 2010a, 332. However, the observed densification of the territorial occupation in the area surveyed by N. Panagiotakis is surprising, considering that this period is known in Crete for its Archaic gap (Kotsonas 2002). Future publications on the Pedida survey may modify this pattern.
[85] Guarducci 1935, 6-28.
[86] Biondi 2013, 2015.
[87] Kotsonas 2002; Gaignerot-Driessen 2016, 2018.
[88] Levi 1927-1929, 15-23.
[89] Viviers 1994.
[90] Van Effenterre 1973; Van Effenterre/Ruzé 1994.
[91] Perlman 2004, 1155-1156; Bile 2016, 62-71.
[92] Wallace 2010b.
[93] Perlman 2004, 1146.
[94] Perlman 1996.
[95] Faure 1960, 199.
[96] Coutsinas 2013, 211-213, 303. She argues that all Cretan cities with an urban fortification were independent in the classical period, even if all independent cities were not fortified.
[97] Lembessi 1973; Erickson 2002, 44, 84-85.
[98] Erickson 2002, 82.
[99] Viviers 1994, 254-256; Kotsonas 2019, 434-435.
[100] Coutsinas 2013, 348-349. Contrary to urban fortifications, fortresses are not markers of independence, since they can be placed on dependent sites to defend the territory.
[101] Kanta/Karetsou 1998.

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BABESCH 97 (2022), 23-50. doi: 10.2143/BAB.97.0.3290531

Relief beads before the Mycenaean palaces

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Abstract

*In the age of the Mycenaean palaces (LH IIIA-B, ca. 1420/10-1200/1190 BC) thousands of relief beads of gold sheet, glass and faience were made for personal adornment, both on the Greek mainland and on Crete. On the mainland this industry already started during LH IIB (1480/70-1420/10 BC). Earlier relief beads were recovered in fairly small numbers on the mainland and on Crete. This paper presents an overview of these and shows what they look like. It is made clear that their production already started on Crete in the Middle Minoan period (MM I-II, ca. 2100/2050-1750/1700 BC). It is also shown that these earlier beads can be interpreted as precursors of later examples (from LH IIB and LM IIIA onwards). The latter were nearly all produced with the help of moulds, but more than one quarter of the early Minoan specimens were cut from different, mostly precious stones.**

1 Introduction

In the age of the Mycenaean palaces (LH IIIA-B, ca. 1420/10-1200/1190 BC),[1] relief beads were produced on a much larger scale than before, both on the Greek mainland and in Crete.[2] As a matter of fact, already from LH IIB and LM IIIA onward (ca. 1480/70 and 1420/10 BC respectively), a relief bead-making industry was in existence. This paper presents an overview of all relief beads known to the author from earlier periods.

O. Dickinson has observed that ‘it is impossible to trace with any precision the development of the relief bead, the most significant innovation of the LBA’.[3] R.A. Higgins placed the beginning of the manufacture of relief beads in the Neopalatial or Second Palace Period (MM III-LM I, ca. 1750/00-1470/60 BC).[4] Below, an attempt is made to date that first phase more accurately.[5] Another important objective is to find out whether a bridge in time can be built: are the ‘early’ Minoan and Mycenaean relief beads (and relief pendants), i.e. down to LM I and LH IIA, to be interpreted as precursors of the boom in later relief beads (from LH IIB and LM IIIA onwards), the opposite of which has been suggested in the literature?[6] Since relief beads in the Aegean are generally known as serial-produced items made with the aid of moulds, the question also arises whether this was so from the start.

One interesting aspect of early relief beads, namely their origins, is mostly left aside in this paper. Crete is the cradle of the relief bead and the relief pendant. In turn, their creation was inspired by examples from Egypt and Mesopotamia, as demonstrated by Helen Hughes-Brock.[7] The familiarity of the Cretans with the seal engraver’s craft probably also contributed to the creation of the relief bead, ‘because what the seal engraver does, carving intaglio, is of course exactly what must be done to make a mould for casting relief beads.’[8] Regarding another interesting aspect of early relief beads, their iconography, it is hardly imaginable that the early relief beads were purely ornamental. Many of the oldest known specimens show designs which are strongly related to Minoan religion and cult practices (altar, cockle shell, figure-of-eight shield, ivy, ‘ladle’, lotus flower, papyrus, snail spiral, waz-lily).[9] Nevertheless, the specific meaning of relief bead motifs is difficult to fathom and a study in itself. For a better understanding of their role in the visual language of Bronze Age Greece I refer in several cases to similar motifs in other arts.

2 Early relief beads and relief pendants

M. Effinger’s survey of Minoan jewellery, now more than twenty years old, includes about 1600 surviving Cretan relief beads from the Bronze Age.[10] About 97.5% of them date from LM III.[11] From LM II only two relief beads are known.[12] Below, the 59 relief beads (and relief pendants) from the Neopalatial period (MM III-LM I, ca. 1750/00-1470/60 BC) and earlier are considered separately and compared with the later specimens. The question is whether the early ornaments in any way served as models for the later ones.

The relief beads from the Greek mainland present a similar picture to the Cretan ones. At the time of the Mycenaean palaces (LH IIIA-B, ca. 1420/10-1200/1190 BC) and the directly preceding period (LH IIB, ca. 1480/70-1420/10 BC)[13] they must have been manufactured in large numbers, to judge from the thousands of preserved specimens. However, from the era of the Shaft Graves at Mycenae and shortly afterwards (late MH III-LH IIA, ca. 1750-1480/70 BC), no more than approximately 119 relief beads and relief pendants are known from the mainland. Here too the question arises whether the later ornaments had been modelled on these early specimens.

In viewing the relief beads as a whole, one does well to include the relief pendants as well. Relief pendants are sometimes bracketed or catalogued together with three-dimensional figure pendants (*rundplastische Perlen*). However, relief pendants and relief beads morphologically have much in common and the ways in which they were used are almost similar.

2.1 *Relief beads and relief pendants compared*

The similarities between relief beads and relief pendants are more eye-catching than the differences. An important similarity is their form: both kinds have embossed fronts. Although there are double-sided relief ornaments, these are composed of two identical halves. Another similarity is their production method: most are formed in a mould. They are usually found in sets of the same size and to be worn on the body. Nearly all are perforated (M 18[14] is an example of an unperforated relief pendant). The location of the perforation and the maximum number of perforations are the only differences between relief beads and relief pendants: the relief bead has three thread holes at most, the relief pendant only one. A single-perforation relief bead is distinguishable from a relief pendant in that the pendant is perforated not through the actual ornament or 'bead body' but at the top, where it narrows or has a knob-like projection. It should be remembered that beads and pendants can be strung together.

2.2 *Early relief beads and relief pendants from Crete*[15]

2.2.1 Shape categories

In this section, any differences between the early Cretan relief beads (and relief pendants) and later specimens of the same shape are discussed. The objects are in alphabetical order by shape.

Altar (C 1;[16] fig. 1):
Altar[17] with incurved sides of green stone.[18] In the limited group of Cretan altar-shaped relief beads this is the only specimen of which the two beams are not horizontally but vertically ribbed.[19] Possibly these vertical ribs are an early characteristic. Apparently the central part of C 1 is undecorated.[20] A later altar-shaped bead (LM IIIC)[21] shows a central part with decoration (ribs following the outline of the central part); the other later specimens cannot be viewed in detail on the basis of the available illustrations.

Altar-shaped relief beads seem to be reflected in the small movable stone altars with concave sides, which have been found in Arkhanes, in the Palace of Mallia and in the House of the High Priest at Knossos.[22] The four altars from Arkhanes are pushed together and thus form one large altar.[23]

An altar with concave sides is depicted on the Zakros Rhyton[24] (chlorite, Palace of Zakros, MM III-LM I) and probably also on a seal of unknown provenance[25] (haematite; LM/LH), where it serves as support for two antithetical griffins on both sides of a 'cult pillar'. Similar 'altars' on a Theran fresco (Akrotiri, Xeste 3; LC I) also appear to have such a secondary function: they carry a platform on which a goddess is seated.[26] On the mainland two altars of this type are part of the relief above the Lion Gate in Mycenae (LH IIIB). The altars support the central column and the forelegs of the lionesses.[27]

Calf, couchant (C 8; fig. 2):
Golden relief bead that represents a couchant calf,[28] probably of a deer. The animal is looking back, its head bent downward. The legs are folded underneath the body. No parallel beads are known, but the position of the head is similar to that of the bird heads of C 14 (*fig. 3*: LM I) and M 8 (*fig. 4*: LH I). Couchant goats looking back are shown on sealings from the palace of Knossos (stylistically dated to MM III-LM I).[29] A more precise parallel is found on a sealing of a couchant bovid (Knossos; stylistically dated to LM I-II). Although its head is in a more upright position and its mouth is opened, the muzzle of the animal seems to make contact with the skin.[30]

Cockle shell (C 11, 13, 16; fig. 5: C 13 specimen):
Four largely fragmentary cockle shells of glass, two specimens of rock crystal and one of stone functioned as relief pendants. On the mainland an early specimen of gold sheet was recovered (M 14; LH IIA).

Cockle shells were moulded in relief on Minoan pottery. Three examples of this: a one-handled cup from Phaistos (MM II) has three rows of cockle shells which were attached to the lower part of the body. From Knossos, near the House of the Frescoes, comes a miniature bridge-spouted jug with three such cockle shells on the flat upper rim (MM IIB/IIIA).[31] In a rock-cut tomb at Poros, the main port of Knossos, a Marine Style ewer was recovered. On its shoulder, handles and other places relief cockle shells are applied (LM IB).[32]

A LM I sealing of unknown provenance from Crete also seems to show cockle shells.[33] A cockle shell in side view is depicted on a mainland seal (Elateia, Alonaki necropolis; context LH IIIB-IIIC early; style LB II-IIIA1).[34]

Figure-of-eight shield[35] *(C 12, C 17; fig. 6: C 17 specimen):*
Two specimens of stone (C 12) and sheet silver (C 17) respectively.[36] As with some later Cretan figure-of-eight shield beads, including one of glass, the edge of the stone specimen is separately marked by a thin groove that follows the outline of the shield. The silver specimen C 17 is both the only metal figure-of-eight shield bead from Crete and the only Cretan specimen with a thickened edge: the edge of the flat back has been folded down over the embossed front. On the Greek mainland gold specimens from MH III-LH IIIB were found with the embossed side bent over the flat back.[37]

The top shield half of C 17 is considerably smaller than the lower half. Possibly this is an early characteristic: as far as (clear) images are available, later Cretan figure-of-eight shield relief beads have shield halves of a roughly equal size.[38] One of two solid bronze figure-of-eight shield pendants, with the same date and provenance as C 17, also shows shield halves of different size.[39]

The earliest known depictions of a figure-of-eight shield are three Cretan white paste seals from EM III-MM IA, probably originating from the Mesara. Two of these are shaped like a figure-of-eight shield, the third seal is in the form of a recumbent lion (?) and has an eight-shaped base.[40] A Protopalatial seal of steatite (provenance unknown; MM II), attributed to the Mallia Workshop, shows the figure-of-eight shield on its seal surface.[41]

According to S. Alexiou, in many cases the figure-of-eight shields had a ritualistic character, because they appear on seals and sealings together with shrines, holy pillars, wild goats and other sacred animals, as well as on ritual drinking vessels and libation vases.[42] Rehak believes that the figure-of-eight shield was a symbol associated with the cult of a Mycenaean war goddess of Minoan origin.[43]

A real figure-of-eight shield has never been found, except for possible fragments.[44] An example of a hunting scene in which a figure-of-eight shield is used, is the battle of archers and warriors with a troop of lions on the Lion Hunt Dagger from Shaft Grave V at Mycenae (LH I).[45] In representations of man-to-man fighting on seals the figure-of-eight shield is used as a defensive weapon (Mycenae, Grave Circle A, Shaft Grave III, LH I).[46] Furthermore, painted specimens on palace walls in Knossos and Tiryns are known, the former probably in full size.[47]

Ivy with bar (C 18; fig. 7):
This is an unparalleled specimen since the ivy leaf is suspending from a ribbed crossbar (ivy variant C in Effinger). This variant is not found on the mainland.[48]

'Ladle' (C 5-7, C 19-21; figs 8-10):
Thirteen oblong pendants C 5-6 (figs 8-9) and 19-21 (*fig. 10*: C 20) show a strongly curved surface and a more or less triangular, downward tapering outline. Effinger categorized these ornaments as pendants, naming them 'Pfeilspitze', because of a supposed likeness. At the same time, she admitted that Minoan arrowheads have a different shape and pointed out that the various other names used are equally inappropriate, including 'heart-shaped' and 'shield'.[49] However, Hughes-Brock recently made clear that the outline of these pendants "is that of the shallow libation vessels and votive miniatures which have been found in numbers on Mount Juktas ever since Evans's first exploration in 1896 and which he and others after him called 'ladles'."[50]

The pendants were found at Palaikastro-Roussolakkos (Block N, room 10), Herakleion-Poros (rock-cut tomb I) and the palace of Knossos. They all date within MM IIIB-LM IB and are made of various materials.

Actually, three variant forms can be distinguished: A, B, and C. The gold specimen from Knossos (C 5; *fig. 8*) and both rock crystal specimens from Poros (C 19) have a twofold concave upper outline with a rounded central projection (variant A). The top edges of the carnelian specimen from Poros (C 6; *fig. 9*) and of the seven specimens from Palaikastro (C 21) are pointed and more tight (variant B). The top edge of the glass specimen from Poros (C 20; *fig. 10*) is wavy (variant C). The appearance of the upper surface also differs: glass specimen C 20 shows two lengthwise grooves and three bulges (variant C); the curvature of the other specimens is flat, except for a central rib on the longitudinal axis (variants A and B).

A fourth variant form can be observed in another early pendant from Palaikastro-Roussolakkos which, however, is three-dimensional.[51]

Although the 'ladle' mainly appears in find contexts within the time span MM IIIB-LM IB, some specimens are known from later periods or without a fine context.[52]

Relatively early relief beads in this form are known from the mainland, viz. specimens of gold (LH II; Dendra, chamber tomb 8) and glass (LH IIB; Mycenae, chamber tomb 71; *fig. 11*). Unlike the pendants, they have a central hole which cuts through the bead and follows its outline.[53] In other glass specimens from chamber tombs at Mycenae (*fig. 12*) only one side of the bead has a central hole.[54]

Lotus flower (C 2; fig. 13):
This bead shape, identified as a lotus flower and as a palm crown, has no exact parallel among the relief beads. For comparison, Effinger mentions a gold pendant that is part of the Aegina Treasure,[55] a jewellery hoard found on the island of Aegina.[56] The pendant, representing the 'master of animals' and other elements, includes three lotus flowers (*fig. 14*). Except for their ribbing, these flowers show a strong resemblance with C 2: their stem and arrangement are identical.[57]

Furthermore, there is a striking similarity with the outline of papyrus-shaped relief beads. See, for instance, the early Cretan relief bead C 9 (*fig. 15*; no later than LM IA). The subdivision of the decoration is different, although there are some common features, especially in the mainland specimens, including the curving outer leaves and the pointed central element (*fig. 16*; Mycenae, various chamber tombs; LH IIIA-B).[58]

Non-rectangular Plättchenperle, decorated with bird and flowers (C 14; fig. 3):
Two irregularly shaped plaques or *Plättchenperlen* from the same mould[59] showing a bird pecking at its unfolded wing. Above the scene there are three lily-like flowers. The edge of the back has been folded forward over the front. No exact parallels are known from either Crete or the mainland,[60] but there is similarity between the position of the bird represented and that of the more or less contemporaneous M 8 relief beads from Mycenae (LM I and LH I respectively).

Papyrus (C 9; fig. 15):
Unlike other early relief beads from Crete, the papyrus-shaped relief bead has a two-sided relief, a feature of all later Cretan relief beads of this shape.[61] This papyrus has a knob-like, thickened base and is decorated with relief lines and granules. Effinger knows of only one other Cretan specimen of this variant (A), a LM IIIB1 relief bead from Gournes, also made of sheet gold, but less abundantly embellished.[62]

Rectangular Plättchenperle, *decorated with circle and dotted lines respectively (C 3, C 4; figs 17-18):*
Because of their appearance the 27 rectangular plaques or *Plättchenperlen* of faience, from the same room at Mallia, can be divided into 26 specimens with a central circle in relief and three transversal grooves along the short sides (C 3), and one different specimen. The latter (C 4) is somewhat smaller and shows two diagonally running dotted lines in relief and one horizontal groove along both short sides.[63]

Later (more or less) rectangular *Plättchenperlen*, described by Effinger (her A-E variants), all have a different decoration. Unlike those, the 27 Protopalatial specimens have no ribbed bar at the end(s).[64] This sets them apart as Effinger's variant F.

Snail spiral with bar (C 22; fig. 19):
At present the snail spiral of sheet gold is unique.[65] The snail spiral consists of two coils and forms one whole with a semicircular bar, from which it hangs. Below the spiral an excrescence sticks out.

Later relief beads of glass, shaped as stylized butterflies (without crossbars), show the image of a double snail spiral.[66]

Trefoil with bar (C 15; fig. 20):
Trilobe plant relief bead. Three joined leaves are suspended from a transversely ribbed bar. The outer leaves have irregular ribs and curve sidewards, the central leaf hangs downwards and has a raised midrib. This is the only recorded specimen of this type.[67]

Waz-lily (double) with bar (C 10; fig. 21):
This waz-lily pendant of faience is a special variant with two lilies and three waz papyrus heads (the rather crescent-shaped papyrus motif).[68] Later Cretan relief pendants of gold and glass have only a single waz-lily and no crossbar. Some specimens show a perforated spherical knob for suspension.[69]

C 10 was found in the Royal Treasury of the palace of Knossos. Its back was left rough. This led M. Panagiotaki to suggest that the pendant 'was framed or inlaid, or that it was intended for a statue rather than a human.'[70]

2.2.2 Discussion

Extent of group, find-spots and dating (table 1)
The group of early Cretan relief beads and relief pendants includes 59 specimens (38 beads and 21 pendants) from 12 find-spots of which 3 are located in the palace of Knossos and 2 in its vicinity (Knossos, Temple Tomb; Herakleion-Poros, rock-cut tomb 1). Four find-spots are graves, while the other eight vary: storeroom in a house,[71] settlement,[72] sanctuary, palace room, vicinity of tomb complex.

	Palace of Knossos	Graves in vicinity of palace of Knossos	Graves in total	Sanctuary	Various	Total number of find-spots
Number of find-spots	3	2	4	1 or 2	3 or 4	12

Table 1. Extent of group, find-spots.

Material	Number of specimens	Number of find-spots	Forms
Faience	28	2	papyrus, rectangular *Plättchenperle*, waz-lily (double) with bar
Sheet gold	8	5	calf, ivy with bar, lotus flower, non-rectangular *Plättchenperle*, snail spiral with bar, trefoil with bar
Glass	5	1	cockle shell, 'ladle'
Rock crystal	5	2	cockle shell, 'ladle'
Stone	3	2	altar, cockle shell, figure-of-eight shield
Carnelian	2	2	'ladle'
Jasper	2	1	'ladle'
Serpentine	2	1	'ladle'
Diorite (?)	1	1	'ladle'
Haematite	1	1	'ladle'
Sheet silver	1	1	figure-of-eight shield
Solid gold	1	1	'ladle'

Table 2. Materials.

Ornament form	Number of specimens	Remark
Plättchenperle, rectangular	27	26 with same decoration
'Ladle'	13	3 different variant forms
Cockle shell	7	
Figure-of-eight shield	2	
Plättchenperle, non-rectangular	2	decorated with bird and flowers
Altar	1	
Calf, couchant	1	
Ivy with bar	1	
Lotus flower or palm crown	1	
Papyrus	1	
Snail spiral with bar	1	
Trefoil with bar	1	
Waz-lily with bar	1	

Table 3. Forms and number of specimens per form.

All these ornaments date from LM I or earlier. Some ornaments are definitely MM (C 2-7). The earliest ornament might be C 1, an altar-shaped relief bead of stone from Hagia Triada (EM II-MM II).

Materials (table 2)

Of the 59 ornaments 43 are made of materials that can be worked in a mould: faience (28), gold (8 sheet gold, 1 solid gold), glass (5) and sheet silver (1). The minority of 16 were cut from different, mostly precious stones. Steatite (?) was used both for one of the figure-of-eight shields (C 12), and for the altar (C 1).[73] The other stones mentioned were used for the 'ladle' pendants (C 6–7, C 19, C 21) and for two cockle shells (C 16).

Forms and number of specimens per form (table 3)

Among the 59 early relief beads and relief pendants from Crete, 13 forms can be distinguished.

One of these, the rectangular *Plättchenperle*, has two decoration designs.

Most Cretan forms are represented by only one specimen. Two motifs have two specimens (*Plättchenperle* showing bird, figure-of-eight shield) and one has seven (cockle shell). The figure-of-eight shields and the cockle shells were found in more than one find-place.

An exception to the limited number per form is the 27 rectangular *Plättchenperlen* (C 3-4); these, however, were found in the same room and probably belonged together. Another exception is the 13 'ladles', which occur in three variant forms (C 5-7, C 19-21) and come from three sites.

Relief beads with bar

Although different in shape (ivy, snail spiral, trefoil), the three early gold sheet relief beads from Mochlos (C 15, C 18, C 22), two of which came from the same grave (House Tomb XXII) and one from the vicinity of the complex to which this grave belongs, all have the same cross-ribbed semi-cylinder at the top. The faience waz-lily pendant (C 10) has a similar bar, but it is relatively short and is positioned at a distance from the ornament proper. The later Cretan examples of a relief bead with a semi-cylindrical bar (LM IIIA-B), which are made of a different material (glass), show a smaller external diversity: they all have a short volute. Furthermore, later relief beads appear with a long-drawn volute joined to a *rectangular* bar.[74]

According to Hughes-Brock, the idea behind the semi-cylindrical bar was inspired by flat Mesopotamian metal pendants (e.g. specimens from Nuzi, 15th century BC) with the tops rolled over to form tubes for the strings to pass through.[75] Another possible source is South Levantine metal jewellery from the Middle Bronze Age. R. Koehl describes the technique of making this bar on Levantine pendants: these "were suspended from a tube formed by cutting the gold sheet at the top of the pendant into a narrow, tapering rectangle that was rolled forward, often with raised edges. These tubes were normally engraved with vertical parallel lines."[76]

Backs of sheet gold relief beads and relief pendants

All early Cretan relief beads of sheet gold (C 2, 8-9, 14-15, 18, 22) and sheet silver (C 17) are made of two parts, a front and a back sheet. It is not stated in publication whether the back sheet of C 2, C 18 and C 22 is flat or was embossed. Regarding the other specimens, C 14-15 and 17 have a flat back sheet, and C 9 a double-sided relief.[77]

In LM IIIA-B Crete sheet metal relief beads and relief pendants usually also include a front and a back sheet.

Precursors

Effinger thought that the relief beads of LM I and earlier, with the possible exception of the rectangular *Plättchenperlen*, cannot be taken as precursors of the 'völlig anders gestalteten' relief beads of LM III. She pointed out, however, that the scarcity of material from LM I and II, which is linked with the scarcity of known tombs of these periods, impedes a clear judgement on the matter.[78]

Actually, in my opinion certainly four, possibly five forms of early relief beads and three forms of early relief pendants from Crete represent, in terms of morphology, early examples and variants of bead and pendant forms known from later times:

- Altar (C 1). This relief bead of stone is a precursor of the later Cretan altar-shaped specimens.[79] The vertical ribs may be an early characteristic.
- Cockle shell (C 11, 13, 16). The seven cockle shell-shaped relief pendants of stone and glass are precursors of later Cretan relief pendants, judging from a cockle shell matrix on a mould from Knossos[80] (LM IIIA or somewhat earlier), and pendants of gold sheet, glass and faience recovered in mainland graves from LH II to LH IIIC.[81] Relief beads from the mainland (LH IIIA-B) can be related to these early specimens as well.[82]
- Figure-of-eight shield (C 12, C 17). Both relief beads, made of stone and sheet silver respectively, are precursors of figure-of-eight shield-shaped specimens from LM III.[83] Given its unique features, the silver specimen can be considered as an early variant.[84]
- 'Ladle' (C 5-7, C 19-21). These roughly triangular pendants have parallels from a LM IIIA context.[85] Later finds from the mainland have a central opening (LH II, LH IIB).
- Lotus flower (C 2). This form of relief bead of sheet gold is not found later, but there is so much similarity with an early papyrus-shaped relief bead from Crete (C 9) and later specimens from the mainland[86] that C 2 seems to represent an early variant of the papyrus form.
- Papyrus (C 9). This relief bead of sheet gold belongs to a papyrus variant which is also known from LM IIIB. The single example of the later date is made of glass and has three perforations rather than one, and is less elaborate.[87] The two-sided relief of C 9, unique among the early Cretan relief beads, is found in all later Cretan relief beads of papyrus shape.
- Rectangular *Plättchenperle* (C 3-4).[88] The 27 specimens differ from the later rectangular Cretan *Plättchenperlen*, both in the absence of semi-cylindrical short sides and in their surface decoration. The rectangular form, however, is already present. Therefore, the 27 *Plättchenperlen* can be considered

as a group of precursors of the later *Plättchenperlen*. Moreover, it is possible to regard the transversal grooves along the short sides of the C 3 specimens as precursors of the cross-ribs of the semi-cylindrical sides of the later *Plättchenperlen*.

- Waz-lily (C 10). Although the double waz-lily with three papyrus heads is a unique specimen, the waz-lily design recurs in the Cretan relief pendant material from LM III, judging by the waz-lily pendants with a single papyrus head.[89]

The five remaining early forms (couchant calf, non-rectangular *Plättchenperle*, trefoil with bar, ivy with bar, snail spiral with bar) are absent from the fairly abundant later material. Nonetheless, certain aspects of three of these early forms recur. As noted above,[90] the semi-cylindrical bar of the early relief beads from Mochlos (C 15, 18, 22) can be seen in later days (LM IIIA-B) as part of the relief bead representing a short volute. Secondly, the heart-shape of the ivy leaf with bar (C 18) recurs in all later ivy relief beads.[91] In the third place, the snail spiral (C 22) reappears, not suspended from a bar but as surface decoration of butterfly-shaped relief beads.[92]

2.3 *Early relief beads and relief pendants from mainland Greece*[93]

2.3.1 Shape categories

In this section, any differences between the early relief beads (and relief pendants) found on the Greek mainland and later relief ornaments of the same shape are discussed. The objects are arranged in alphabetical order and by shape.

Bull (M 13; fig. 22):
The glass bull with frontally rendered head, walking to the left and positioned on a baseline, is not known from later relief beads and relief pendants. K. Müller believes that the cavities in the body, rendering the marking of the hair, were originally filled by inlays.[94] E. Vermeule calls it the only surviving counterpart of the bull statuettes offered by the Keftiu envoys in Egyptian frescoes, generally identified with Cretans.[95]

Cockle shell (M 14; fig. 23):
The cockle shell-shaped relief pendant of gold sheet has a single perforation at the top, which sets it apart from later cockle shell-shaped relief pendants of sheet gold, glass and faience from the mainland (LH III).

Cross (M 4; fig. 24):
The double-sided relief of the gold sheet bead in cross shape includes spiral bands framed by a rim of transversal ribs which follow the outline of the cross; perforated along one of the arms. No similar relief bead or relief pendant has been found, but in the Mavro Spilaio necropolis, in a LM III context, a cross-shaped bead of lapis lazuli was recovered. Its arms are of the same length, the inner corners rounded.[96] Judging from the pair of central perforations, that bead was stitched onto something.

More than 150 recovered Aegean seals are decorated with a cross, nearly always in combination with various other visual elements. On a quarter of them the cross figures as a principal or central element, for instance on early seals from Ios (Skarkos, settlement; soft stone?; EBA II)[97] and Thebes (cist grave?; steatite; MH),[98] and on a MM II-III seal of rock crystal. On the latter the cross is part of a star-like ornament.[99] Sometimes the cross is rendered as an isolated element, as on a seal from Lendas (tholos II; steatite; EM II-III?; context EM I-MM IA)[100] and a sealing from LM I (provenance unknown).[101]

Drop (M 15; fig. 25):
M 15 includes three drop-shaped, flat-backed pendants of lapis lazuli. This drop variant – a long-drawn drop topped by a small globular shape – is represented by Cretan pendants of bronze (LM IB), glass, faience, gold sheet and rock crystal (all LM IIIA-B),[102] and by mainland pendants of gold, glass and stone (LH II, LH III).[103] They include figure pendants and relief pendants.

On a fresco fragment from the palace of Knossos (area of the Hall of Colonnades; MM III-LM IA) three chains of beads and pendants are partly visible. Two chains have globular beads, the third one has drop-shaped pendants of the same variant as the M 15 specimens. Threads and jewellery are painted in a reddish brown colour.[104]

Ivy (M 5; fig. 26):
Five specimens of a gold bead with double-sided relief each include two small ivy leaves of which the edges are folded together. The surface has oblique grooves. An early sheet gold relief bead from Crete (C 18) shows this motif too, but there the leaf is suspended from a crossbar.

Relief beads shaped as ivy leaves occur later in several variants. But the specimens that are the most similar have not only one single ivy leaf (with plain surface and with two parallel perforations), but also an internal waz-shaped element within the leaf (LM IIIA-B, only glass specimens; LH II-IIIA/B, gold sheet, glass and faience) and, in many cases, two triangular wing-like extensions (LM IIIA, glass and gold sheet; LH II-IIIC, gold sheet, glass and faience).[105]

Lily with 'flag' (M 16; fig. 27):
The grave goods from tholos B at Kakovatos included lily-shaped relief pendants of lapis lazuli with a horizontally perforated round knob at the top, a fairly long calyx underneath, and below an additional ornament, a kind of flag. The 'flag' is a rectangle of which the side edges and bottom edge are slightly curved. It shows horizontal ribs above an indented frieze. Similar lilies of gold sheet and glass have been found at Mycenae (chamber tombs 76, 82, 93; LH IIB, LH IIIA-B; *fig. 28*)[106] and Dendra (tholos; gold sheet; LH IIB-IIIA1).[107]

Octopus with tentacles moving in all directions (M 6; fig. 29):
G. Karo describes a group of 18 identical ornaments of sheet gold from Shaft Grave III at Mycenae as both 'punched' and 'cut'. Nine are two-sided, with identical relief front and back. The eight tentacles move symmetrically in all directions, each ending in a spiral enclosing the embossed succer. The other nine are not included here. They are single-sided. Two of them have four (frontal) attachment holes each, which indicates that they are meant as appliqués; for the others no information is given about any attachment-holes and their precise function remains obscure.

As far as I know, later octopus-shaped beads or pendants have not been recovered on Crete or the mainland.[108] But later, the octopus appears on rectangular *Plättchenperlen* from the mainland (LH IIIA-B).[109]

Octopus with tentacles hanging down (M 7; fig. 30):
The eleven gold sheet relief beads M 7, from the same grave as M 6, are likewise double-sided and apparently made in the same way.[110] The octopus represented is of a different variant: its tentacles hang down symmetrically in two bunches. Later examples are unknown.

Pair of birds with bar (M 8; fig. 4):
Ten relief beads of gold sheet from Shaft Grave V at Mycenae were once strung together. Each shows two sitting birds, facing each other, with heads turned back as if they are preening their feathers. No parallel beads are known from later times. Similarly shaped pieces of sheet gold for other purposes than a bead came from Shaft Grave III.[111] Birds with a spiral, starting near the eye and scrolling down the neck, are also shown on sealings from Hagia Triada and a seal from Herakleion (?), stylistically dated to LM I (*fig. 31*).[112] J. Weingarten wonders if these birds are Eleonora's falcons,[113] which is quite possible. This species (*Falco eleonorae*) still breeds on the Greek islands. The light morph (colour variant) shows a black stripe on either side of the head, running down from the black crown to the white throat in two curls. But falcons of different species are characterized by these stripes as well. The Peregrine (*Falco Peregrinus)* for instance, another resident in Greece, has big and lobate ones.[114]

Palm frond (?) / Flying bird (?) (M 1; fig. 32):
The set of 44 relief beads of sheet gold from Shaft Grave O at Mycenae which, possibly together with a golden 'pectoral' or 'amulet', constitute a necklace, shows grooves on their surfaces that curve with its outlines. These grooves are visible on both sides of the sheet.[115] The interesting thing is that none of the M 1 beads is provided with a back sheet, unlike other early sheet relief beads and relief pendants. It is not precisely clear what the 44 links represent. According to G. Mylonas, they could be birds in flight,[116] whereas Higgins described them as palm leaves, citing similar leaves from the Aegina Treasure (probably MM III).[117]

Papyrus (M 17; fig. 33):
Two papyrus-shaped relief pendants of lapis lazuli are decorated with horizontal lines. The spherical projection at the top is transversely perforated. Another early ornament in the shape of a papyrus, a relief bead originating from Crete (C 9, *terminus ante quem* LM IA), is double-sided and made of gold sheet.

Shape and horizontal lines of the lapis lazuli pendants correspond with those of later relief beads from Crete (LM IIIA; gold sheet and glass). But the latter have double-sided reliefs and do not have spherical projections (*fig. 34*).[118] Such a spherical element, however, can be seen on papyrus-shaped relief beads of gold sheet from Mycenae (chamber tombs 55, 88; LH IIB) and Thebes (New Kadmeion, Treasure Room; LH IIIB). Their surfaces have a different decoration from that of M 17.[119]

Pomegranate with bar (M 9; fig. 35):
The 12 pomegranate-shaped beads together make up a set. Front and back are identical, thus composing a complete pomegranate. They are not represented among later relief ornaments.[120] However, there is some metal jewellery from the mainland showing the same motif, including a pomegranate-shaped figure pendant made of gold (Mycenae, Kalkani cemetery, chamber tomb 518; LH I-II)[121] and three silver pins with gold pomegranate head (Vaphio tholos; LH II).[122] On Crete the motif is only known from other artistic media than metal jewellery: a pomegranate-shaped vase was found in the palace at Phaistos (MM III),[123] and at Knossos bone inlays with the shape of pomegranate buds and flowers have

been recovered (Temple Repositories; MM IIIB-LM IA).[124]

Rectangular Plättchenperle, decorated with ivy (M 10; fig. 36):
According to Karo, glass *Plättchenperlen* M 10 were formed in the same matrix. Each *Plättchenperle* has an ivy leaf, transversely placed between cross-ribbed semi-cylinders at the short ends. Karo considered these *Plättchenperlen* as probably imported from Crete.

Later rectangular *Plättchenperlen* with one ivy leaf were found both in Crete (LM IIIA-B; glass and some unknown substance)[125] and on the mainland (glass; LH IIB-IIIA-B).[126]

Rectangular Plättchenperle with rhombus motif (M 2-3; fig. 37):
The short sides of faience *Plättchenperlen* M 2-3 are formed as cross-ribbed semi-cylinders. Between these lies a rhombus motif with scissor-like ends and a small circle in the centre. In his publication, Mylonas presented these *Plättchenperlen* as necklace elements together with beads of stone.[127]

Other early rectangular *Plättchenperlen* were found in Crete (C 3-4; MM IB-II). Their short sides are not semi-cylindrical; rather, C 3 has three transverse grooves along the short sides. The central circle on C 3 is far bigger than those on M 2-3. The rectangular *Plättchenperle* with semi-cylindrical sides is a type of relief bead that is found frequently in the LM/LH IIIA-B Aegean, but with decorative motifs different from that of M 2-3.[128] Hughes-Brock referred to similar Egyptian plaques of faience from the 18th or 19th Dynasty.[129] These plaques are rectangular and have cylindrical sides, which are perforated lengthwise. Each plaque is inscribed on both sides with hieroglyphs.[130]

Swan pair (M 11; fig. 38):
Relief bead M 11 is shaped like an antithetical pair of swans in a rocky setting. Three other specimens of this design are not perforated horizontally but frontally, and will have functioned as appliqués.[131] The motif is not known from later relief beads and pendants.

Antithetical scenes are frequently depicted in Middle and Late Minoan art, for instance a sketchy rendered pair of birds with vegetation in the foreground on a seal dated to LM I (Knossos?).[132]

Toad (M 18; fig. 39):
A relief pendant of gold sheet from Kakovatos (tholos A) has the shape of a toad. The embossed front sheet could have been formed in a mould, but the warts of the creature seem to be represented by real granules. The carefully cut back sheet is smooth. An external suspension-mechanism, a soldered gold wire in the shape of a threefold spiral, is attached below the eyeless head.[133]

Other flat-backed pendants or relief beads with this motif are unknown to me. Koumasa (tholos B) yielded a very early gold figure pendant (EM I-III) in the shape of a frog or toad. Here too, the warts are represented by granules. Its breast is perforated vertically.[134] A much later frog-shaped figure pendant, made of lapis lazuli, was found at Knossos-Isopata (Royal Tomb; LM II-IIIA1 context). It is an Egyptian import from the 18th Dynasty.[135]

Trochus shell (M 19; fig. 40):
According to Müller, because of the thinness of the gold sheet, the three spiraled relief beads of the trochus shell form must have been fixed on a background.[136] The bottom of the cone base has two pairs of perforations opposite each other.

Later trochus shell-shaped relief beads are found both in Crete (LM III) and on the mainland (LH IIB; LH III). They are made of glass, faience and (on the mainland only) gold sheet. However, on the mainland specimens of gold sheet, and some of glass, the continuous spiral is not a relief line but a series of imitation granules.[137]

The three trochus shells from Kakovatos (M 19) are a chronological link between the trochus shell-shaped matrix in a mould from Knossos (MM III-LM IA) and later trochus shell-shaped relief beads.[138]

Waz-lily with bar (M 12; fig. 41):
According to Karo, the seven relief beads of sheet gold in the shape of a (single) waz-lily with bar are both 'flach gestanzt und ausgeschnitten'.[139] Higgins described this ornament as 'in fact not a bead but a clothing ornament […] copied from a bead,' because the bar, which usually serves as a thread-channel, is perforated frontally.[140] But one use does not exclude the other: beads can both be strung and stitched onto textiles. Generally, however, a bead of sheet gold consists of a front and a back sheet, unless the back sheet got lost (see M 11). The M 12 specimens probably include one separate sheet each, possibly the front sheet of a bead which was used as an appliqué.[141]

These waz-lilies look perfectly possible as beads. The rather long ribbed bar matches the width of the lily, enabling them to be strung side by side.

Other waz-lily-shaped relief beads from the mainland are not known. But waz-lily-shaped relief pendants without bar (LH IIB-IIIB), made of sheet gold and glass, and even of lapis lazuli, were recovered. They belong to the longer waz-lily variant, just like M 12. From Crete there are waz-lily-shaped relief pendants (LM III) of gold sheet and glass, also without bars, and in both the longer and the squat variant.[142]

2.3.2 Discussion

Extent of group, find-spots and dating (table 4)

The early relief beads and relief pendants from the mainland can be divided, on the basis of form, find-spot and decoration, into 19 separate groups (here for convenience called 'ornament groups').[143] Together these include at least 119[144] specimens. With 109 specimens relief beads make up the large majority. The 10 (or somewhat more) relief pendants comprise 6 ornament groups (M 13-18).

The early relief beads and relief pendants were scattered over 7 find-spots: 5 at Mycenae, 2 at Kakovatos. From Mycenae come 12 ornament groups, including 106 specimens, from Kakovatos 7 ornament groups including at least 13 specimens. All find-spots are tombs. Shaft Grave III at Mycenae contained 42 percent of all ornament groups and 40 percent of all specimens (8 ornament groups, 48 specimens). Considering the number of recovered specimens, Shaft Grave O at Mycenae also has a big share in the finds (37 percent). With regard to the number of ornament groups (1 out of 19), however, this is not the case: among the finds in this grave was a necklace with 44 relief beads (M 1).

The mainland ornaments presented here date from late MH III to LH IIA. The earliest ornaments originate from Grave Circle B at Mycenae (late MH III-LH I). They are made of gold sheet (M 1) and faience (M 2-3). Glass relief ornaments were found in Shaft Grave III at Mycenae (LH I; M 10) and at Kakovatos (tholos A; LH IIA; M 13). Relief pendants of lapis lazuli appear in LH IIA (Kakovatos, tholos B; M 15-17).

Materials (table 5)

Out of the at least 119 specimens 105 are of gold sheet (12 out of 19 ornament groups). The rest are of faience (4 specimens), glass (3 specimens) and lapis lazuli (7 specimens at least).

Forms and number of specimens per form (table 6)

Most of the seventeen ornament forms were found at only one spot. The rectangular *Plättchenperle* – i.e. the motif-bearer with cross-ribbed semi-cylindrical short ends (M 2-3, M 10) – was found in three tombs (Shaft Graves III, Ξ and Υ at Mycenae). Four specimens with similar decoration motifs are of faience (M 2-3 from Shaft Graves Ξ en Υ), two are of glass (M 10). The twenty gold octopus-shaped relief beads (M 6-7), all originating from one find-spot (Mycenae, Shaft Grave III), were found in two variants.

The six largest ornament forms respectively include 44 (palm frond (?) / flying bird (?) M 1), 12 (pomegranate with bar M 9), 11 (octopus with tentacles hanging down M 7), 10 (pair of birds with bar M 8), 9 (octopus with tentacles moving in all directions M 6) and 7 specimens (waz-lily with bar M 12).

Relief beads with bar

Three types of early relief beads of the mainland – the pair of birds, the pomegranate, and the waz-lily (M 8-9, 12), all of sheet gold and from Mycenae (Shaft Graves III and V) – have a carrying element in the shape of a transversely ribbed semi-cylinder.[145] Furthermore, the short sides of the rectangular *Plättchenperlen* M 2-3 and 10 are rendered in the same way. The cross-ribbed bar is also seen on early gold sheet relief beads and a faience waz-lily pendant (C 10) from Crete[146] but is absent from the later waz-lily relief ornaments.

Backs of sheet gold relief beads and relief pendants

The 44 specimens of M 1 have no back sheet. In this they differ from the gold sheet relief beads from Grave Circle A (LH I-IIA): five out of nine classified groups from those tombs cover specimens with a double-sided relief (M 4-7 and 9, all from Shaft Grave III), i.e. with front and back sheets identical, and one group consists of relief beads with a flat back sheet (M 8 from Shaft Grave V).[147] The gold sheet relief pendants from LH IIA (M 14, M 18) have a flat back sheet as well.[148]

In LH IIB-III it is customary that gold sheet relief beads and relief pendants from the mainland are composed of a front sheet and a back sheet.

Precursors

Four forms of relief beads and four forms of relief pendants from the mainland represent, in terms of morphology, early examples and variants of bead- and pendant forms known from later times:

- Cockle shell (M 14; see also C 13). Relief pendant of sheet gold which is a precursor of cockle shell-shaped relief pendants from the mainland (gold sheet, glass and faience; LH II-IIIC), but probably differing from them by its vertical perforation at the top.
- Drop (M 15). These relief pendants of lapis lazuli are similar to later Cretan and mainland specimens of other materials (LM IIIA-B; LH II, LH III).
- Ivy (M 5; see also C 18). The M 5 beads, made of sheet gold, represent a basic variant of later Aegean relief beads of gold sheet, glass and faience. Both later variants are characterized by a single ivy leaf enclosing an inner waz (LM IIIA-B;

	Mycenae, Circle B, shaft grave O	Mycenae, Circle B, shaft grave Ξ	Mycenae, Circle B, shaft grave Y	Mycenae, Circle A, shaft grave III	Mycenae, Circle A, shaft grave V	Kakovatos, tholos A	Kakovatos, tholos B
Number of specimens	44	1	3	48	10	5	> 7

Table 4. Extent of group, find-spots.

Material	Number of specimens	Number of find-spots	Find-spots	Forms
Sheet gold	105	5	Mycenae, Circle B, shaft grave O; Circle A, shaft graves III and V; Kakovatos, tholoi A-B	cockle shell, cross, ivy, palm frond (?) / flying bird (?), octopus (both variants), pair of birds with bar, pomegranate, pair of swans, toad, trochus shell, waz-lily with bar
Lapis lazuli	7 at least	1	Kakovatos, tholos B	drop, lily with flag, papyrus
Faience	4	2	Mycenae, Circle B, shaft graves Ξ and Y	rectangular *Plättchenperle* (rhombus)
Glass	3	2	Mycenae, Circle A, shaft grave III; Kakovatos, tholos A	bull, rectangular *Plättchenperle* (ivy)

Table 5. Materials.

Ornament form	Number of specimens	Remark
Palm frond (?) / flying bird (?)	44	
Pomegranate with bar	12	
Octopus	11	variant: tentacles hanging down in two bunches
Pair of birds with bar	10	
Octopus	9	variant: tentacles moving in all directions
Waz-lily with bar	7	
Plättchenperle, rectangular	6	4 decorated with rhombus, 2 with ivy
Ivy	5	
Drop	3	
Trochus shell	3	
Lily with 'flag'	> 1	
Papyrus	2	
Bull	1	
Cockle shell	1	
Cross	1	
Swan pair	1	
Toad	1	

Table 6. Forms and number of specimens per form.

LH II-IIIC). The specimens of one of these variants show triangular winglike extensions.

- Lily with 'flag' (M 16). Relief pendants of lapis lazuli which are precursors of later mainland specimens of gold sheet and glass (LH IIB; LH IIIA-B).

- Papyrus (M 17; see also C 9). These relief pendants of lapis lazuli can be regarded as an early papyrus variant. Their forms are similar to those of later relief beads from the mainland (LH IIB; LH IIIB1), the surfaces of which have a different decoration. The decoration (horizontal lines) of the M 17-specimens also appears on later Cretan papyrus-shaped relief beads of gold sheet and glass (LM IIIA-B), which, however, are double-sided and do not have spherical projections.

- Rectangular *Plättchenperle* (M 2-3, M 10; see also C 3-4). These relief beads of faience and glass with their ribbed semi-cylindrical borders are precursors of later glass specimens (LM/LH IIIA-B)[149] which are decorated with various motifs, including the single ivy leaf of M 10.

- Trochus shell (M 19). Relief beads of sheet gold which are precursors of later specimens of sheet gold (only on the mainland), glass and faience (LM/LH IIIA-B). This shell was also cut in a MM III-LM IA mould from Knossos.[150]
- Waz-lily with bar (M 12; see also C 10). These one-sided (?) relief beads of sheet gold represent an early variant of waz-lily pendants (LM III; LH IIB-IIIB) in which the bars are omitted.

Of the eight early ornament forms from the mainland, enumerated above, six also appear early in Crete: cockle shell, ivy, lily with 'flag',[151] papyrus, rectangular *Plättchenperle* and waz-lily with bar.[152] Except for the cockle shell, they appear in a different variant.

2.4 *A mould from Knossos*

The primary source of knowledge of the early relief beads and relief pendants is the objects themselves. Supplementary evidence is provided by a stone mould found in a MM III–LM IA context in the North-West Treasure House of the palace at Knossos,[153] and thus contemporary with the early relief beads and relief pendants. Although this mould does not have channels for producing string-holes, some of its matrices seem to be intended for relief beads of faience, viz., the rosette, trochus shell and curled leaf or 'bracket'. These are known from the later material (LM III; LH IIB-III) and the trochus shell-shaped bead already appears on the mainland in LH IIA (M 19). In the text below these three designs are connected to later relief beads.

Rosette
The rosette design in this mould has a circular centre and ten petals with naturalistic outlines. The rosette-shaped relief bead frequently occurs in the Aegean area (LM III; LH II-III).[154] In Crete it is generally of gold sheet, but also of glass, on the mainland of gold sheet, glass and faience.

Trochus shell
The trochus shell-shaped relief bead is known from both Crete and the mainland (LM/LH IIIA-B). The Cretan specimens are of glass (38 specimens, three find-places) and faience (one specimen). Most have two parallel perforations side by side near the base.[155] Those from the mainland, many characterized by imitation granules, are of glass, faience and sheet gold. They include three early specimens of gold sheet (M 19; LH IIA).[156]

Curled leaf
Curled leaves from Crete are rare. The specimens recovered include a group of glass specimens from Arkhanes (tholos B, area 4; LM II-IIIA1),[157] a glass relief bead from Phaistos-Kalyvia (LM IIIA) and a fragment of ivory from the South House at Knossos (not later than LM IB),[158] which was most probably part of some object, not a relief bead.

On the Greek mainland relief beads with this shape were popular. In LH II the curled leaf was made of gold and put together from several components.[159] The glass specimens, of which the earliest known date from LH IIB (Mycenae, graves 55 and 68),[160] must also have been produced in parts if the known open moulds were used.[161]

The relief bead matrices on the Knossos mould clearly indicate MM III–LM IA precursors for the later specimens.

2.5 *The use of moulds for early relief beads and relief pendants*

Not all of the early relief beads and relief pendants were produced in a mould.[162] Crete yielded specimens of rock crystal (C 16, C 19, one specimen of C 21) and various other stones (C 1, C 6-7, C 11-12 and, for the greater part, C 21). There is a very early altar-shaped specimen of steatite (?) (C 1 from EM II-MM II) among these ornaments, found at Hagia Triada. The vast majority of early relief ornaments, however, are made of materials used in moulds: sheet gold, glass and faience.

About some early ornaments of sheet gold it has been remarked that a mould must have been used (P. Muhly with respect to C 14; Karo with respect to M 6-7, M 11). Further information is lacking, but these remarks are probably based on resemblance between specimens with the same design. With regard to C 14 and M 11, of which in the literature more than one specimen has been illustrated, this resemblance is actually visible. Comparing other figures of specimens with the same design (like M 8),[163] one comes across similarities in details too, mainly in the course and the location of certain grooves.[164] The damaged specimens of M 9 seem to be identical as well, although their resemblance is more difficult to discern.

In the early faience ornaments too there are visible similarities between specimens of one find (like M 3, where the crossing ends below are reproduced in exactly the same way). Furthermore, we have the early mould from Knossos (MM III-LM IA), mentioned above, which most probably was meant for ornaments of faience and dates from the time when faience was very popular on Crete. The matrices in this mould obviously are fairly deep. The curled leaf matrix is probably undercut, but releasing a faience object from such a matrix, however, is not problematic because the faience shrinks as it hardens. Releasing gold sheet from a deep and undercut matrix is not possible. If this mould had been used for glass relief ornaments, we might expect long shallow channels for thread holes next to the matrices, especially next to the curled leaf matrix, which on other Minoan and Mycenaean moulds always is accompanied by a long shallow channel.[165]

The early relief beads and relief pendants of glass[166] (five specimens from Crete: C 13, C 20; three specimens from the mainland: M 10, M 13) originate from coinciding periods, namely the later part of the Neo-Palace period (LM I) and the period of Grave Circle A (LH I-IIA). In these years glass entered the Aegean area for the first time,[167] probably in very small quantities, since the number of recovered glass beads that were worked in the round is scarse too.[168] It is unclear if the Minoans at the first introduction to this material were informed about the fact that it could be worked in a molten state. Possibly they initially used the technique of cold-cutting (working of glass in a cold state). According to I. Pini the first Aegean glass *seals* go back to the late 16th and early 15th century BC. He believes that all seals of this group were engraved with drills and cutting wheels like stone seals. He dates the production of glass seals pressed in moulds "no earlier than LB IIIA1."[169]

Regarding the relief beads, there are both rectangular *Plättchenperlen* with ivy decoration from Shaft Grave III (LH I; *fig. 36*), M 10. The ivy leaves are identical, as is clearly visible in the outline of the internal waz. According to Th. E. Haevernick these relief beads – Minoan in form and choice of design – are made of glass, and not, as earlier claimed, of faience.[170] They must have been formed in a mould.

A comparative examination of the four early cockle shells from Herakleion-Poros (C 13; MM III-LM I), of which one specimen is still intact, should clarify the technique used to make the earliest glass relief ornaments in Crete.[171]

3 CONCLUDING REMARKS

Relief beads and relief pendants first appear on the Greek mainland in the Shaft Grave era (late MH III-LH IIA) at Mycenae. This must be the result of contacts with Crete, where these ornaments had been manufactured since the time of the Old Palaces (MM IB-II).

The forms of the relief ornaments from the mainland in the Shaft Grave era largely reflect the highly developed artistic repertoire of Crete: the majority are inspired by earlier or contemporary Cretan ornament forms.

3.1 *Crete*

From Crete 38 relief beads and 21 relief pendants are known that are dated not later than LM I. Sheet gold was already being used for relief beads in MM IB or MM II. The use of moulds for shaping sheet gold relief beads is first attested in LM I. The use of faience in moulds for relief beads was already taking place in MM IB-II. Glass was in use for relief pendants from LM I onwards.

The group of 59 early Cretan relief beads and relief pendants come from 12 different find-spots of which 5 are located in the palace of Knossos or its vicinity. Four find-spots are graves. Of the 59 ornaments 43 are made of materials that can be worked in a mould (faience, gold, glass and silver) and 16 are made of stone. These early relief ornaments are characterized by a great richness of forms and a small number of specimens per ornament form: eight out of thirteen ornament forms are represented by one specimen. But there are 27 rectangular *Plättchenperlen* (found in the same room) and 13 'ladles' (from three sites).

Precursors

At least seven of the thirteen early ornament forms can be considered as precursors, since these forms reappear in the relief beads and relief pendants from LM III: altar, cockle shell, figure-of-eight shield, papyrus, rectangular *Plättchenperle*, 'ladle' and waz-lily. An eighth ornament form, the lotus flower, bears a strong outward resemblance to another early ornament form, that of a papyrus-shaped relief bead, which I consider as a precursor. Furthermore, the two-sided relief of this gold sheet papyrus bead is found in all later Cretan relief beads with papyrus-shape.

As a consequence, Effinger's opinion that the early relief beads, "possibly with the exception of the rectangular *Plättchenperlen*," cannot be taken as typological precursors of the relief beads from LM III, is unsustainable.[172]

3.2 *Greek mainland*

From mainland Greece 109 relief beads and at least 10 relief pendants are known which are dated not later than LH IIA. The oldest recovered relief beads of gold sheet and faience date from

LH I or slightly earlier (late MH III). The faience specimens must have been shaped in moulds. The same can be said about at least some of the gold sheet specimens. The oldest glass specimens date from LH I.

The group of at least 119 early relief beads and relief pendants from the Greek mainland come from 7 find-spots, 5 being at Mycenae and 2 at Kakovatos. All find contexts are graves, Shaft Grave III at Mycenae being the richest with 48 specimens (40 percent of all specimens).

Most ornaments are made of sheet gold, the others of precious stone (lapis lazuli),[173] faience and glass.

The early relief beads and relief pendants are characterized by a great richness of forms. Five out of seventeen ornament forms are represented by 1 specimen, seven others by 2-7 specimens. Only the rectangular *Plättchenperle* was found at more than one spot.

Precursors

Eight of the seventeen ornament forms (four forms of relief beads and four of relief pendants) can be considered as precursors, since they reappear in the relief bead and relief pendant material from LH IIB-III in mainland Greece. The forms concerned are cockle shell, drop, ivy, lily with 'flag', papyrus, rectangular *Plättchenperle*, trochus shell and waz-lily with bar.

Six of these eight ornament forms – cockle shell, ivy, lily with 'flag', papyrus, rectangular *Plättchenperle* and waz-lily with bar – also occurred early in Crete, but except for the cockle shell in a different variant form.

3.3 *Crete and the mainland together*

A mould from Knossos (MM III-LM IA) provides supplementary evidence for our knowledge of the early relief beads.[174] The rosette, trochus shell and curled leaf designs on this mould can be considered as precursors of later relief beads with these forms (LM III; LH IIA-III).

The opinion that on the mainland and Crete no glass relief beads occurred before the period of the Mycenaean palaces (LH IIIA-B)[175] is incorrect with regard to the mainland (see relief beads M 10 from LH I).[176] In the case of Crete glass relief pendants from MM III-LM I were recovered which are identical to later relief beads (C 13, C 20).[177]

The early Cretan relief beads and relief pendants of sheet gold and sheet silver (found in contexts varying from MM IB-II to LM I) consist of two parts, a relief front sheet and a back sheet. With regard to specimens C 2, C 8, C 18 and C 22, the nature of the back sheet is not described in the publication. One specimen, the papyrus-shaped relief bead from the Temple Tomb at Knossos (C 9), has a double-sided relief. The other early Cretan specimens (C 14-15, 17) have flat backs.

The sheet gold relief beads and relief pendants from the mainland that were found in Grave Circle A at Mycenae (LH I) and in LH IIA contexts, are two-piece as well.[178] Those from Grave Circle B (late MH III-LH I), however, which are the oldest known mainland specimens, do not have a back sheet. The golden 'pectoral' or 'amulet' with which these relief beads possibly constitute a necklace, consists of an embossed plate with a bent edge enclosing a different, brownish material. According to the excavator, this might be cork or clay.[179] Although this gave the 'pectoral' some weight and stability, it is an unusual way to provide a sheet metal relief ornament with a back.

A considerable part of the sheet gold relief beads from the mainland have double-sided reliefs (cross, ivy, two variants of the octopus, pomegranate with bar). They were all recovered in Shaft Grave III at Mycenae (LH I).

There are six Aegean ornament forms – ivy, pair of birds, pomegranate, snail spiral, trefoil and waz-lily (specimens found at Mochlos, Knossos and Mycenae) – among the early relief beads and relief pendants that are characterized by a carrying element in the shape of a cross-ribbed semi-cylindrical bar, mostly of sheet gold, but in one case of faience. The short sides of early rectangular mainland *Plättchenperlen* of faience and glass are rendered in a similar way. Later on, these semi-cylinders appear both as carrying element of the volute-shaped relief bead and as frame of curled leafs and rectangular *Plättchenperlen*.

This study has made clear that the production of relief beads already started early in the Middle Minoan period (MM I-II, ca. 2100/2050-1750/1700 BC). It is also shown that these earlier beads can be interpreted as precursors of later examples (from LH IIB and LM IIIA onwards). The latter were nearly all produced with the help of moulds, but more than one quarter of the early Cretan specimens were cut from different, mostly precious stones.

APPENDIX 1

Chronological classification of early relief beads and relief pendants from Crete

In the catalogue below early relief beads and relief pendants from Crete are listed, as far as is possible, in chronological order.[180] They are grouped according to find-place, form and decoration. This means that objects of the same form which have been found in the same place (room, tomb, palace space, etc.) are catalogued under one number, unless they have a different design, such as the rectangular *Plättchenperlen* C 3-4.[181] Variants of the same form have also been catalogued under different numbers.

When ornaments have the same date, they are successively classified alphabetically by form, variant of form or decoration, and provenance. Requirement for inclusion is that the find context dates no later than LM IB.[182]

The entries in this classification are marked by C (of Crete) with a serial number.

HM = Herakleion Archaeological Museum
perf(s). = perforation(s)
t.a.q. = terminus ante quem

C 1
date of find context: EM II-MM II
form and number: altar with incurving sides, 1 (*fig. 1*)
type of ornament: relief bead (back not described)
material: stone[183]
provenance: Hagia Triada, tholos A
perforation: 2 horizontal, running through the top and the bottom
dimensions: ?
collection, inv.no.: HM 442
literature: Banti 1930-33, 198, no. 184, fig. 64h; Effinger 1996, HT 3j, 39, 41, 180-181, 344, pl. 34b

C 2
date of find context: MM IB-II
form and number: lotus flower, 1 (*fig. 13*)
type of ornament: two-piece relief bead (back not described)
material: gold sheet
provenance: Mallia, Chrysolakkos I, perhaps shrine
perforation: 3 parallel perfs.; one central through knob, the others through the small bead terminal at each side
dimensions: L. 1.1
collection, inv.no.: HM 588
literature: Demargne 1945, 56, no. 588, pls XXII, LXVII, 1; Van Effenterre 1980, pl. XVI (below), fig. 682 (p. 498); Higgins 1980, 65; Soles 1992, 166 (date of find context, shrine idea); Effinger 1996, MaC 3b, 39, 41, 240, 345, pl. 10a

C 3
date of find context: MM IB-II, workshop destroyed in MM IIB
form and number: rectangular *Plättchenperle*, 26[184] (*fig. 17*)
decoration: central circle in relief
type of ornament: relief bead
material: faience
provenance: Mallia, settlement (Quartier Mu), room V 5
perforation: 2 parallel along the short sides
dimensions: L. 1.8; W. 0.9; Th. 0.5; ø perfs. 0.1; ø central circle 0.7
collection, inv.no.: ?
literature: Detournay 1980, 133, no. 183, fig. 186; Effinger 1996, MaS 2a,[185] 36-37, 41, 242, 343, pl. 10e (right)

C 4
date of find context: MM IB-II, workshop destroyed in MM IIB
form and number: rectangular *Plättchenperle*, 1 (*fig. 18*)
decoration: 2 diagonal dotted lines in relief
type of ornament: relief bead
material: faience
provenance: Mallia, settlement (Quartier Mu), room V 5
perforation: 2 parallel along the short sides
dimensions: L. 1.6; W. 0.9; Th. 0.5; ø perfs. 0.1
collection, inv.no.: ?
literature: Detournay 1980, 133, no. 183, fig. 186; Effinger 1996, MaS 2a,[186] 36-37, 41, 242, 343, pl. 10e (left)

C 5
date of find context: MM IIIB
form and number: 'ladle', A variant, 1 (*fig. 8*)
type of ornament: relief pendant
material: gold (solid, probably cast)
provenance: Knossos, Palace, 'Royal Treasury'
perforation: horizontal perf.
dimensions: H. 1.5; W. 1.0
collection, inv.no.: HM 119
literature: Evans 1930, 401, 410, fig. 273; Effinger 1996, KnP 2a, 47-48, 229, 349, pl. 9a; Hughes-Brock 2020, 150

C 6
date of find context: MM IIIB
form and number: 'ladle', B variant, 1 (*fig. 9*)
type of ornament: relief pendant
material: carnelian
provenance: Herakleion-Poros, rock-cut tomb I
perforation: horizontal perf.
dimensions: H. 1.55; W. 1.2; Th. 0.6
collection, inv.no.: HM 2351
literature: Muhly 1992, 91, no. 247, 127-128, fig. 22, pl. 27; Effinger 1996, HP 4e, 47, 189, 191, 349, pl. 3f; Hughes-Brock 2020, 150

C 7
date of find context: MM IIIB
form and number: 'ladle', unknown variant, 1
type of ornament: relief pendant
material: carnelian
provenance: Knossos, Palace, East Hall, area of the drain-head
perforation: ?
dimensions: ?
collection, inv.no.: ?
literature: Evans 1930, 410; Effinger 1996, 48, 349; Hughes-Brock 2020, 149

C 8
date of find context: LM IA (t.a.q.)
form and number: calf, couchant, 1 (*fig. 2*)
type of ornament: two-piece relief bead (back not described)
material: gold sheet
provenance: Knossos, Temple Tomb, 'tomb robbers' cache'
perforation: horizontal perf., somewhat below the outline of the back
dimensions: L. 2.3; H. 1.4
collection, inv.no.: HM showcase VI, 87
literature: Evans 1935, 963, col.pl. XXXIV; Effinger 1996, KnT 3i, 40-41, 221, 345, pl. 8c

C 9
date of find context: LM IA (t.a.q.)
form and number: papyrus, 1 (*fig. 15*)
type of ornament: two-piece relief bead (double-sided relief)
material: gold sheet
provenance: Knossos, Temple Tomb, 'tomb robber's' cache'
perforation: vertically at the top
dimensions: ?
collection, inv.no.: HM 522
literature: Evans 1935, col.pl. XXXIV; Higgins 1980, 65; Effinger 1996, KnT 3a, 34, 41, 221, 342, pl. 8b; Crete-Egypt 2000, 126, no. 107

C 10
stylistic date: MM IIIB-LM IA
form and number: waz-lily (double) with bar, 1 (*fig. 21*)
type of ornament: relief pendant
material: faience
provenance: Knossos, Palace, Temple Repositories
perforation: horizontally, through semi-cylindrical bar
dimensions: H. 2,67; W. 2,7; Th. 1,8. Hanging bar: L. 1,1, ø 0,43
collection, inv.no.: HM 89
literature: Evans 1902-03, 68, figs 44-45; Evans 1921, 499, fig. 356; Foster 1979, 115, fig. 83; Higgins 1980, 65, fig. 10; Panagiotaki 1993, 65, fig. 4b; Effinger 1996, KnP 2d, 45-46, 229-230, 348, pl. 9d; Panagiotaki 1999, 77, no. 149, fig. 19, pl. 19; Crete-Egypt 2000, 105, no. 82; Hughes-Brock 2008, 129

C 11
date of find context: MM III-LM I
form and number: cockle shell, 1
type of ornament: relief pendant
material: stone
provenance: Juktas peak sanctuary
perforation: horizontal perf. from side to side at the top
dimensions: ?
collection, inv.no.: HM showcase II, 21a
literature: Effinger 1996, AJ 2b, 46, 126-127, 348

C 12
date of find context: MM III-LM I
form and number: figure-of-eight shield, 1[187]
type of ornament: relief bead
material: stone[188]
provenance: Juktas peak sanctuary
perforation: horizontal through the 'waist'
dimensions: ?
collection, inv.no.: HM showcase II, 21a
literature: Effinger 1996, AJ 1a, 38, 126, 344; Hughes-Brock, publication in preparation

C 13
date of find context: MM III-LM I (1 specimen), LM IA-B (3 specimens)
form and number: cockle shell, 4[189] (*fig. 5*)
type of ornament: relief pendant
material: glass
provenance: Herakleion-Poros, rock-cut tomb I
perforation: horizontal perf. from side to side at the top
dimensions: H. 1.6; W. 2.0; Th. 0.53
collection, inv.no.: HM 2353
literature: Muhly 1992, no. 250, 91, pl. 28; Effinger 1996, HP 4g, 46, 188, 191, 348, pl. 38a, no. 250

C 14
date of find context: MM III-LM I (no. 1021), LM IA-B (no. 1020)
form and number: non-rectangular *Plättchenperle*, 2 (*fig. 3*)
decoration: bird, flowers
type of ornament: two-piece relief bead (flat back)
material: gold sheet
provenance: Herakleion-Poros, rock-cut tomb I
perforation: horizontal perf. at beak height
dimensions: H. 2.8/2.9; W. 2.3
collection, inv.no.: HM 1020-1021
literature: Muhly 1992, nos 241-242, 90, 188, fig. 21, pl. 27; Effinger 1996, HP 3a, 40-41, 188-189, 345, pl. 3d, 38b

C 15
date of find context: LM IB (t.a.q.)
form and number: trefoil with bar, 1 (*fig. 20*)
type of ornament: two-piece relief bead (flat back)
material: gold sheet
provenance: Mochlos, vicinity of House Tomb complex IV/V/VI
perforation: horizontal through semi-cylindrical cross-ribbed bar
dimensions: L. 1.1; W. 1.1
collection, inv.no.: Hagios Nikolaos Museum 3108
literature: Davaras 1975, 106, no. 23, pl. 22 a.d.; Soles 1992, 62; Effinger 1996, M 22b, 40-41, 261, 345, pl. 54b

C 16
date of find context: LM IA-LM IB
form and number: cockle shell, 2
type of ornament: relief pendant
material: rock crystal
provenance: Herakleion-Poros, rock-cut tomb I
perforation: horizontal perf. from side to side at the top
dimensions: H. 1,45-1,5; W 2,0
collection, inv.no.: HM 2350
literature: Effinger 1996, HP 4d, 46, 188, 191, 348

C 17

date of find context:	LM IA-LM IB
form and number:	figure-of-eight shield, 1 (*fig. 6*)
type of ornament:	two-piece relief bead (flat back sheet partly missing)
material:	silver sheet
provenance:	Herakleion-Poros, rock-cut tomb I
perforation:	horizontal at the 'waist'
dimensions:	H. 2.9; W. 2.1; Th. 0.9
collection, inv.no.:	HM 1028
literature:	Muhly 1992, no. 243, 90, 188, pl. 28; Effinger 1996, HP 3b, 38, 41, 188-190, 344, pl. 38c, 243

C 18

date of find context:	EM II-MM IA, reused in LM I, t.a.q. LM IB
form and number:	ivy with bar, 1 (*fig. 7*)
type of ornament:	two-piece relief bead (back not described)
material:	gold sheet
provenance:	Mochlos, House Tomb XXII
perforation:	along the semi-cylindrical cross-ribbed bar[190]
dimensions:	?
collection, inv.no.:	HM showcase I, 17
literature:	Seager 1912, fig. 41, pl. X; Higgins 1980, 65; Soles 1992, 76-77 (tomb), 82; Effinger 1996, M 39i, 32, 41, 266, 341, pls 52d, 54c; Hughes-Brock 2008, 129

C 19

date of find context:	LM IA-LM IB
form and number:	'ladle', A variant, 2 (*fig. 8*)
type of ornament:	relief pendant
material:	rock crystal
provenance:	Herakleion-Poros, rock-cut tomb I
perforation:	horizontal from side tot side below the 'shoulders'
dimensions:	H. 1.6; W. 1.2-1.25; Th. 0.5
collection, inv.no.:	HM 2350
literature:	Muhly 1992, 91, no. 246, 127-128, fig. 22, pl. 27; Effinger 1996, HP 4c, 47, 188, 191, 349, pl. 3e; Hughes-Brock 2020, 150

C 20

date of find context:	LM IA-LM IB
form and number:	'ladle', C variant, 1 (*fig. 10*)
type of ornament:	relief pendant
material:	glass
provenance:	Herakleion-Poros, rock-cut tomb I
perforation:	horizontal from side to side below the 'shoulders'
dimensions:	H. 2.0; W. 1.2; Th. 0.6
collection, inv.no.:	HM 2353
literature:	Muhly 1992, 91, no. 248, 127-129, fig. 22; Effinger 1996, HP 4f, 47, 188, 191, 349, pl. 3g; Hughes-Brock 2020, 150

C 21

date of find context:	LM IB
form and number:	'ladle', B variant, 7, probably a set (*fig. 9*)
type of ornament:	relief pendant
material:	rock crystal, diorite (?), haematite, jasper, serpentine[191]
provenance:	Palaikastro-Roussolakkos, Block N, room 10
perforation:	horizontal from side to side below the 'shoulders'
dimensions:	Specimen of rock crystal: H. 1.8; Th. 0.7. Other specimens: H. 1.6
collection, inv.no.:	HM 2322
literature:	Sackett/Popham/Warren 1965, 261, 303, no. 17, fig. 18, pl. 79c and colour plate (between pp. 248-249); Effinger 1996, PaR 3d-h, 47, 273, 349, pl. 13m (rock crystal PaR 3d), 55b (all); Hughes-Brock 2020, 150-151

C 22

date of find context:	EM II-MM IA, reused in LM I, t.a.q. LM IB
form and number:	snail spiral with bar, 1 (*fig. 19*)
type of ornament:	two-piece relief bead (back not described)
material:	gold sheet
provenance:	Mochlos, House Tomb XXII
perforation:	through the semi-cylindrical cross-ribbed bar
dimensions:	?
collection, inv.no.:	HM showcase I, 17
literature:	Seager 1912, fig. 41, pl. X; Higgins 1980, 65 ('volute and bar'); Soles 1992, 76-77 (tomb), 82; Effinger 1996, M 39j, 40-41, 266, 345, pls 52d, 54c; Hughes-Brock 2008, 129

APPENDIX 2

Chronological classification of early relief beads and relief pendants from the Greek mainland

The list below includes the early relief beads and relief pendants of the Greek mainland[192] from contexts no later than LH IIA.[193] They are categorized into three chronological groups (and, within these groups, alphabetically by form): the objects from late MH III-LH I[194] (Grave Circle B at Mycenae), LH I[195] (Shaft Graves III and V) and LH IIA (Kakovatos, tholoi A and B) respectively.[196]

The objects are classified in the same way as those from Crete in section 2.2.1., i.e. objects of the same form and found in the same place are classified under one number.

The entries of this classification are marked by M (of Mainland) with a serial number.

NAM = National Archaeological Museum
perf(s). = perforation(s)

M 1

date of find context:	late MH III-LH I
form and number:	palm frond (?) / flying bird (?), 44 (*fig. 32*)
type of ornament:	relief beads forming a necklace

material:	gold sheet
provenance:	Mycenae, Grave Circle B, Shaft Grave O
perforation:	perf. in centre
dimensions:	L. 1.5-1.7; W. in centre 0.35-0.5
collection, inv.no.:	NAM 8659
literature:	Mylonas 1972-1973, 201, no. O-430, pls 165b, 181a-b; Higgins 1980, 65; Laffineur 2009, 41, figs 146-147

M 2

date of find context:	late MH III-LH I
form and number:	rectangular *Plättchenperle*, 1 (*fig. 37*)
decoration:	rhombus with crossed ends and central circle
type of ornament:	relief bead
material:	faience
provenance:	Mycenae, Grave Circle B, Shaft Grave Ξ
perforation:	2; both semi-cylinders are perforated lengthwise
dimensions:	L. 2.7; W. 1.8[197]
collection, inv.no.:	NAM 8631
literature:	Mylonas 1972-1973, 182, no. Ξ-241, pl. 159a (centre); Foster 1979, 142, fig. 93; Hughes-Brock 2008, 129-130

M 3

date of find context:	late MH III-LH I
form and number:	rectangular *Plättchenperle*, 3 (*fig. 37*)
decoration:	rhombus with crossed ends and central circle
type of ornament:	relief bead
material:	faience
provenance:	Mycenae, Grave Circle B, Shaft Grave Y
perforation:	2; both semi-cylinders are perforated lengthwise
dimensions:	L. 2.7; W. 1.7
collection, inv.no.:	NAM 8680
literature:	Mylonas 1972-1973, 235-6, nos Y-243-245, pls 209b, 210a; Hughes-Brock 2008, 129-130

M 4

date of find context:	LH I
form and number:	cross, 1 (*fig. 24*)
decoration:	spiral bands in a notched frame
type of ornament:	two-piece relief bead (double-sided relief, edges folded together and soldered)
material:	gold sheet
provenance:	Mycenae, Grave Circle A, Shaft Grave III
perforation:	perf. through one arm
dimensions:	H. 2.2; W. 2.1; Th. 0.4
collection, inv.no.:	NAM 52
literature:	Schliemann 1880, 194, no. 294; Karo 1930-1933, 51, no. 52, 191, 283, 332, pl. XXVII

M 5

date of find context:	LH I
form and number:	ivy, 5 (*fig. 26*)
type of ornament:	two-piece relief bead (double-sided relief, edges folded together)
material:	gold sheet
provenance:	Mycenae, Grave Circle A, Shaft Grave III
perforation:	perf. along the longitudinal axis
dimensions:	L. 1.4
collection, inv.no.:	NAM 80
literature:	Karo 1930-1933, 55, no. 80, 189, pl. XX

M 6

date of find context:	LH I
form and number:	octopus (tentacles moving in all directions), 9[198] (*fig. 29*)
type of ornament:	two-piece relief bead (double-sided relief)
material:	gold sheet
provenance:	Mycenae, Grave Circle A, Shaft Grave III
perforation:	2; both lower tentacles are frontally perforated
dimensions:	H. 3.1; W. 3.3; ø 0.8
collection, inv.no.:	NAM 39
literature:	Schliemann 1880, 181-182, no. 270; Karo 1930-1933, 50, no. 39, pl. XXVI[199]

M 7

date of find context:	LH I
form and number:	octopus (tentacles hanging down), 11 (of which 10 intact) (*fig. 30*)
type of ornament:	two-piece relief bead (double-sided relief)
material:	gold sheet
provenance:	Mycenae, Grave Circle A, Shaft Grave III
perforation:	perforation(s) lengthwise
dimensions:	H. 2.9; W. 2.8; ø 0.8 (in one specimen H. 3.3; W. 2.9)
collection, inv.no.:	NAM 40
literature:	Schliemann 1880, 181-182, no. 271; Karo 1930-1933, 50, no. 40, pl. XXVI

M 8

date of find context:	LH I
form and number:	pair of birds with bar, 10 (a set)(*fig. 4*)
type of ornament:	two-piece relief bead (flat back, edges folded together)
material:	gold sheet
provenance:	Mycenae, Grave Circle A, Shaft Grave V
perforation:	horizontally, through semi-cylindrical cross-ribbed bar
dimensions:	H. 3.3; W. 4.3
collection, inv.no.:	NAM 689
literature:	Schliemann 1880, 317-318, no. 480; Karo 1930-1933, 128, no. 689, fig. 48, pl. LXVI

M 9

date of find context:	LH I
form and number:	pomegranate with bar, 12 identical, a set (*fig. 35*)[200]
type of ornament:	two-piece relief bead (double-sided relief; soldered together)
material:	gold sheet
provenance:	Mycenae, Grave Circle A, Shaft Grave III
perforation:	horizontal through semi-cylindrical cross-ribbed bar
dimensions:	H. 2.6

collection, inv.no.:	NAM 77
literature:	Schliemann 1880, 176, nos 257-258; Karo 1930-1933, 55, no. 77, 188, pl. XXII; Higgins 1980, 65, pl. 5E; Immerwahr 1989, 94, 99; Papadimitriou/Thaler/Maran 2015, 197, n. 74, 198

M 10

date of find context:	LH I
form and number:	rectangular *Plättchenperle*, 2 (*fig. 36*)
decoration:	ivy
type of ornament:	relief bead
material:	glass[201]
provenance:	Mycenae, Grave Circle A, Shaft Grave III
perforation:	3 parallel perfs.: 2 through semi-cylinders, 1 central
dimensions:	H. 2.7; W. 1.8
collection, inv.no.:	NAM 71
literature:	Karo 1930-1933, 54, no. 71, 189, pl. XX, XXIII; Haevernick 1960, 49; Foster 1979, 142, pl. 48; Pini 1981, 77

M 11

date of find context:	LH I
form and number:	swan pair, 1 (*fig. 38*)
type of ornament:	(half of a two-piece?)[202] relief bead
material:	gold sheet
provenance:	Mycenae, Grave Circle A, Shaft Grave III
perforation:	horizontally, in neck of each swan
dimensions:	H. 2.3; W. 2.9
collection, inv.no.:	NAM 43
literature:	Schliemann 1880, 183-184, no. 279; Karo 1930-1933, 50, no. 43, pl. XXI

M 12

date of find context:	LH I
form and number:	waz-lily with bar, 7, of which 3 intact (*fig. 41*)
type of ornament:	relief bead (probably one-sided)
material:	gold sheet
provenance:	Mycenae, Grave Circle A, Shaft Grave III
perforation:	4 specimens each have 4 frontal perfs.[203]
dimensions:	H. 2.1; W. 1.8
collection, inv.no.:	NAM 79
literature:	Karo 1930-1933, 55, no. 79, pl. XXVII; Higgins 1980, 65; Effinger 1996, 46

M 13

date of find context:	LH IIA
form and number:	bull, 1 (*fig. 22*)
type of ornament:	relief pendant[204]
material:	glass
provenance:	Kakovatos, tholos A
perforation:	?
dimensions:	W. 2.9
collection, inv.no.:	NAM no. ?
literature:	Müller 1909, 278, pl. XII, no. 5; Vermeule 1972, 131, fig. 28a

M 14

date of find context:	LH IIA
form and number:	cockle shell, 1 (*fig. 23*)
type of ornament:	two-piece relief pendant (flat back, soldered together)
material:	gold sheet
provenance:	Kakovatos, tholos B
perforation:	vertically at the top
dimensions:	H. 1.4; W. 1.9
collection, inv.no.:	NAM no. ?
literature:	Müller 1909, 294, no. 2, pl. XIV, no. 2

M 15

date of find context:	LH IIA
form and number:	drop, 3
type of ornament:	relief pendant
material:	lapis lazuli
provenance:	Kakovatos, tholos B
perforation:	horizontally, at the top
dimensions:	L 1,6-2,2
collection, inv.no.:	NAM no. ?
literature:	Müller 1909, 295, no. 1, fig. 12

M 16

date of find context:	LH IIA
form and number:	lily with 'flag', > 1[205] (*fig. 27*)
type of ornament:	relief pendant
material:	lapis lazuli
provenance:	Kakovatos, tholos B
perforation:	horizontally, at the top
dimensions:	?
collection, inv.no.:	NAM no. ?
literature:	Müller 1909, 295, no. 2, fig. 12

M 17

date of find context:	LH IIA
form and number:	papyrus, 2 (*fig. 33*)
type of ornament:	relief pendant
material:	lapis lazuli
provenance:	Kakovatos, tholos B
perforation:	horizontally, at the top
dimensions:	H. 'a little more than 1.0'
collection, inv.no.:	NAM no. ?
literature:	Müller 1909, 295, no. 3, fig. 12

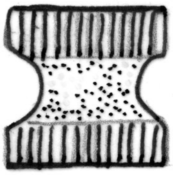
M 18

date of find context:	LH IIA
form and number:	toad, 1 (*fig. 39*)
type of ornament:	two-piece relief pendant (flat back)
material:	gold sheet
provenance:	Kakovatos, tholos A
perforation:	none: below the head a gold wire spiral
dimensions:	L. 2.4; W. 2.0
collection, inv.no.:	NAM 5662
literature:	Müller 1909, 271, no. 1, pl. XII, no. 8; XIII, no. 27; Marinatos/Hirmer 1973, 177, no. 225 bottom, pl. 225, bottom right; Higgins 1980, pl. 5C; Demakopoulou 1988, 107, no. 38

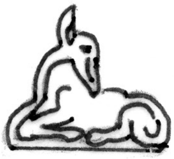
M 19

date of find context:	LH IIA
form and number:	trochus shell, 3 (*fig. 40*)
type of ornament:	relief bead
material:	gold sheet
provenance:	Kakovatos, tholos A
perforation:	2 side by side, close together, near the bottom
dimensions:	ø of cone base ca. 1,3
collection, inv.no.:	NAM no. ?
literature:	Müller 1909, 272, no. 6, pl. XIII, nos 1, 7

Plate 1 - *figs 1 - 9*



1. = C 1.



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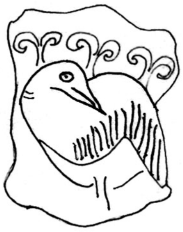

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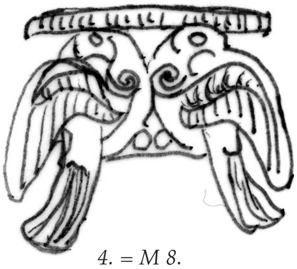

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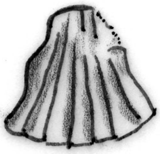
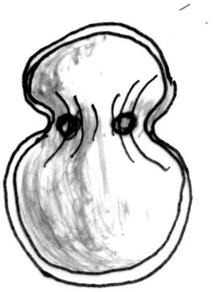


5. C =13.



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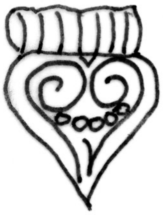

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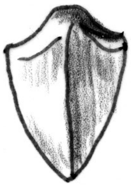

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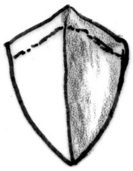
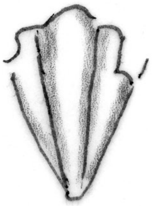


9. = C 6.

Plate 2 - *figs 10 - 15*



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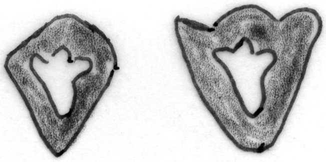

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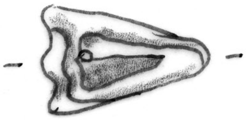

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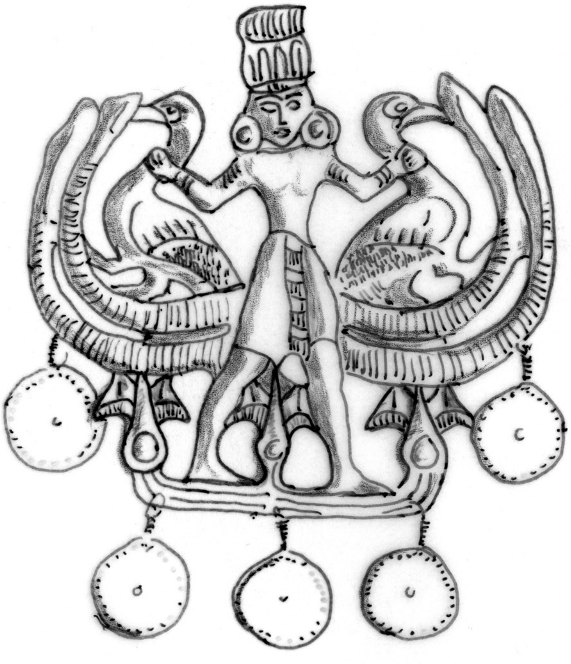

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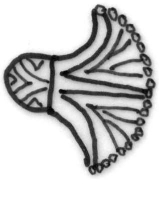

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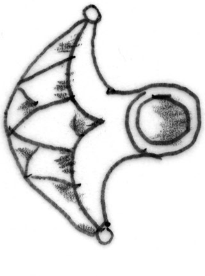
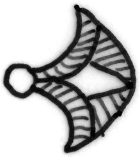


13. = C 2.

Plate 3 - *figs 16 - 22*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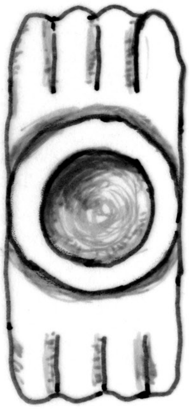
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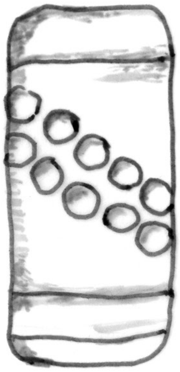
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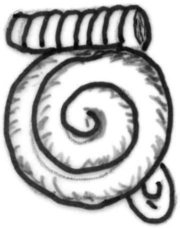
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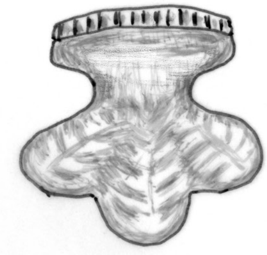
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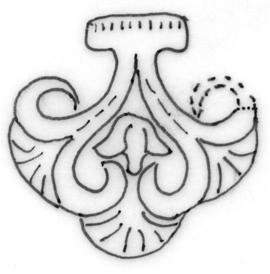
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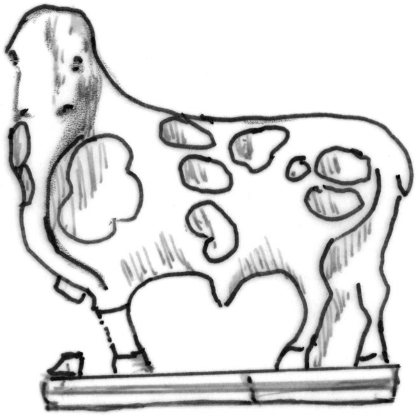
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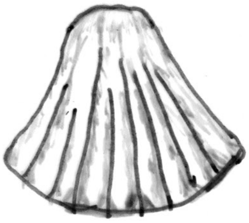
Plate 4 - *figs 23 - 28*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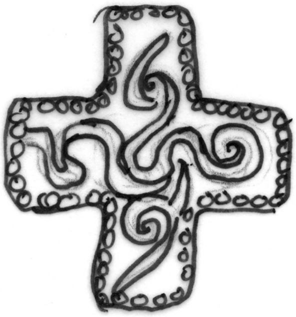
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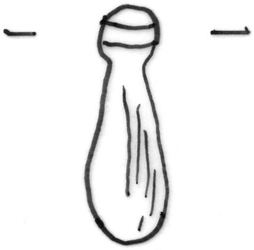
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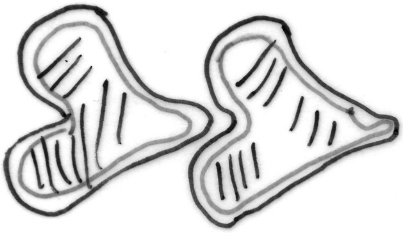
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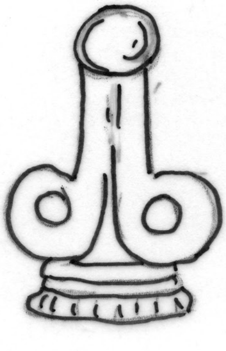
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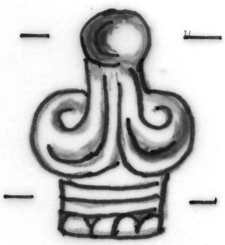
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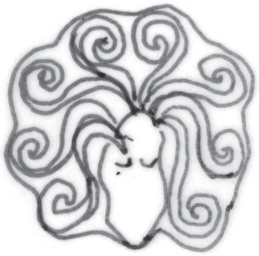
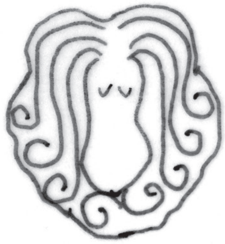


29. = M 6.



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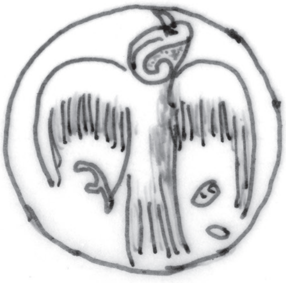

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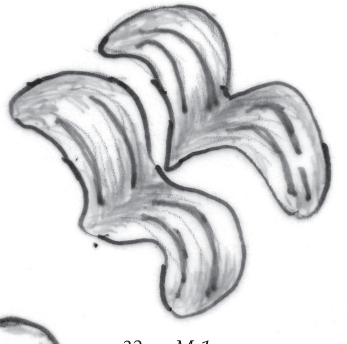

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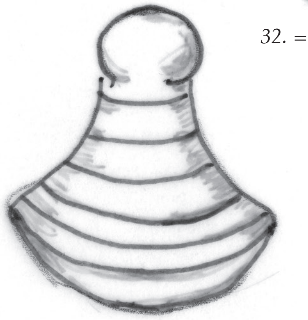

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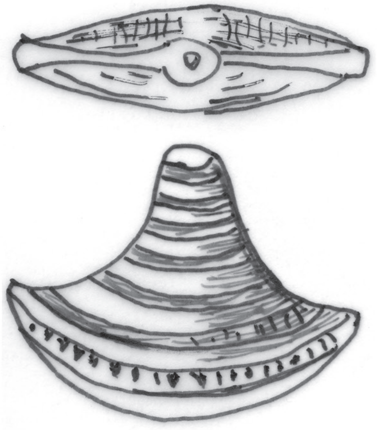

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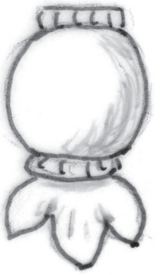

35. = M 9.

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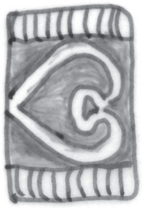

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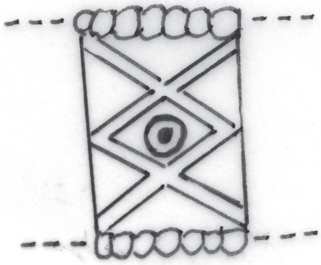

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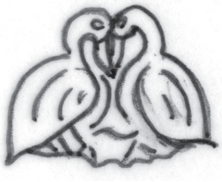
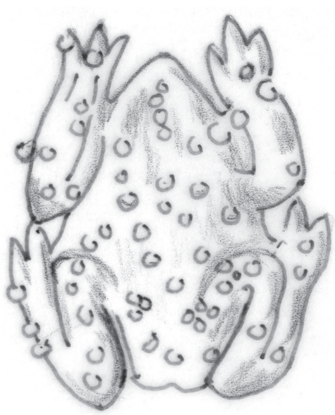
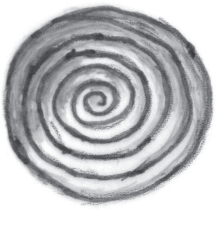


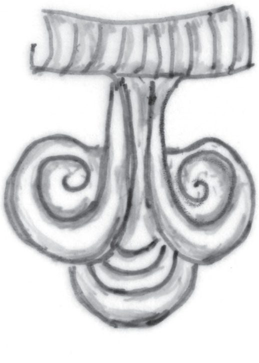
38. = M 11.



39. = M 18.



40. = M 19.



41. = M 12.

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Fig. 3. C 14. - Effinger 1996, 40, HP 3a, pl. 38b.
Fig. 4. M 8. - Hood 1978, fig. 203 C, pl. LXVI, no. 689.
Fig. 5. C 13. - Muhly 1992, pl. 28, no. 250.
Fig. 6. C 17. - Muhly 1992, pl. 28, no. 243.
Fig. 7. C 18. - Effinger 1996, 32, M 39i.
Fig. 8. C 5. - Effinger 1996, pl. 9a.
Fig. 9. C 6. - Muhly 1992, fig. 22, no. 247.

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Fig. 12. 'Ladle'-shaped relief bead of glass from Mycenae. - Xenaki-Sakellariou 1985, 298, no. 55.
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Fig. 15. C 9. - Effinger 1996, 34, KnT 3a.

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Fig. 18. C 4. - Detournay 1980. fig. 186.
Fig. 19. C 22. - Effinger 1996, 40, M 39j.
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Fig. 22. M 13. - Müller 1909, pl. XII, no. 5 and Vermeule 1972, fig. 28a.

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Notes

[*] Acknowledgements: I am very grateful to Mrs Helen Hughes-Brock for many valuable comments on a draft of my paper, and for her meticulous correction of the English. I would also like to thank Professor Joost Crouwel for his permanent support and his critical reading of my text. Finally, I am greatly indebted to the reviewers of my paper for their comments, and to my wife, Conny Stoete, for making the drawings.

[1] Absolute chronology after Manning 2010, 23, Table 2.2.

[2] A relief bead (*Reliefperle*) is a bead with an embossed front and a flat back.

[3] Dickinson 1994, 186.

[4] Higgins (1961, 76; 1980, 65) mentioned the dates 1700 and 1450 BC, which were then common for this period.

[5] Maria Effinger, 1996, 41 already pointed out that some very early specimens existed, such as C 2-4 and 8-9: see my chronological classification in Appendix 1.

[6] See *Precursors* in section 2.2.2.

[7] Hughes-Brock 2008, 128-129.

[8] Hughes-Brock 2008, 129.

[9] For the meaning of relief beads and their designs, see Hughes-Brock 1999, 287-288, 290; Hughes-Brock 2008, 130-132, 134; Hughes-Brock 2014; Hughes-Brock 2020, 151 ('ladles').

[10] Effinger 1996, 341-345 lists in her tables with Cretan relief beads a total of 1550 specimens and 74 fragments shown in literature. In addition, she mentions 35 specimens that are not shown in literature and are therefore not included in her tables.

[11] The assumption here is that 38 of the 59 Cretan relief ornaments listed below are relief beads.

[12] Two gold relief beads from Knossos-Isopata, rock-cut chamber tomb 2 ('Tomb of the Double Axes'), in the shape of a double argonaut. The beads are two-piece; the back is supposedly flat. Probably they were formed in the same matrix. See Effinger 1996, KnI 5a, 30-31, 206, 341, pl. 5l.

[13] The finds from LH IIB contexts came from chamber tombs 55, 68, 71, 75, 76, 78, 81, 84, 88, 91, 93, 94 and 102 at Mycenae (see Xenaki-Sakellariou 1985).

[14] The entries in the catalogue of early relief beads and relief pendants from the Greek mainland in Appendix 2 are marked by M (of Mainland) with a serial number.

[15] These are listed in a catalogue in Appendix 1.

[16] The entries in the catalogue of early relief beads and relief pendants from Crete in Appendix 1 are marked by C (of Crete) with a serial number.

[17] Banti, in the original publication, 1930-33, 198, no. 184 calls this 'un oggetto', not an altar with incurved sides. Perhaps this is the earliest context for such an object.

[18] According to Hughes-Brock 1999, 285 the green colour may have had symbolic value.

[19] Effinger 1996, HT 3j, 39.

[20] Effinger 1996, pl. 34b.

[21] This concerns Effinger's PL 1f, pl. 16g.

[22] Alexiou [sa], 97-98.

[23] Sakellarakis/Sakellarakis 1991, 50, fig. 16.

[24] Marinatos/Hirmer 1973, 145-146, nos 108-110, fig. 20, pls 108-110.

[25] CMS XIII, no. 39.

[26] Marinatos 1993, 6, figs 122, 213.

[27] Marinatos/Hirmer 1973, 160, no. 163, pl. 163.

[28] Effinger 1996, KnT 3i, 40.

[29] CMS II, 8, no. 376 (Hieroglyphic Deposit) and 377 (Eastern Temple Repository).

[30] CMS II, 8, no. 430 (exact find-spot unknown).

[31] Evans 1935, 116-118, figs. 82-83.

[32] Dimopoulou 1999, 217-218, pl. 44a-46c, 47-48.

[33] CMS II, 8, no. 150.

[34] CMS VSII, no. 112.

[35] For figure-of-eight shields, see Danielidou 1998 and Nikolaidou 2020.

[36] Effinger 1996, 38, AJ 1a, HP 3b.

[37] Effinger 1996, 38. The later Cretan specimens with the edge marked by a thin groove, are Effinger's Mi 3h of stone, Av 3g and Phy 3c of rock crystal, Phy 3d of glass, and Av 3f of carnelian.

[38] See for instance Effinger's specimens A 12k, no. 8, pl. 24a, and Av 3g, pl. 29d, 27.

[39] This concerns Effinger's figure-of-eight shield pendant HP 4a, pp. 191-192, pl. 38c, no. 245 (erroneously reference is made to no. 244).

[40] Nikolaidou 2020, 5, fig. 2; CMS VS1A, no. 219; XI, no. 75; II, 1, no. 114.

[41] Nikolaidou 2020, 6, fig. 4b; CMS II, 2, no. 32.

[42] Alexiou [sa], 94-95.

[43] Rehak 1999, 236.

[44] Immerwahr 1989, 139 mentions small fragments, belonging to fire-destroyed figure-of-eight shields that would have hung on walls in the Palace of Knossos at the time of its destruction.

[45] Marinatos/Hirmer 1973, 75, pl. 49 (centre)-50 (below).

[46] CMS I, nos 11-12.

[47] Evans 1930, 304-307 states that the painted figure-of-eight shields in the Palace of Knossos are 1.63 meters high. Those in the Palace of Tiryns have a height of 31-35 cm. Warren 1975, front plate, 74, 97 shows the specimens in the Palace of Knossos (in the stairwell to the living quarters in the east wing) and a 13th-century specimen of the Greek mainland. See also Immerwahr 1989, 138-140, pl. 49.

[48] Effinger 1996, M 39i, 32.

[49] Effinger 1996, 47, note 759. 'Heart-shaped': Evans 1894, 280, fig. 8.

[50] Hughes-Brock 2020, 149.

[51] This pendant is made of haematite and has the same form, date and provenance as the specimens of C 21. Front and back are slightly convex. The outline is similar to that of the C variant. See Sackett/Popham/Warren 1965, 261, 303, no. 17, fig. 18, pl. 79c and colour plate (between pp. 248-249); Effinger 1996, PaR 3i, 47, 273, 349, pl. 13n, 55b.

[52] Effinger 1996, 47, 349; Hughes-Brock 2020, 149-150.

[53] For the specimen from Dendra, see: Persson 1942, 50, no. 21, fig. 53, no. 4 centre. For the specimens from grave 71 at Mycenae, see: Xenaki-Sakellariou 1985, 205, no. 3038 (1), 298, no. 55, pl. 92.

[54] Xenaki-Sakellariou 1985, 264, no. 3220 (1), 298, no. 55, pl. 131.

[55] Effinger 1996, 39-40.

[56] For the Aegina Treasure, see Higgins 1979 and Fitton/Meeks/Joyner 2009.

[57] Until recently it was commonly assumed that the 'master of animals' pendant was Cretan work of MM III. However, J. Aruz, 2009, 48-49 thinks that this pendant is of eastern Mediterranean creation or inspiration. She demonstrates that 'its elements relate to and appear to derive from Syro-Canaanite imagery on jewellery and glyptic of the middle to late Bronze Age.' Koehl, 2011, 202-203 also thinks that similarities with other precious metal jewellery suggest that the pendant was made during MBA II somewhere in the south-eastern Mediterranean.

[58] Xenaki-Sakellariou 1985, 300, no. 73; Effinger 1996, 34, notes 528-530.

[59] Muhly 1992, 188.

[60] Effinger 1996, HP 3a, 40, 189.

[61] Effinger 1996, KnT 3a, 34. Moreover, there is a rosette-shaped relief bead from Crete that has a double-sided relief as well: specimen A 12k no. 1 (see Effinger pp. 136-137).

[62] Effinger 1996, Go 1o, 34, 177, pl. 32a, 14.

[63] Effinger 1996, MaS 2a, 36-37, 242.

[64] Effinger 1996, 36-37.

[65] Effinger 1996, M 39j, 40.

[66] Niemeier 1985, 106, fig. 45, 15. These beads originate from a LM IIIA grave at Phaistos-Kalyvia. Effinger 1996, 39.

[67] Effinger 1996, M 22b, 40, 261, 345, pl. 54b.

[68] Effinger 1996, KnP 2d, 45-46.

[69] Effinger 1996, 45-46, 348.

[70] Panagiotaki 1999, 77, no. 149.

[71] Palaikastro-Roussolakos Block N, Compartment 10, a small corner closet perhaps used for storing the more valuable household belongings. See Sackett/Popham/Warren 1965, 261, summarized by Effinger 1996, 272.

[72] Mallia settlement, Quartier Mu, room V 5: C 3–4 fallen from the sanctuary situated on the floor above. See Effinger 1996, 242.

[73] See note 17.

[74] Effinger 1996, 37-38. For a long-drawn volute with a *semi-cylindrical* bar, see Evely 2000, 414, no. 21, pl. 93.5.

[75] See note 8.

[76] Koehl 2011, 194.

[77] Effinger's assumption is that C 8 has a flat back sheet as well (1997, 221, no. KnT 3i).

[78] Effinger 1996, 41. In her evaluation of Minoan beads she mentions the early relief beads while leaving out the early stone specimens (figure-of-eight shield, altar), although she includes them in her catalogue.

[79] Effinger 1996, 39, 344, pls 16g, 34b, 39a, 59c.

[80] Haevernick 1960, pl. 7: Ashmolean Museum, Oxford 1910.522.

[81] Effinger 1996, 46, 348.

[82] Xenaki-Sakellariou 1985, 307, no. 111.

[83] Effinger, 1996, 38, 344.

[84] See *Figure-of-eight shield* in section 2.2.1.

[85] Effinger 1996, 47.

[86] See note 58.

[87] Effinger 1996, Go 1o, 34, 343, pl. 32a, 14.

[88] See note 64.

[89] See note 69.

[90] See section 2.2.2, *Relief beads with ba*r.

[91] For ivy relief beads, see Effinger 1996, 31-32, 341.

[92] See note 66.

[93] These are listed in a catalogue in Appendix 2.

[94] Müller 1909, 278.

[95] Vermeule 1972, 131.

[96] Effinger 1996, 30, 210, no. KnM 2b, pl. 6i, 42a, no. 20.

[97] CMS VS3, no. 171.

[98] CMS V, no. 668.

[99] CMS XI, no. 147.

[100] CMS II, 1, no. 200.

[101] CMS II, 8, no. 121.

[102] Effinger 1996, 50-51, 351. A mould from Crete, now at New York (Metropolitan Museum of Art 26.31.393), shows a matrix for a similar drop pendant: Richter 1953, 17, pl. 9, top right.

[103] Effinger 1996, 51; Xenaki-Sakellariou 1985, 298, no. 57.

[104] Cameron 1971, 38.

[105] Effinger 1996, 31-32, 341.

[106] See Xenaki-Sakellariou 1985, 306, no. 106, pl. 97, no. 2941 (7), pl. 110, no. 3222 (2), pl. 133, no. 4547 (5). The 'flag' of the gold specimens from grave 93 is sharp and rectangular. The 'flag' of the other specimens from Mycenae has bent edges like M 16.

[107] Persson 1931, 29, 39, pl. XXVII.

[108] A 'gold relief bead in the shape of an octopus' (Konstantinidi 2001, 164 r.) or 'Piastrina rettangolare in oro, con rilievo di Octopus' (A. Maiuri in *Annuario* 6-7, 1923-24, 221, fig. 142) from chamber tomb NT 53 (ca. LH IIIB), found in Rhodes, is actually a relief bead in the shape of a double argonaut. See Benzi 1992, 347, no. L4.

[109] Xenaki-Sakellariou 1985, 308, no. 116.

[110] Karo 1930-1933, 50, no. 40.

[111] Karo 1930-1933, 50, 52, nos 44, 60, pl. XXVI.

[112] CMS II, 6, nos 111-114, and VI, no. 258 respectively.

[113] Personal communication, Judith Weingarten.

[114] Peterson et al. 1987, 70-72, pl. 27.

[115] Mylonas 1972-1973, 201, no. O-430; pectoral or amulet: ibid., no. O-431.

[116] Mylonas 1972-1973, 201, no. O-430, pl. 181.

[117] Higgins 1980, 65, pl. 4A. For similar leaves from the Aegina Treasure, see Fitton/Meeks/Joyner 2009, 22, nos 14-15, figs 72-73, 75-76. For palm-leaf gold beads found on Kythera and at Peristeria (Peloponnese), see Coldstream 1972, 261, no. 1, pl. 84, and Korres 1976, 499, pl. 263g respectively.

[118] For examples of these later relief ornaments, see Effinger's description of her B variant among the Cretan papyrus-shaped relief beads: Effinger 1996, 31-32, 341.

[119] Effinger 1996, 34, n. 528. Their decoration is similar to that of Effinger's A variant among the Cretan papyrus-shaped relief beads (see for a description of this variant, Effinger 1996, 31-32, 341). For illustrated specimens from Mycenae and Thebes, see respectively Xenaki-Sakellariou 1985, pl. 71, no. 2867, pl. 119, without number, and Demakopoulou/Konsola 1981, pl. 19 left.

[120] For the pomegranate in Aegean art in the Bronze Age and its origins, see Immerwahr 1989. For a 'pomegranate bearer' in a wall-painting from Tiryns, see Papadimitriou/Thaler/Maran 2015.

[121] Wace 1932, 195, no. 75, pl. 38.75.

[122] Tsountas 1889, cols. 150-151, pl. 7.4.

[123] Levi 1976, 346, pl. 180:f (F 5438). Immerwahr 1989, 404 mentions 'a still earlier (unpublished?) pomegranate vase in eggshell Kamares ware, also from Phaistos.'

[124] Evans 1921, 496, fig. 354.

[125] Effinger 1996, 35, 343 (nos SP 2a, Go 1p). The unknown substance of the Go 1p specimens possibly is faience. The excavator described them as 'porcelain'. See Effinger 1996, 177.

[126] Effinger 1996, 35-36. See her note 559 for specimens from Argos (LH IIB), Mycenae, Dendra and Diasela (Broumasi). Both specimens from Mycenae (chamber tomb 60; no. Γ2811 (8)) are not entirely rectangular; the outline of the *Plättchenperle* partly follows that of the ivy leaf.

[127] Mylonas 1972-1973, 178, 182, 235-6 imagined them as centrepieces of five different necklaces, as shown on pl. 210a. He called M 2 a 'pectoral'. It was found close to simple stone beads. See also Hughes-Brock 2008, 129-130.

[128] Effinger 1996, 35-37, 343. For Cretan specimens with two semi-cylindrical short sides, see her A-D variants. Her E variant *Plättchenperlen* only have one semi-cylindrical side each. C variant *Plättchenperlen* have short sides which are partly overlapped by their designs. For specimens of rectangular *Plättchenperlen* with semi-cylindrical sides from mainland Greece, Rhodos, Melos and Kefalonia, see her notes 553-554, 559-563, 566-568, 570, 572-574.

[129] See note 7.

[130] Testa 1986, 91-99, pl. IX.

[131] Karo 1930-1933, 50, no. 43.

[132] CMS II 3, no. 180.

[133] Müller 1909, 271, no. 1.

[134] Effinger 1996, 234, 350, K 4a, pl. 9j.

[135] Cline 1994, 136; Effinger 1996, 208, 350, KnI 12c, pl. 6f; Phillips 2008, vol. II, 131, no. 246.

[136] Müller 1909, 272, no. 6.

[137] Effinger 1996, 34, 342. Later trochus shell-shaped relief beads from Crete include relief beads from Knossos-Isopata (faience), Knossos-Sellopoulo, Phaistos-Kalyvia and Chania-Hagios Apostolos. For later mainland specimens, see Effinger's notes 519-522 (Argos, Mycenae, Spata, Thebes) and Rahmstorf 2008, 227-228, no. 1910, pl. 86, 95, no. 14; Haevernick 1981, 406, no. 23, 408-409, figs 1-2 (Tiryns, *Unterburg*).

[138] See section 2.4.

[139] Karo 1930-1933, 55, no. 79. Effinger 1996, 46 specified them as pendants. In my opinion, the ribbed bar at the upper end of the bead is too long for that.

[140] Higgins 1980, 65.

[141] An appliqué is always single-sided and in principle does not have bent edges.

[142] Effinger 1996, 45-46, 348. For specimens from mainland Greece, see Effinger's notes 728-729. The long-drawn form is similar to the form of Effinger's Cretan A variant among the lily-shaped relief beads without a waz. See her note 727.

[143] These ornament groups correspond to M 1-M 19 in the catalogue of early relief beads and relief pendants from the Greek mainland in Appendix 2.

[144] The total number cannot be determined exactly, since for M 16 the number is not specified. Without M 16 there are 117.

[145] Probably the bar of waz-lily M 12 did not function in practice as a carrying element. See section 2.3.1, *Waz-lily with bar*.

[146] See note 90.

[147] The other two find groups of gold sheet relief beads are M 11 and M 12 from Shaft Grave III. M 11 is supposed to be a bead of which one half has been lost: see note 202. For M 12, see section 2.3.1, *Waz-lily with bar*.

[148] With the M 19 trochus shells the question of two-sidedness (front and back sheet) does not arise. A cone of gold sheet may have had a solid core of some other material.

[149] Some LH rectangular *Plättchenperlen* of sheet gold (without ribbed semi-cylindrical borders) exist. See Karo 1930-1933, 49, nos 33-35, pl. XXIV (specimens with figurative representations); Bielefeld 1968, C 12, fig. 2a (double ivy leaf).

[150] See note 138.

[151] The lily (without 'flag') appears already early in Crete as part of the waz-lily. The waz-lily can be considered as a combination of lily and papyrus. See section 2.2.1, *Waz-lily (double) with bar*.

[152] See sections 2.2.1, Shape categories, and 2.2.2, under *Precursors*.

[153] Evans 1902-03, 64-66, 112-115, figs 42-43; Evans 1921, 488-489, figs 349-350; Wace 1921-23, 398; Evans 1928, 616-622; Hughes-Brock, 1973, 121, fig. 26; Panagiotaki 1999, 73, n 25; Evely 2000, 414, no. 16, fig. 161.

[154] Effinger 1996, 37, 343-344.

[155] Effinger 1996, 34, 342.

[156] For the early specimens from Kakovatos, see section 2.3.1, Shape categories, *Trochus shell*. For Mycenae, see Xenaki-Sakellariou 1985, 107, no. Γ 2271 (2), pl. 27 (tomb 30); 136, no. 2270 (1), pl. 37; 139, no. Γ 2374 (2); 205, no. Γ 2963 (1), pl. 92 (tomb 71); 293, no. 11. For Argos, see Vollgraff 1904, 386, fig. 16. For Tiryns, see Rahmstorf 2008, 227-228, no. 1910, pl. 86, 95, no. 14; Haevernick 1981, 406, no. 23, 408-409, figs 1-2. For Dimini, see Konstantinidi 2001, 153, fig. 32 (wrongly labelled as cockles).

[157] Sakellarakis, I./E. Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, part 2, 629-630, figs 678 l., 680.

[158] Savignoni 1904, 632ff., fig. 106 (glass specimen); Wace 1921-23, 398, fig. 90 (ivory specimen).

[159] Wace 1921-23, 398-401, pl. LXI.

[160] Mycenae, chamber tomb 55: Xenaki-Sakellariou 1985, 170, no. 2829, pl. 68. In the same tomb (similarly small) specimens of sheet gold were recovered: 171, no. 2846, pl. 71. Chamber tomb 68: 193, no. 2936 (2), pl. 83. Longer specimens were found in LH IIB chamber tombs 71 (no. 2953) and 93 (no. 4550): see Xenaki-Sakellariou 1985, 311, no. 139.

[161] Nightingale 2008, 77, fig. 4.9, refers to another mould from Knossos (Haevernick 1960, 38-39, pl. 7), now at Oxford, which includes a curled leaf matrix. A cast of this matrix ‘shows that only the obverse of the bead is shaped by the form. The bottom wave, which turns to the back, had to be shaped in a separate process.’

[162] The recovered later Cretan relief beads (LM IIIA-B) include only three specimens that were made of materials that cannot be worked in a mould. See Effinger 1996, 41, 344.

[163] The M 8 specimens can be compared at best in the original illustration in Karo (1930-33, fig. 48.

[164] Comparison of the outline of sheet gold specimens showing the same motif is of little value. After moulding, the edge of the embossed front sheet was generally folded down to attach it to the back sheet. This caused differences in detail between specimens. Possibly the edge of the front sheet was cut to shape after being removed from the mould.

[165] See for instance the mould from Knossos, now at Oxford, which is mentioned above (note 161).

[166] For the recent research on glass and faience, see Panagiotaki, M. et al. 2004.

[167] Panagiotaki 2008, 45 states that glass appears in Crete at the end of LM IA in the form of beads, but that many of the beads may have been imported. See for a description of and references to literature on Nuzi beads – glass beads which are supposed to have an oriental origin – Nightingale 2018, 43.

[168] The earliest glass beads in Crete of non-representational shapes are Protopalatial. They include 20 specimens that belong to 5 shape categories (globular and almond-, barrel-, disc- and corn grain-shaped beads). One (globular) specimen originates from Palaikastro-Roussolakkos; all others come from rock-cut tomb 1 at Herakleion-Poros. The next such glass beads are LM II, from Knossos. Data derived from Effinger’s (1996) tables of her category 2.5.1, Rundplastische Perlen, pp. 322–340.

[169] Pini 1999, 331-332.

[170] Called faience by Karo but corrected to glass by Haevernick (1960, 49 n. 7), who explained the misidentification by Karo and others as due to the deceptive appearance of the weathered glass surface.

[171] Muhly (1992, pl. 28, no. 250) only shows the complete specimen. These beads should be the same size.

[172] Effinger 1996, 41.

[173] Compare the table of materials used for the early Cretan ornaments in section 2.2.2.

[174] See note 153.

[175] Nightingale 2000, 6: ‘In the periods prior to the Mycenaean palaces [LH IIIA-B] and on Minoan Crete earlier glass and faience beads occur, including some early relief beads, however, these are only made of faience.’

[176] Among the finds from LH IIB contexts at Mycenae there are various glass relief beads as well (for instance in chamber tombs 55 and 71): see Xenaki-Sakellariou 1985, 168-175 and 204-207.

[177] On the mainland an early glass relief pendant was recovered as well (M 13, LH IIA).

[178] With the exception of M 12. See section 2.3.1, *Waz-lily with bar.*

[179] See note 116.

[180] The dates mentioned are for a large part derived from tables of ornament forms in Effinger 1996 (relief beads pp. 341-345; relief pendants pp. 348-349).

[181] A *Plättchenperle* is a flat-backed plaque bearing designs in relief.

[182] Relief beads and relief pendants from broad contexts such as LM IA-LM IIIA may belong to the early group too, but that is not certain. For that reason they are excluded from the classification.

[183] Called ‘steatite’ in the literature. However, many objects once described as ‘made of steatite’ have been identified more recently as made of serpentine or chlorite.

[184] 5 of these 26 specimens are fragmentary.

[185] In Effinger’s table on p. 343 erroneously the catalogue entry MaS 2b has been used.

[186] See note 185.

[187] No illustration published.

[188] See note 183.

[189] Three of the four specimens are incomplete.

[190] The presence of cross-ribs is not mentioned in literature, but can be seen in Effinger 1996, pl. 54c.

[191] Two specimens are of jasper, two others of serpentine. The other materials are represented by one specimen each.

[192] Two pieces of gold foil of unequal size, each with the outline of an ivy leaf, are not included. Although they do not seem to be beads or pendants, it is possible that they were intended as coverings for beads of a different material. Both objects show pseudo-granules, which possibly were shaped in a mould and come from Peristeria (tomb I, LH IIA): see Marinatos 1965, 113, pl. 129a.

[193] Relief beads and relief pendants from broad contexts such as LH II-III are excluded from the classification.

[194] For this date, see Graziadio 1988, 343, 369.

[195] For the date of the Shaft Graves in Circle A, see a.o. Dickinson 1977, 50-51, and Graziadio 1988, 372.

[196] Objects of LH II date are excluded, viz., one lily relief pendant from Grave XVI in the Athenian Agora (Immerwahr 1971, 208, pls 47, 77) and at least five gold relief beads – one ‘ladle’ and four lilies – from Dendra chamber tomb 8 (Persson 1942, 50 no. 21, fig. 53:4).

[197] Mylonas 1972-1973, 182, no. Ξ-241. In Foster (1979, fig. 93), where the dimensions of this P*lättchenperle* are circa 1.9 x 1.2 cm, M 2 would have been illustrated at

the 'actual size'. This may be a mistake: compare the dimensions of *Plättchenperlen* M 10, in Foster illustrated at 'actual size', which differ from the dimensions in the original source (Karo 1930-1933, 54, no. 71).

[198] These specimens are part of a group of 18 relief ornaments of which 16 are intact.

[199] Karo's illustration shows appliqués (single-sided specimens with four frontal perfs., of which two in the upper tentacles) with the same appearance as the M 6 relief beads.

[200] Three of the twelve specimens are incomplete.

[201] See note 170.

[202] Karo (1930-33, 50, no. 43) considered that this object was probably two-sided (the edges of the gold sheet are bent slightly inwards) and strung as a spacer because of its two perfs. at the neck. It belongs to a group of four, the other three being appliqués with 4 frontal perforations, 2 in the neck and 2 below in the wingtip.

[203] Karo illustrated two specimens. On one the 4 perfs. are visible but on the other only one.

[204] Müller 1909, 278. It is not clear on which basis he identified the ornament as a pendant.

[205] Müller (1909, 295) wrote of lilies of different size.

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BABESCH 97 (2022), 51-64. doi: 10.2143/BAB.97.0.3290532

La stèle d'Aristoklès
Pratiques funéraires et construction sociale des émotions à Athènes au IVe siècle av. J.-C.

Brice De Potter

Abstract

*The Aristokles stele is a 4th-c. BC marble funerary marker from Attica, depicting an Athenian rider returning from the hunt. Its unique figural scene and accompanying epigram noticeably diverge from contemporary commemorative trends. Whereas on many Attic stelae, figures express sorrow in a subdued way, this monument focuses on Aristokles' enjoyment of life. This move from traditional representations of emotion holds particular significance to our understanding of the tombstone and its context. In this article, it is argued that the emphasis on the deceased's feelings is best understood as a conscious attempt to arouse the viewer's sympathy towards Aristokles and his family, in a context where the Athenians viewed the cavalry with suspicion.**

Introduction

Le monument funéraire du citoyen athénien Aristoklès du Pirée (*fig. 1*),[1] un bas-relief du premier quart du IVe siècle av. J.-C. conservé au British Museum, surprend à la fois par sa décoration figurée et par son inscription. Ce type de stèle était érigé sur la façade d'un péribole, un enclos rectangulaire construit en bordure de route pour abriter et signaler les tombes d'une famille. L'intérieur du péribole, accessible depuis l'arrière, accueillait les sépultures et les rites du culte des morts. De la route, les passants ne voyaient donc que la façade de l'enclos et les stèles qui la couronnaient. Ces reliefs informent les passants sur l'identité, le rôle social, le rang économique et la parenté des propriétaires.[2] Leur répertoire iconographique est limité. D'ordinaire, ils figurent le défunt seul ou en compagnie de membres de sa famille, unis, dans ce dernier cas, par une poignée de mains (*déxiôsis*) ou un regard. Une inscription nomme le mort. Parfois, un poème vante ses mérites dans un langage assez formulaire.[3]

La stèle d'Aristoklès du Pirée revêt un double intérêt pour l'histoire des pratiques funéraires athéniennes. D'abord, elle se démarque nettement des tendances décrites ci-dessus. Sa composition – un cavalier dont le cheval se cabre, suivi d'un serviteur – ne connaît pas d'équivalent dans la sculpture funéraire attique. Quant à l'épigramme, elle s'éloigne des formules poétiques conventionnelles et semble évoquer explicitement la scène figurée sur le monument. La première partie du présent article se centre donc sur la nature du motif et le sens des vers qui l'accompagnent.

Ensuite, la stèle d'Aristoklès rompt avec la représentation traditionnelle des émotions sur les reliefs funéraires attiques. D'ordinaire, l'état émotionnel des défunts (chagrin, affection) se manifeste avec une certaine retenue: un geste de la main, une inclinaison de la tête, une caresse, un regard suffisent à le communiquer aux passants.[4] À l'inverse, le relief de Londres expose la vie affective intense et joyeuse d'Aristoklès, brutalement interrompue par la mort. La seconde partie de cet essai est consacrée à la signification sociale et politique de cette rupture avec la tradition iconographique.[5]

La stèle d'Aristoklès: contexte et significations

La stèle d'Aristoklès du Pirée est connue depuis le XVIIIe siècle. À cette époque, elle était encastrée dans le mur d'une école située près de l'église médiévale de Megali Panagia, dans le centre d'Athènes. Elle a ensuite été acquise par Lord Elgin en 1816.[6] L'emplacement antique de la pierre n'est donc pas connu.

Le monument, en marbre pentélique, prend la forme d'une plaque quadrangulaire surmontée d'une corniche et dressée sur une plinthe (0.80 x 0.44 m). L'extrémité gauche de la corniche et le bord inférieur droit de la plinthe ont été arrachés. L'usure du marbre rend la lecture des détails ardue – certains sont définitivement perdus. Je n'ai pas détecté de trace de polychromie.

Deux figures se détachent en bas-relief (20 mm). Un cavalier chevauche sa puissante monture

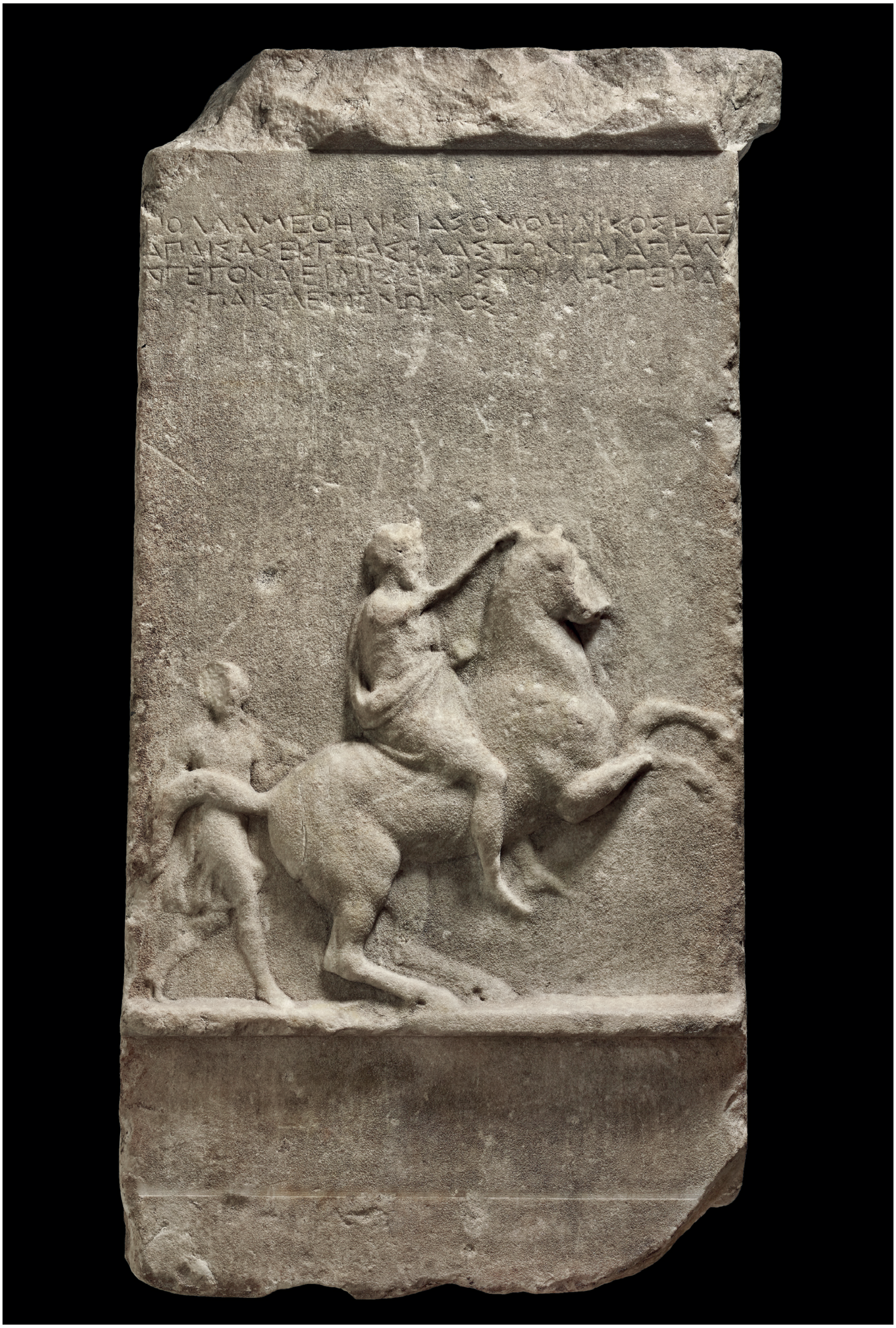

Fig. 1. La stèle d'Aristoklès. Londres, The British Museum, 1816,0610.384.

cabrée vers la droite. De la main gauche, il tient les rênes de l'animal, à l'origine rendues en peinture. De la droite, il touche l'oreille droite de son cheval. Ce dernier tourne la tête de trois quarts vers le spectateur. Les détails du visage du cavalier sont perdus mais une vue de côté confirme la présence d'une barbe, déjà notée par Conze et Clairmont dans leur catalogue respectif. Notre homme est donc représenté à un âge mûr. Il porte un *himation* jeté sur l'épaule gauche et retroussé autour de la taille; il lui couvre le dos, les hanches et les cuisses. Au second plan, derrière la queue du cheval, un serviteur en *chitôn* court à la suite de son maître, le buste tourné de trois-quarts vers la droite, la tête (vraisemblablement) tournée vers le spectateur. De la main gauche, il tient un objet allongé, posé sur son épaule. L'extrémité gauche de cet objet n'est plus visible à cause de coups et de taches.

Une épigramme funéraire occupe l'espace situé sous la corniche (*fig. 2*). Elle se compose de trois vers (un hexamètre, un pentamètre et un hexamètre) répartis en quatre lignes:[7]

ΠΟΛΛΑ ΜΕΘ ΗΛΙΚΙΑΣ ΟΜΟΗΛΙΚΟΣ ΗΔΕ

ΑΠΑΙΣΑΣ ΕΚ ΓΑΙΑΣ ΒΛΑΣΤΩΝ ΓΑΙΑ ΠΑΛΙ

Ν ΓΕΓΟΝΑ ΕΙΜΙ ΔΕ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΛΗΣ ΠΕΙΡΑΙ

ΕΥΣ ΠΑΙΣ ΔΕ ΜΕΝΩΝΟΣ

πολλὰ μεθ' ἡλικίας ὁμοήλικος ἡδέα παίσας
    ἐκ γαίας βλαστῶν γαῖα πάλιν γέγονα·
εἰμὶ δὲ Ἀριστοκλῆς Πειραιεύς, παῖς δὲ Μένωνος.

Après m'être amusé à de nombreux plaisirs avec les compagnons de mon *hèlikia*, moi qui étais né de la terre, je suis redevenu de la terre. Je suis Aristoklès du Pirée, fils de Ménôn.

En combinant les termes παίσας et παῖς, l'épigramme joue sur le champ lexical de l'enfance. Or, le relief montre un cavalier d'âge mûr. Inscription et sculpture semblent donc se contredire.

Dans sa première référence à l'enfance, l'épigramme qualifie Aristoklès de παῖς δὲ Μένωνος. L'emphase sur le mot παῖς bouleverse la formulation traditionnelle de l'identité athénienne: on attendrait plutôt le prénom, suivi du patronyme et du démotique.[8] C'est donc que l'on a voulu mettre en exergue à la fois Ménôn lui-même et le lien qui l'unit à Aristoklès.[9]

L'emploi du verbe παίζω (ici à au participe aoriste actif) constitue une seconde référence à l'enfance. Il dérive du substantif παῖς et fait donc l'effet d'un jeu de mots. Au sens propre, παίζω signifie « faire l'enfant », « jouer comme un enfant ». Doit-on y lire une manière de renforcer la légèreté, l'innocence des nombreux plaisirs (πολλὰ ἡδέα) auxquels Aristoklès s'est adonné de son vivant, et comprendre qu'il n'était qu'un enfant à sa mort? Ou doit-on simplement traduire παίζω par « se divertir », « s'amuser », dans le sens plus neutre qu'on lui connaît par ailleurs, dénué de référence à l'enfance? J'ai opté pour la deuxième solution car il existe deux raisons au moins pour lesquelles Aristoklès ne pouvait être un enfant à sa mort.

Premièrement, l'épigramme atteste qu'Aristoklès était enregistré sur la liste de son dème (Πειραιεύς). Cet enregistrement ne pouvait avoir lieu que si l'individu avait atteint son dix-huitième anniversaire.[10] À l'inverse, lorsqu'il décrit le processus d'inscription sur la liste du dème, l'auteur de la *Constitution des Athéniens* explique que ceux qui n'ont pas l'âge requis retournent parmi les παῖδες (42.1: ἀπέρχονται πάλιν εἰς παῖδας). Par conséquent, dans l'épigramme d'Aristoklès, le terme παῖς n'a pas pour fonction de préciser la classe d'âge à laquelle le défunt appartenait à son décès.

Deuxièmement, il apparaît que « de bonne heure le mot παῖς a pu signifier « fils » ou « fille », en exprimant la filiation, en principe par rapport au père ».[11] L'*Iliade*, par exemple, qualifie Zeus de Κρόνου πάϊς dans un contexte où il est évident

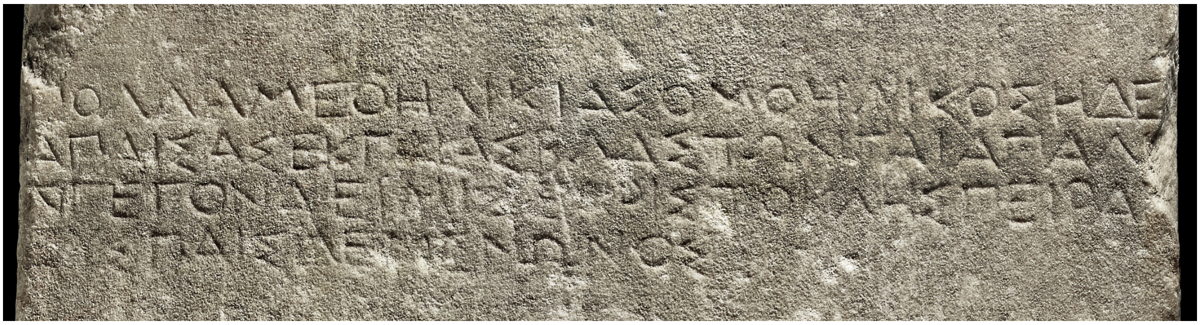

Fig. 2. La stèle d'Aristoklès (détail). Vue de l'épigramme. Londres, The British Museum, 1816,0610.384.

qu'il règne déjà en souverain du cosmos (2.205). En d'autres termes, παῖς δὲ Μένωνος exprimerait ici une idée de parenté (le fils de Ménôn) plutôt qu'une idée d'âge (l'enfant de Ménôn). Une autre épitaphe attique du début du IVe siècle confirme que l'expression se comprend dans ce sens:[12]

> ἐνθάδε Πυθοκλῆς κεῖται πολλοῖσι ποθεινός,
> καὶ Σάτυϱος νέος ὢν ἔσχεν ἐπωνυμίαν.
> [π]αῖς δὲ Ἡϱακλείδο, μητϱὸς δὲ Ἀϱιαστίδος ἐστί,
> πατϱὶς δ' ἐστὶ Ἔφεσος κλενοτάτη πόλεων.
>
> Ci-gît Pythoklès, que beaucoup regrettent, et qui eut «Satyros» pour surnom lorsqu'il n'était qu'un jeune homme. Il est le fils d'Hèrakleidès; sa mère s'appelle Ariastis.

Pythoklès, qualifié de παῖς δὲ Ἡϱακλείδο, ne pouvait pas être un enfant à son décès. L'inscription précise qu'on le surnommait «Satyros» lorsqu'il était encore un νέος, un jeune homme: c'est donc qu'il ne l'était plus au moment où le texte a été composé.

En conclusion, παῖς ne fait pas d'Aristoklès un enfant et rien ne s'oppose à ce qu'on l'identifie au cavalier du relief. Le terme ne se réfère pas ici à la classe d'âge à laquelle il appartenait mais à sa parenté avec Ménôn, que l'auteur de l'épitaphe a souhaité mettre en évidence. De plus, l'expression peu commune παῖς δὲ Μένωνος n'a peut-être été utilisée que pour atteindre le nombre de pieds nécessaire pour composer un hexamètre.[13]

On pourra opposer que le relief et l'inscription n'ont pas été composés l'un pour l'autre. La stèle au cavalier aurait pu être réemployée pour commémorer un nouveau défunt, l'enfant Aristoklès, à une date ultérieure. L'hypothèse mérite d'être examinée mais elle ne semble pas plausible. D'abord, texte et image ont pu être réalisés pour le même mort. Le catalogue des stèles funéraires attiques de l'époque classique date le monument du premier quart du IVe siècle.[14] Dans une étude plus récente, A. Tillios précise la datation aux années 380–370.[15] Quant à l'épitaphe, elle a été gravée après 403/2 et avant la fin du IVe s.: la lettre E ne désigne plus à la fois le H, le E et le EI (ex. HΔEA), la lettre Π se note avec deux branches de longueur inégale (ex. ΠΑΙΣΑΣ) et il n'y a pas de confusion entre le I et Y (ex. ΠΕΙΡΑΙΕΥΣ) – en outre, les Athéniens sont interdits d'utiliser des monuments funéraires figurés après 317.[16] L'examen de la pierre ne révèle d'ailleurs aucun retravail de l'inscription. Ensuite, dans l'hypothèse où la stèle aurait été réutilisée pour un nouveau défunt, il resterait à expliquer pourquoi une telle représentation aurait été choisie pour un enfant: l'on se retrouverait devant le même paradoxe que si l'on avait considéré la stèle et l'épigramme comme contemporaines.

En résumé, inscription et sculpture ne s'opposent pas. L'expression παῖς δὲ Μένωνος ne spécifie pas la classe d'âge d'Aristoklès, qui avait bien atteint l'âge adulte à son décès. Elle dispose d'un autre sens, sur lequel je reviendrai en deuxième partie de cet article.

Un poème funéraire hors du commun accompagne donc la stèle d'Aristoklès. Mais celle-ci ne se distingue pas seulement par son épigramme: en termes d'image, le monument s'avère unique. Le motif iconographique de la stèle – un cavalier dont le cheval se cabre, suivi d'un serviteur – demeure sans équivalent dans le corpus des monuments funéraires attiques. En revanche, on le retrouve sur des reliefs votifs. Une pièce attique conservée au Musée Barracco de Rome[17] et datée du milieu du IVe siècle a déjà été mentionnée dans ce contexte.[18] La représentation figurée, comprise entre une corniche et une plinthe, montre un cavalier imberbe, à cheval, de profil vers la droite (*fig. 3*). De la main gauche, il tient les rênes (jadis peintes, aujourd'hui effacées); de la droite, il touche l'oreille de sa monture. Son costume comprend une chlamyde fixée à l'épaule gauche, un pétase et un *chitôn*. Son cheval se cabre; au second plan, sous les pattes de la monture, un chien s'appuie sur ses pattes antérieures. Un serviteur en *chitôn* s'avance vers la droite. De la main droite, il saisit la queue du cheval; de la gauche, il porte un bâton à l'épaule. Des proies animales pendent de ce bâton. La sculpture combine les symboles traditionnels de l'univers cynégétique: bâton de chasse, proies, costume du cavalier (*chitôn* court, chlamyde, pétase), chien.[19] Il figure donc un jeune homme de retour de la chasse à courre.

Les points communs entre le relief du Musée Barracco et la stèle d'Aristoklès suggèrent que le monument funéraire représente lui aussi une scène de retour de chasse. On notera quelques différences entre les deux sculptures – costume, présence du chien –, mais en définitive, elles ne remettent pas en cause cette interprétation. Les deux cavaliers diffèrent d'abord par leur costume. Alors que le jeune homme du Musée Barracco porte le pétase, le *chitôn* et la chlamyde, attributs par excellence du chasseur et du voyageur dans l'art grec, Aristoklès porte l'*himation*. Ce long manteau pourrait nous sembler inadapté aux loisirs cynégétiques. Pourtant, il existe des exemples de chasseur en *himation* sur d'autres monuments funéraires attiques. La stèle à fronton d'Euthésiôn de Pallène (c. 400–375) figure un jeune homme debout, presque de face, la tête inclinée vers la gauche.[20] Il revient de la chasse: il tient sa proie (un lapin, toujours vivant: ses pattes antérieures

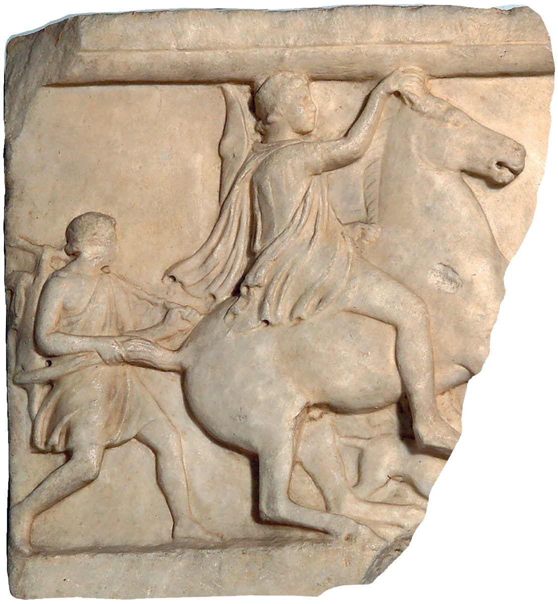

Fig. 3. Relief votif attique. Rome, Museo di Scultura Antica Giovanni Barracco, MB 135.

sont levées) et un *lagôbolon;* un chien l'accompagne, le museau levé vers le lapin. Comme Aristoklès, Euthésiôn porte l'*himation* ramassé autour des hanches et tiré au-dessus des genoux, sans doute de façon à faciliter ses déplacements. Si l'*himation* reste assez rare dans l'univers visuel de la chasse, il n'interdit cependant pas de caractériser son porteur en chasseur.

Ensuite, la stèle de Londres se différencie du relief Barracco par l'absence du chien de chasse. L'espace vide, situé sous le cheval d'Aristoklès, aurait pu accueillir la peinture d'un canidé, mais il est évidemment impossible de le confirmer. Toutefois, même l'absence totale de chien ne s'opposerait pas à l'identification d'Aristoklès comme chasseur: tous les attributs traditionnels du chasseur n'étaient pas nécessaires pour indiquer au spectateur le caractère cynégétique d'une scène.[21] Enfin, en raison de l'usure de la pierre, on ne peut discerner si des proies pendent au bâton tenu par le serviteur d'Aristoklès. Cependant, s'il ne s'agissait pas d'un bâton de chasse, quel aurait pu être cet objet allongé? Une lance serait invraisemblable: Aristoklès n'est en aucune manière représenté en guerrier.

L'originalité de la composition sculptée s'accompagne d'une originalité thématique. En effet, seuls deux autres reliefs funéraires attiques illustrent la chasse montée. Le premier, incomplet, consiste en un loutrophore inscrit dans une plaque de marbre.[22] Deux chasseurs fondent sur une proie, l'un monté et armé d'une lance, l'autre à pied et armé d'un gourdin ou d'un *lagôbolon*. Le second, un lécythe en marbre, représente un chasseur à cheval, armé d'une lance, accompagné d'une deuxième monture et d'un palefrenier portant un panier sur le dos.[23] Les reliefs funéraires attiques montrent plus volontiers les chasseurs jeunes, à pied et entourés de leur parenté.[24]

Il est à noter que la représentation du cheval d'Aristoklès possède une certaine affinité avec les recommandations des traités d'hippologie antique. Ainsi, l'animal se caractérise par la petitesse de sa tête et la dimension réduite de ses oreilles bien dressées, gages de vitesse et de bonne écoute de l'environnement. En outre, le traitement de son poitrail et de son ventre, larges et puissants, fait paraître sa vigueur musculaire. Quant à l'épaisseur de la partie supérieure des pattes avant, elle passe chez Xénophon pour un signe d'élégance et de force (*Eq*. 1.7).[25] On peut y reconnaître un cheval plein de *thumos*, qui obéit « à l'encouragement et à la parole »[26] de son conducteur. La main levée à son oreille droite illustre peut-être ce type d'encouragement. En somme, le sculpteur a cherché à figurer une bête d'excellence, dont Aristoklès, cavalier expérimenté, contrôle la fougue.

Originalité du motif, rareté du thème abordé et attention portée aux détails anatomiques du cheval trahissent la recherche du particularisme, une volonté de commémorer le défunt de manière saisissante. Le monument d'Aristoklès semble rompre avec les modes de commémoration dominants. On le sait: la figuration des défunts sur les reliefs funéraires attiques fait l'objet d'une codification très stricte. Une stèle conservée à New York en fournit un bon exemple (*fig. 4*).[27]

Un homme barbu se tient assis sur un siège ouvragé (δίφρος), le visage de profil vers la droite. Il porte l'*himation* autour des hanches et des jambes; de la main droite, il tient un bâton de marche (βακτηρία). On le représente entouré de deux femmes et d'une petite fille. Position assise, âge mûr et βακτηρία communiquent l'autorité de cet homme sur les membres de sa famille (κυρεία). L'*himation*, le bâton de marche et l'âge mûr expriment la pleine maturité politique du défunt: il s'agit là de la caractérisation archétypique des hommes d'âge mûr sur les monuments funéraires.[28] Elle reflète l'adhésion du défunt et de sa famille à un code de respectabilité consensuel parmi les riches citoyens, fondé sur deux axes: l'investissement dans les affaires de la cité démocratique et la hiérarchisation des rapports au sein de l'espace domestique.[29] La stèle d'Aristoklès s'éloigne de ce canon: elle représente l'homme pour lui-même, séparé de son groupe familial et consacré à ses loisirs.

La rupture avec les canons traditionnels de la représentation des défunts, et l'imaginaire qui la sous-tend, n'exclut cependant pas l'allusion à un idéal élitiste, mélange de valeur personnelle, d'aisance matérielle et d'autochtonie athénienne. Le monument funéraire d'Aristoklès décline ces diverses facettes de l'imaginaire des élites.

La stèle montre Aristoklès de retour de la chasse, une activité traditionnellement aristocratique, par laquelle l'homme grec riche, libre de son temps, cultive sa valeur personnelle et se rapproche des figures héroïques (Thésée, Héraklès).[30] L'association entre chasseurs et héros, ou entre chasse et guerre, autre province par excellence des aristocrates, pouvait s'observer, à la fin de l'époque archaïque et au début de l'époque classique, sur la peinture sur céramique.[31] Pour le IV^e^ siècle, les sources littéraires témoignent de l'excellente réputation du loisir cynégétique dans les milieux athéniens aisés. Comme auparavant, il est apprécié parce qu'il offre l'opportunité de forger le caractère personnel des chasseurs.[32] En outre, la chasse acquiert une valeur civique: on y voit un moyen d'entraîner chez les citoyens une disposition de l'esprit et du corps utile à la collectivité.[33] Platon ajoute que, parmi les différents types d'activité cynégétique, la chasse impliquant une confrontation physique avec la proie (la chasse à courre notamment) s'avère la meilleure (*Leg.* 8.824a). En figurant une scène de chasse, le monument d'Aristoklès joue donc sur les références traditionnelles à l'imaginaire aristocratique de la prouesse physique et morale.

Par ailleurs, représenter le défunt de retour de la chasse à cheval revient à indiquer l'appartenance d'Aristoklès et de sa famille aux milieux aisés. En effet, l'entretien de chevaux est coûteux: ils signalent la richesse de leur propriétaire.[34] La vie de la cité fournit aux cavaliers de nombreuses opportunités de manifester cette aisance en public: jeux funèbres annuels en l'honneur des guerriers morts au combat,[35] divers cortèges et cavalcades,[36] charges de cavalerie aux Olympia et aux Grandes Panathénées (anthippasies).[37] Après l'élargissement de la cavalerie à 1000 *hippeis* et 200 *hippotoxotai* dans les années 450–430,[38] les Athéniens avaient d'ailleurs immortalisé la contribution des cavaliers à la défense de leur patrie par de nombreux monuments: une sculpture dont on ne conserve que l'épigramme funéraire,[39] les listes de pertes érigées dans le cimetière public du Céramique.[40] De plus, lorsque les Athéniens commencent à orner leurs listes de reliefs figurés, dans le dernier tiers du V^e^ s.,[41] des *hippeis* sont choisis pour représenter l'ensemble des guerriers de la cité.[42] Un autre monument commémore spécifiquement les cavaliers tués en l'an 394/3 durant la Guerre de Corinthe[43] – la liste des pertes de cette année a été découverte (*IG* II^2 5221), il semble donc qu'il s'agisse là d'une stèle privée, érigée par les membres de la cavalerie.[44]

Cependant, au début du IV^e^ siècle, à l'époque où la stèle d'Aristoklès a été érigée, la cavalerie n'est plus aussi populaire qu'elle l'avait été dans la seconde moitié du siècle précédent. En effet, les *hippeis* auraient été nombreux à soutenir l'oligarchie des Trente, en 404/3, voire à participer aux assassinats de citoyens commis par ces derniers.[45] Durant les premières décennies du IV^e^ siècle, le ressentiment des démocrates est palpable: en 400/399, 300 cavaliers soupçonnés d'avoir soutenu la tyrannie sont éloignés en Asie, « avec l'idée que ce serait tout bénéfice pour la démocratie, s'ils quittaient le pays et s'ils étaient tués là-bas ».[46] De surcroît, les cavaliers perdent les avantages financiers octroyés par la cité pour l'entretien de leurs chevaux: l'indemnité d'équipement (*katastasis*) et la pension alimentaire (*sitos*).[47] Deux discours de Lysias (14, 16), datés des années 390, montrent que l'on pouvait essayer de discréditer un cavalier en l'accusant de lâcheté et/ou de collusion avec les « tyrans » de 404/3.[48] Ainsi Alcibiade le Jeune passe-t-il pour un pleutre pour avoir rejoint les rangs des cavaliers plutôt que ceux des hoplites, échouant ainsi à se comporter en véritable citoyen athénien (14.9–10). Mantithée, lui, se défend devant le Conseil d'avoir servi comme *hippeus* sous les Trente et cherche à prouver qu'en s'engageant comme fantassin plutôt que comme cavalier, il a fait preuve de solidarité envers ses concitoyens.[49] On rencontre encore ce type d'argument dix ans plus tard, en 382, dans un troisième discours de Lysias: si Évandre avait servi comme cavalier sous les Trente, annonce Lysias, on ne l'accepterait même pas au Conseil (26.10). Nous n'avons pas trace de cette méfiance vis-à-vis de la cavalerie dans les années 370, mais il pourrait en rester des traces jusqu'aux exploits des *hippeis* à Mantinée en 362:[50] écrivant vers 365, Xénophon recommande à l'hipparque d'avoir des amis au Conseil afin de l'adoucir vis-à-vis des cavaliers, et regrette que l'hipparque ne soit plus aussi influent que jadis.[51]

Toutefois, il convient de relativiser l'impact des accusations visant les cavaliers. Malgré les soupçons de collusion, Mantithée et Évandre remportent tous les deux leur procès. Par ailleurs, dans les années 390 et 380, l'élevage de chevaux de course (hippotrophie), prérogative des riches Athéniens, passe encore pour un moyen de se distinguer en tant que citoyen et de faire briller la renommée d'Athènes.[52] La multiplication des reliefs funéraires figurant des cavaliers dans le premier tiers du IV^e^ siècle illustre bien la satisfac-

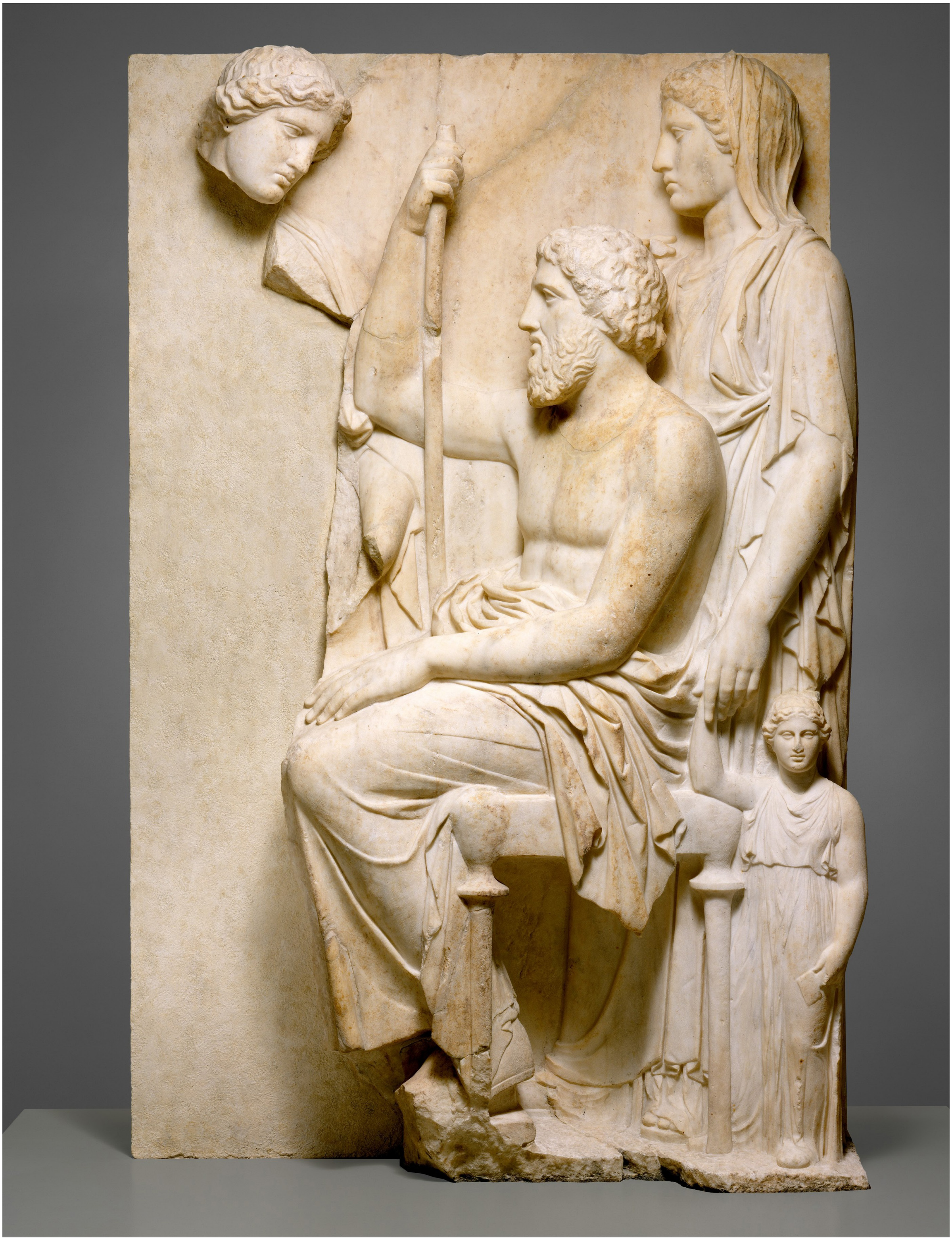

Fig. 4. Stèle funéraire attique. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 11.100.2.

tion ou la fierté des cavaliers d'appartenir à la classe hippique. Ils ne se considèrent pas comme des citoyens de seconde zone, mais bien comme des membres éminents de la communauté athénienne. Figurés en compagnie de leur monture, ils marquent tout à la fois leur aisance économique et leur rôle dans la cité.[53]

Par ailleurs, la cavalerie athénienne du début du IVe s. ne souffre pas seulement d'une image publique écornée par les événements de 404/3. Elle pâtit aussi « d'un manque de motivation évident et assez persistant ».[54] Dans son traité sur les responsabilités de l'hipparque, Xénophon note ainsi des défections et suggère de faire preuve de persuasion auprès des jeunes Athéniens ou de recourir à des actions en justice afin de compléter les rangs de la cavalerie (*Eq. mag.* 1.2 et 9). À cette perte en popularité s'ajoute le coût élevé de l'entretien des chevaux et la nécessité, pour l'*hippeus*, de disposer d'une excellente condition physique.[55] Ainsi, la stèle funéraire de Londres documente à la fois la richesse de la lignée d'Aristoklès et la vigueur de corps de ce dernier. Elle montre aux passants une image valorisante du défunt, qui s'est engagé dans une activité onéreuse et physiquement exigeante.

Ni Aristoklès ni Ménôn ne nous sont connus par ailleurs, à l'inverse de nombreux membres des familles les plus fortunées d'Athènes. L'appartenance de cette famille à la cavalerie découle peut-être de l'ouverture de celle-ci à une tranche plus large de la population, dans les années 450–430, lorsqu'elle est portée de 300 à 1000 *hippeis*. On a ainsi observé que plusieurs tombeaux familiaux du IVe siècle documentent l'existence de lignées de cavaliers inconnus par ailleurs: les descendants des Athéniens nouvellement inclus dans le corps de cavalerie.[56] Cette « démocratisation » a permis à des citoyens moins fortunés, soutenus financièrement par la cité,[57] de s'approprier l'un des symboles distinctifs de l'ancienne aristocratie, le cheval. Ce faisant, ils ont adopté les codes de comportement et de valeur de celle-ci, qu'ils combinent à leur identité démocratique. Le monument funéraire d'Aristoklès illustre cette réception de l'imaginaire aristocratique par des Athéniens de moins bonne naissance: les proches du défunt ont cherché à donner de lui une image conforme à cet imaginaire – peut-être même plus que d'autres, puisqu'ici les références aux relations domestiques et à la vie de la cité sont minimisées.

Pratique de la chasse et appartenance à la classe hippique constituent donc deux facettes de l'identité élitaire d'Aristoklès. Il en est une troisième, par laquelle le défunt et sa famille se revendiquent d'une ascendance illustre: l'affirmation de l'autochtonie athénienne. Le pentamètre de l'inscription funéraire dit en effet:

> ἐκ γαίας βλαστὼν γαῖα πάλιν γέγονα

> Moi qui étais né de la terre, je suis redevenu de la terre.

Traditionnellement, le défunt ne « redevient » pas de la terre; il n'en a pas jailli, il ne se fond pas en elle: la terre le recueille (δέχομαι), le cache (καλύπτω), ou le retient (κατέχω). Chez Homère, les morts reposent « sous la terre noire » (κατὰ γαῖαν μέλαιναν).[58] L'absence de référence à l'immortalité de l'âme a surpris. Ce silence exprimerait une vision pessimiste de l'au-delà, propre aux aristocrates grecs et inspirée d'Homère: l'immortalité n'existe que dans le renom éternel.[59]

Le dualisme du corps et de l'âme a connu un développement important au cours du Ve siècle. Épicharme, par exemple, écrit que « les éléments se sont assemblés, puis ils se sont désassemblés et sont retournés d'où ils étaient venus: la terre dans la terre, l'âme là-haut » (fr. 9 D.-K).[60] À Athènes, quelques épigrammes funéraires se font l'écho de ce dualisme.[61] Mais surtout, il imprègne les tragédies d'Euripide. Dans un célèbre passage des Suppliantes (c. 422), Thésée enjoint les Thébains à ensevelir leurs morts (532–534):

> ὅθεν δ' ἕκαστον ἐς τὸ φῶς ἀφίκετο
> ἐνταῦθ' ἀπελθεῖν, πνεῦμα μὲν πρὸς αἰθέρα,
> τὸ σῶμα δ' ἐς γῆν.).[62]

> Souffrez qu'au lieu d'où vient chaque élément, toute chose retourne, et l'esprit vers le ciel, et le corps à la terre

L'homme, lui, se compose de terre: « les hommes souffrent de porter en terre ce qui n'est que terre »[63] (fr. 757.4–5 Nauck; peu avant 405).

L'épigramme d'Aristoklès pourrait se faire l'écho de ce dualisme ou du « nihilisme » des héros homériques. Néanmoins, la référence à l'autochtonie athénienne me paraît plus plausible, parce qu'elle paraît plus profondément enracinée dans la culture athénienne. Plusieurs communautés grecques se revendiquent « nées du sol même » qu'elles occupent. Par exemple, les Spartoi, les ancêtres des Thébains, jaillissent de la terre après que Kadmos y a planté les dents d'un serpent.[64] L'autochtonie des Athéniens fait partie des lieux communs des oraisons funèbres délivrées chaque année pour commémorer les soldats morts au champ d'honneur.[65] Les Athéniens en tirent leur noblesse d'origine (εὐγένεια). Le mythe fait d'eux des citoyens légitimes de l'Attique, par opposition aux étrangers, et renforce leur sentiment d'appartenance à la cité.[66] À l'inverse, on prive de tombe dans le sol natal les Athéniens coupables de trahison, comme certains partisans du coup d'état oligarchique de 411.[67] Comme les proches d'Aristoklès insistent déjà sur son ascendance athénienne en spécifiant son nom, son démotique et son patronyme (εἰμὶ δὲ Ἀριστοκλῆς Πειραιεύς, *παῖς* δὲ Μένωνος),[68] il ne serait pas surprenant que l'énigmatique *ἐκ γαίας βλαστὼν γαῖα πάλιν γέγονα* renforce l'autochtonie athénienne d'Aristoklès et de ses proches et consolide leur légitimité de citoyens.[69]

À l'issue de cette analyse se dégage donc le portrait d'un citoyen athénien accompli, mature, riche et bien né. En somme, bien que le monument funéraire de Londres rompe avec les conventions iconographiques et poétiques de son époque, il procède bien de l'imaginaire élitiste des riches Athéniens. Malgré leur originalité, sculpture et épigramme se combinent pour exprimer les valeurs consensuelles des milieux aisés du début du IVe s.: l'excellence personnelle (à la fois physique et morale), l'aisance financière et l'*εὐγένεια* du défunt. En quête de reconnaissance sociale, les proches d'Aristoklès ont cherché à pérenniser un souvenir valorisant de leur lignée.

Et pourtant, cette première étape de l'analyse ne suffit pas à éclairer toutes les particularités de la stèle d'Aristoklès. Il reste en effet à discuter de l'originalité même du monument. Comment comprendre le choix de la formule *παῖς δὲ Μένωνος*? Quel sens donner aux « nombreux plaisirs » (*πολλὰ ἡδέα*) d'Aristoklès et de son *hèlikia*? Pourquoi avoir représenté une scène de retour de chasse à cheval? L'image traditionnelle du cavalier accompagné de sa monture n'aurait-elle pas suffi à exprimer l'excellence et la richesse d'Aristoklès? Pour apprécier pleinement la signification du monument, il faut donc revenir à sa représentation figurée, à son épigramme, et s'interroger sur cette mise en avant des « plaisirs » et du sport équestre.

Par l'image comme par le texte, la stèle d'Aristoklès communique l'émoi des activités équestres. Ainsi, le motif iconographique n'a pas été choisi au hasard: comme un instantané photographique, il saisit un moment d'action interrompu dans son cours. Le cheval se cabre, la tête tournée de trois quarts vers le spectateur; Aristoklès assure d'un geste sa maîtrise de la puissante bête; le palefrenier court, le regard porté sur nous, comme pour nous impliquer dans la scène. Tout communique le frisson de l'instant, l'excitation du moment.

L'épigramme, quant à elle, ne souligne pas seulement l'autochtonie athénienne d'Aristoklès. Elle convoque aussi le souvenir des multiples plaisirs (*πολλὰ ἡδέα*) auxquels le défunt a participé avec ses compagnons d'*hèlikia* (μεθ' ἡλικίας ὁμοήλικος). Ici encore, le texte est ciselé: comme pour *παίσας* et *παῖς*, l'auteur de l'épigramme semble jouer sur les mots en combinant deux termes issus de la même racine ἧλιξ, « qui est du même âge ».[70] Le terme ὁμοῆλιξ désigne par conséquent un collectif d'individus du même âge. Le mot ἡλικία, quant à lui, demeure plus ambigu. Présent dans un petit groupe d'épigrammes funéraires de l'époque classique, il se traduit diversement: jeunesse,[71] âge.[72] Un document de la seconde moitié du IVe siècle en éclaire l'usage grec (*IG* II² 11162).

> οὐχὶ πέπλους, οὐ χρυσὸν ἐθαύμασεν ἐμ βίωι ἥδε,
> ἀλλὰ πόσιν τε αὑτῆς σωφροσύ[νην τε τρόπων]·
> ἀντὶ δὲ σῆς ἥβης, Διονυσία, ἡ<λ>ικίας τε
> τόνδε τάφον κοσμεῖ σὸς πόσις Ἀντίφ[ιλος].
>
> Ni les robes, ni l'or, elle n'admira au cours de sa vie, mais son mari et la modération, elle les aimait. À la place de ta jeunesse, Dionysia, de ta maturité, c'est ce tombeau qu'orne ton époux, Antiphilos.[73]

L'épigramme distingue l'*ἥβη* de l'*ἡλικία*. L'*ἥβη* désigne la période de la vie dont l'éphébie marque la fin;[74] l'*ἡλικία* renvoie donc à la période qui succède au service. Le poème funéraire d'Aristoklès évoque des compagnons, soit sortis de l'éphébie la même année que lui, soit de l'âge post-éphébique en général, tous chasseurs issus de familles aisées. J'exclus en tout cas la traduction « en compagnie des gens de ma génération/ de mon âge » car *ἡλικία* serait alors redondant par rapport à ὁμοῆλιξ, qui esquisse déjà une communauté de même âge.

Étant donné la nature de la scène figurée sur le relief de Londres, il est difficile de ne pas lire dans la référence aux *πολλὰ ἡδέα* une allusion à la pratique de la chasse. L'activité cynégétique passe d'ailleurs pour un loisir profitable au citoyen et à la cité. Xénophon la contraste ainsi avec d'autres formes d'agréments tenues pour responsables de la haine, de la maladie et de la mort (*Cyn.* 12.8–16).

Le monument focalise donc l'attention de l'observateur sur l'expérience émotionnelle d'Aristoklès. Il exalte le souvenir des joies perdues de l'existence (*πολλὰ ἡδέα*), pour lesquelles la scène de retour de la chasse montée, symbole des plaisirs de l'équitation, sert vraisemblablement de métaphore. Par conséquent, au-delà de la référence aux valeurs traditionnelles de l'élite athénienne, la stèle convoque un tout autre registre de construction de l'identité du défunt, basé sur le souvenir d'émotions plaisantes, l'image d'une vie affective intense et positive. En cela, le monument se démarque encore une fois de ses contemporains.

Il a souvent été écrit que les stèles funéraires attiques des V^{e} et IV^{e} s. montraient leurs figures sous un jour « neutre », dépourvues de sensibilité, comme si elles « refoulaient » leurs émotions.[75] Souvent, en effet, on a traité sommairement la représentation des affects, comme s'il s'agissait d'une dimension anecdotique du travail du sculpteur. L'examen de la gestuelle des figures sculptées sur les monuments funéraires attiques a cependant révélé un répertoire d'émotions récurrentes à l'intensité variable (chagrin, tendresse, consolation), mais pour lesquelles une certaine réserve affective reste généralement de mise.[76] On n'y retrouve pas la violence des expériences émotionnelles des siècles précédents. L'iconographie funéraire attique archaïque, par exemple, centrée sur les funérailles et les rites commémoratifs, faisait la part belle à l'expression exubérante du chagrin.[77] Au V^{e} s., lamentations et gesticulations accompagnaient également la manifestation d'un sentiment de deuil au théâtre[78] et sur certains lécythes attiques à fond blanc.[79] En revanche, sur les stèles funéraires attiques des V^{e} et IV^{e} siècles, un simple geste ou partage de regards suffit à exprimer le poids affectif de la perte d'un parent, ou les liens d'affection qui unissent les membres d'une même famille. Même refus de l'exubérance du côté des épitaphes classiques, où les formules consolatoires connaissent un certain essor.[80]

La stèle d'Aristoklès montre à l'observateur antique ce qu'il ne s'attendait pas à voir. Ici, nul partage du chagrin ou de l'affection entre proches parents, nulle tentative de se consoler du départ d'un être cher – le monument insiste même sur les « plaisirs » qui ont été perdus. Au contraire, la stèle livre à la postérité une image du défunt centrée sur les expériences plaisantes de la vie humaine. Comment comprendre cet écart par rapport aux conventions iconographiques traditionnelles de la sculpture et de la poésie funéraires?

En premier lieu, l'originalité du relief et de son épigramme pourrait traduire le poids du deuil ressenti par les proches d'Aristoklès. Ainsi s'explique peut-être la curieuse mise en exergue de Ménôn en fin de poème (εἰμὶ δὲ Ἀριστοκλῆς Πειραιεύς, παῖς δὲ Μένωνος). La formule ne met pas seulement en exergue un lien de parenté (c'est ordinaire dans le contexte des épitaphes: les stèles funéraires exposaient la continuité d'une famille dans le temps)[81] – elle manifeste le lien affectif entre un père et son fils, et exprime le chagrin éprouvé à la perte d'un enfant. En outre, l'évocation des « plaisirs » d'Aristoklès revêtait peut-être une importance capitale dans le contexte des visites à la tombe. Les périboles funéraires familiaux constituent en effet des lieux très fréquentés. L'iconographie des lécythes à fond blanc et les nombreux fragments de vases découverts dans et autour des enclos montrent que les stèles font l'objet de soins réguliers (onction, décoration de rubans colorés).[82] À chaque visite à la tombe, les proches d'Aristoklès interagissaient ainsi avec un monument « personnalisé », par lequel le défunt s'adressait à eux (εἰμὶ) pour leur parler des joies de son existence passée, illustrées sur le relief sculpté par une scène de retour du chasseur. De cette manière, la stèle contribuait à maintenir et resserrer les liens entre le défunt et les vivants; elle contribuait à stimuler le ressouvenir d'un être cher parti trop tôt.

En second lieu, l'évocation des plaisirs et de l'équitation visait peut-être à présenter une image alternative des cavaliers athéniens. Le relief de Londres ne marque pas seulement l'appartenance du défunt et de sa lignée à la classe hippique, comme le ferait une représentation traditionnelle de cavalier à pied, accompagné de sa monture.[83] Il va plus loin, faisant appel à l'expérience émotionnelle des Athéniens. Le public s'enthousiasme en effet pour les activités hippiques en plein air; cavalcades, jeux et autres activités équestres attirent et font vibrer la foule.[84] D'ailleurs, pour convaincre les jeunes hommes des familles aisées à s'engager dans la cavalerie, Xénophon conseille à l'hipparque de vanter le caractère « brillant, splendide » (λαμπρός) de l'équitation (*Eq. mag.* 1.11). Le motif de la stèle d'Aristoklès saisit sur le vif un tel moment « brillant » de frisson équestre. Son originalité en matière de représentation des émotions semble dès lors motivée par une quête de la complicité entre observateur et défunt, complicité fondée sur l'exaltation d'un épisode affectif commun. L'enjeu est double: d'une part, susciter l'intérêt du passant pour la stèle afin de conjurer la crainte de l'oubli dans lequel pourraient tomber Aristoklès et sa lignée; d'autre part, faire éprouver au passant de la compassion pour cette famille éplorée par la mort d'un proche.

Bien plus, cette représentation des plaisirs équestres voit le jour à une époque où, précisément, la réputation de la cavalerie pâtit encore de son soutien à l'oligarchie des Trente. Tout se passe comme si le monument cherchait à contourner l'éventuel ressentiment des Athéniens pour les cavaliers en focalisant leur attention sur la popularité des exploits hippiques. Figurer Aristoklès à pied, en compagnie de son cheval, comme cela se faisait traditionnellement, aurait suscité la bienveillance des *hippeis*, et des *hippeis* seulement. Montrer le plaisir des activités équestres, en revanche, joue sur les inclinations et l'enthousiasme de l'ensemble des Athéniens.

En d'autres termes, comme la célèbre stèle de Déxiléôs,[85] la stèle d'Aristoklès trahit une volonté de présenter un portrait du cavalier athénien vierge de toute collusion avec les Trente Tyrans. Dans le cas du monument de Déxiléôs, l'épitaphe,[86] unique en ce qu'elle spécifie ses années de naissance et de décès, vise à certifier que le jeune cavalier n'aurait pas pu se compromettre lors des événements de 404/3: il était encore enfant.[87] Le relief d'Aristoklès emprunte une autre voie pour dépasser la méfiance potentielle des Athéniens: le partage d'une source commune d'enthousiasme et de plaisir, l'activité équestre.

L'écart de la stèle de Londres par rapport aux représentations traditionnelles d'individus unis par le chagrin ou l'affection est donc un écart *volontaire* et *significatif*. Singularité du motif iconographique, rareté du thème représenté (la chasse montée) et originalité du poème funéraire suggèrent que le monument résulte d'une commande placée auprès du sculpteur et sur laquelle les proches d'Aristoklès avaient la haute main. En choisissant de convoquer, par l'image et par le texte, le souvenir de la vie affective d'Aristoklès, le commanditaire (Ménôn?) poursuivait un double objectif. D'abord, la stèle devait manifester la douleur de la perte d'un être cher et aider les vivants à entretenir une mémoire « personnalisée » de sa vie. Ensuite, elle cherchait à établir une complicité entre observateur antique et défunt, fondée sur leur enthousiasme commun pour les exploits équestres. Cette quête de la complicité visait tout à la fois à susciter l'intérêt des passants afin de prévenir Aristoklès de l'oubli et à offrir une image alternative, populaire, des *hippeis*, à une époque où ceux-ci souffraient encore de la méfiance des Athéniens.

Par conséquent, la stèle d'Aristoklès constitue une divergence dans le régime émotionnel des monuments funéraires attiques, dans le sens où elle rompt avec les normes émotionnelles en vigueur dans la représentation des défunts. L'atmosphère de réserve affective caractéristique de nombreuses stèles ne convenait pas à toutes les familles désireuses de perpétuer la mémoire de leurs défunts. Certaines, pour commémorer ceux-ci, cherchaient à réélaborer les canons de la sculpture et de la poésie funéraires.

Ces tentatives de réélaboration n'étaient pas anecdotiques, et en cela elles illustrent l'intérêt d'étudier la représentation des émotions sur les stèles funéraires classiques. Le monument d'Aristoklès montre d'abord que l'émotion permet aux commanditaires et aux sculpteurs de s'adresser aux visiteurs à la tombe et aux passants. C'était la fonction même des reliefs, monumentalisés par les péribolés, de diffuser *urbi et orbi* une image valorisante de la famille propriétaire de l'enclos, conforme aux valeurs de la « morale commune ».[88] La réserve affective des figures sculptées participait-elle à la mise en image de cette morale commune? Quoi qu'il en soit, en choisissant quelles émotions représenter (chagrin, tendresse, *etc.*), une famille avait l'opportunité d'orienter dans une direction ou dans une autre le portrait qu'elle brossait d'elle-même pour la postérité. La famille d'Aristoklès a porté cette logique à son paroxysme en faisant réaliser un monument unique.

Le relief de Londres suggère aussi que ces modalités de représentation des émotions pouvaient être orientées par les circonstances d'érection des monuments. Ainsi, dans un contexte de méfiance récurrente vis-à-vis des *hippeis*, la famille d'Aristoklès a préféré figurer son défunt sous un jour neuf, fondé sur l'admiration de la communauté pour les exploits hippiques, afin de (tenter de) transformer cette méfiance en bienveillance. Ainsi, la figuration des affects *est orientée* par un certain contexte, mais en retour, elle *oriente* le rapport du spectateur à l'objet sculpté. En somme, la stèle d'Aristoklès nous invite à penser le rôle de l'émotion dans les interactions entre monument funéraire à décoration figurée, famille des défunts et communauté civique.

Conclusions

Le répertoire iconographique des monuments funéraires attiques de l'époque classique se caractérise par une remarquable homogénéité. Il n'est toutefois pas dépourvu de pièces curieuses telles que la stèle du jeune guerrier Dèmokleidès, mort en mer (?),[89] ou celle d'Antipatros, assailli par un lion.[90] La stèle d'Aristoklès du Pirée fait partie de ce petit groupe de monuments dénotant une recherche d'originalité peu commune dans la sculpture funéraire.

D'une part, le monument d'Aristoklès se singularise par son motif iconographique unique, une scène de retour de chasse à cheval, et par son épigramme au texte soigné, exprimant en termes neufs l'identité et l'autochtonie du défunt. Relief sculpté et poème funéraire se combinent ici pour souligner l'adhésion du défunt et de sa lignée aux valeurs traditionnelles de l'élite athénienne du début du IV^e^ siècle. Aristoklès incarne un idéal dans lequel l'élite athénienne pouvait aisément se reconnaître, fondé sur l'excellence physique et morale, l'aisance financière et l'εὐγένεια.

D'autre part, à l'inverse de la majorité des monuments funéraires, la stèle met en scène, par l'image comme par le texte, le souvenir d'émotions plaisantes éprouvées par Aristoklès au cours de sa vie – le frisson de la chasse à cheval et les «nombreux plaisirs» de l'existence. Cette rupture avec le régime émotionnel ordinaire des monuments funéraires attiques s'explique de deux façons. L'évocation de la vie affective du défunt vise d'abord à manifester la douleur causée par la perte d'un proche et, à chaque visite à la tombe, à resserrer les liens entre Aristoklès et les siens. Ensuite, cette évocation cherche à conquérir l'intérêt et la compassion des passants afin de conjurer l'oubli dans lequel le défunt pourrait tomber. Le monument exalte aussi l'enthousiasme des Athéniens pour les exploits hippiques dans l'espoir de présenter sous un autre jour la classe hippique à une époque où, précisément, leur réputation était ternie par la participation au régime des Trente Tyrans. L'originalité du monument se comprend donc aussi dans le contexte politique athénien du début IV^{e} s.

En conclusion, cet objet archéologique unique révèle l'ambition de construire *autrement* l'image et la mémoire du défunt afin de favoriser une réaction bienveillante de la communauté civique envers la famille responsable de la sépulture. Ainsi, la stèle d'Aristoklès montre que l'émotion joue un rôle de premier plan dans la caractérisation des défunts et de leur entourage, mais aussi dans les interactions entre monument funéraire, famille et cité.

NOTES

[*] Je tiens à remercier vivement Didier Viviers et Jean-Manuel Roubineau pour leur précieuse relecture.

[1] Londres, The British Museum, 1816,0610.384: *CAT* 2.209a. Sassi 1981; voir aussi Tillios 2010, J1; Childs 2018, 156; Gonzalez Gonzalez 2019, 130.

[2] Garland 1982, 126–133; voir aussi Closterman 2007, 633–645; Koeller 2010, 183–186; Marchiandi 2011, 47–78.

[3] Johansen 1951, 14–51; voir aussi Bergemann 1997, 151–156; Marchiandi 2011, 47–78; Childs 2018, 156–163.

[4] Margariti 2019.

[5] Malgré son originalité, la stèle d'Aristoklès est passée relativement inaperçue. On ne peut guère citer que l'essai de Maria M. Sassi (Sassi 1981). L'auteure centre son propos sur les implications philosophiques de l'épigramme. Elle ne cherche pas à replacer le monument dans le contexte des nécropoles athéniennes.

[6] Chandler 1774, n° LXXVIIII ; voir aussi *Description* 1842, 144–145; Conze 1900, cat. n° 1161; *CAT* 2.209a.

[7] *IG* II^{2} 7151 = *CEG* 482 (traduction personnelle).

[8] Comme par exemple, dans l'épigramme *I.G.* II^{2} 5421a: Ἐξηκεστίδης Πρωτίωνος Αἰξωνεύς. Sur la signification sociale et politique du patronyme et du démotique, cf. Meyer 1993.

[9] Aucune autre source ne mentionne Aristoklès ou Ménôn: les circonstances exactes de l'érection de la stèle resteront donc obscures.

[10] Whitehead 1986, 101–103.

[11] Chantraine 1999, 848.

[12] *IG* II^{2} 8523, ll. 1–4 (traduction personnelle).

[13] Une dernière hypothèse voudrait que, παῖς signifiant aussi «serviteur», le relief ait été sculpté pour le palefrenier qui accompagne le cavalier. Cependant, à notre connaissance, aucun monument funéraire attique à décoration figurée n'a été érigé pour commémorer un serviteur (*CAT* 2.209a). L'image se centre d'ailleurs sur le cavalier, et non sur le serviteur.

[14] *CAT* 2.209a.

[15] Tillios 2010, J1.

[16] Cic. *Leg.* 2.26.

[17] Rome, Museo di Scultura Antica Giovanni Barracco, 135.

[18] Sassi 1981, 38; voir aussi Tillios 2010, 49.

[19] Cavalier 2001, 138–140.

[20] Bâle, Antikenmuseum und Samlung Ludwig, BS 233/S175: *CAT* 1.289.

[21] Barringer 2001, 179.

[22] Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum, 4744: *CAT* 2.214a (c. 400–375).

[23] Rhamnonte, Musée de Rhamnonte, 317: *CAT* 1.982 (c. 350–300).

[24] Cavalier 2001, 144–145.

[25] Sur les caractéristiques du cheval grec idéal, cf. Blaineau 2015, 169–191.

[26] Pl. *Phdr.* 253d.

[27] New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 11.100.2: *CAT* 3.846 (c. 375–350).

[28] Leader 1997, 691.

[29] Marchiandi 2011, 189.

[30] Anderson 1985, 22.

[31] Barringer 2001, 42.

[32] Xen. *Cyn.* 1.18.

[33] Pl. *Leg.* 6.763b; Xen. *Cyn.* 12.10–18; 13.11–12.

[34] Spence 1993, 193; Blaineau 2015, 222–224.

[35] Pl. *Menex.* 249b.

[36] Xen. *Eq. mag.* 3.1; cf. le fragment d'une pièce de Mnésimaque (*CAF* fr. 4 Kock), où un protagoniste de la pièce invite à observer les phylarques entraîner leurs élèves dans la fleur de l'âge (τούς τε μαθητὰς τοὺς ὡραίους) sur l'Agora.

[37] Tribus ou phylarques commémorent leur victoire aux anthippasies par des reliefs équestres érigés sur l'Agora: Athènes, Musée de l'Agora antique, I 7518, c. 450–400 (?); I 7167, c. 400 (base de la tribu Léontis); I 7515, c. 350 (base de la tribu Antiokhis); Athènes, Musée archéologique national, 1733, c. 350 (base de Bryaxis). Pour l'anthippasie, cf. Xen. *Eq. mag.* 3.11.

[38] Bugh 1988, 52.

[39] *IG* I^{3} 1181, l. 2: ἔχσοχοι hιπποσύναι, c. 450–430.

[40] Un premier monument (c. 450–400), *IG* I^{3} 1192, liste un archer à cheval (l. 158); *IG* I^{3}1190 (c. 411) spécifie le rang de phylarque de Pythodoros (l. 179). Enfin, une liste des années 420–410, *SEG* XLVIII 83, énumère (au moins) trente-et-un cavaliers.

[41] Arrington 2015, 99–100.

[42] *SEG* XLVIII 83 (Athènes, Troisième Éphorie, M 4551), c. 420–410; *IG* II^{2} 5221 (Athènes, Musée archéologique national, 2744), 394/3.

[43] *IG* II^{2} 5222, l. 1: οἵδε ἱππέης ἀπέθανον ἐν Κορίνθωι.

[44] Low 2012, 19. On conserve aussi la base d'une statue équestre votive érigée à l'initiative des cavaliers athéniens, *IG* I^{3} 511 (c. 450–430).

[45] Bugh 1988, 120–129; voir aussi Spence 1993, 216–217; Low 2002, 106.

[46] Xen. *Hell*. 3.1.4: νομίζοντες κέρδος τῷ δήμῳ, εἰ ἀποδημοῖεν καὶ ἐναπόλοιντο.

[47] Bugh 1988, 131–132; voir aussi Spence 1993, 217–218.

[48] Low 2002, 110.

[49] Lys. 16.8 (accusation de soutien aux Trente); 13 (refus de s'engager dans la cavalerie).

[50] Spence 1993, 224. Lors d'une escarmouche contre les Thébains et les Thessaliens en 362, les cavaliers athéniens auraient même cherché à « rétablir la gloire de leurs aïeux » (ἐρῶντες ἀνασώσασθαι τὴν πατρῴαν δόξαν): Xen. *Hell*. 7.5.16.

[51] Xen. *Hipp*. 1.8 (ami au Conseil); 3.5 (influence des hipparques).

[52] Isoc. 16.33 (en 396 ou 395); Lys. 19.63 (en 388 ou 387).

[53] Tillios 2010, 86.

[54] Blaineau 2015, 214.

[55] Blaineau 2015, 215.

[56] Marchiandi 2011, 129.

[57] Sur l'indemnité d'équipement et la pension alimentaire octroyées aux cavaliers, cf. Kroll 1977, 97–100.

[58] Hom. *Il.* 2, 699.

[59] Sassi 1981, 38; voir aussi Gonzalez Gonzalez 2019, 130.

[60] Epicharm. fr. B9 D.-K.: συνεκρίθη καὶ διεκρίθη κἀπῆλθεν ὅθεν ἦλθεν πάλιν, γᾶ μὲν εἰς γᾶν, πνεῦμα δ' ἄνω. Cf. Anaxag. fr. B112 D.-K.: Ce qui est né de la terre, retourne à la terre, mais ce qui a germé d'une semence éthérée, de nouveau retourne vers la voûte céleste (τὰ μὲν ἐκ γαίας φύντ' εἰς γαῖαν, τὰ δ' ἀπ' αἰθερίου βλαστόντα γονῆς εἰς οὐράνιον πάλιν ἦλθε πόλον). Xénophane de Colophon, au VI^{e} s., aurait été l'un des premiers à avancer que la terre était l'origine de toute chose: « tout naît de la terre et prend fin dans la terre » (Xénophan. fr. B27 D.-K.: ἐκ γαίης γὰρ πάντα καὶ εἰς γῆν πάντα τελευτᾶι).

[61] *IG* II^2 8870, 11103, 11169, 11466, 12599, 13104/5.

[62] Cf. aussi Eur. fr. 195 Nauck; fr. 839 Nauck.

[63] Eur. fr. 757.4–5 Nauck: καὶ τάδ' ἄχθονται βροτοί / εἰς γῆν φέροντες γῆν.

[64] Phérécyd. FGrH 3 fr. 22a–b; Hellanic. FGrH 4 fr. 1a–b.; Eur. *Phoen*. 657–675.

[65] Lys. 2.17; 2.43; Pl. *Menex*. 237a ss.; Dem. 60.4; Hyp. 6.7.

[66] Loraux 1981, 50.

[67] Thuc. 1.138.6; Xen. *Hell.* 1.7.22; Lycurg. *Leocr.* 113–115.

[68] Meyer 1993, 111.

[69] Lorsque le candidat à une magistrature se soumet à la dokimasie, il doit pouvoir situer la tombe de ses ancêtres (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 55.3). L'une des fonctions du péribole et de ses stèles consiste donc à asseoir la revendication de la citoyenneté athénienne et de l'origine attique.

[70] Boisacq 1916, 320–321; voir aussi Chantraine 1999, 410; Beekes 2010, 515–516.

[71] *IG* I^3 1295bis (c. 420–410): Ton amie Euthylla a érigé une stèle sur ta tombe pour ton amitié fidèle et agréable, Biotè: elle pleure sur ta jeunesse perdue en gardant ton souvenir plein de larmes.

[72] *IG* II^2 5239 (c. 360–350): Hègilla, fille de Philagros. Il faut que tous aient entendu mon âge lui-même: j'ai abandonné l'éclat du soleil dans ma vingt-cinquième année.

[73] Tr. Costanzi 2016, 129.

[74] Garland 2003, 166.

[75] Bergemann 1997, 67; voir aussi Marchiandi 2011, 78; Sartre 2016, 57.

[76] Margariti 2019, 76–78.

[77] Sartre 2016, 57. Ainsi la panse et le col d'un loutrophore à figures noires daté de la fin du VI^{e} s. représentent-ils des groupes de femmes aux cheveux dénoués, les bras levés en signe de deuil, et la bouche ouverte pour chanter les lamentations d'usage (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 27.228).

[78] Par exemple, lorsqu'Électre se rend sur la tombe de son père dans les *Choéphores* d'Éschyle (créée en 458), les captives qui l'accompagnent pleurent et se frappent jusqu'à en souffrir dans leur chair même: Aesch. *Cho.* 423–428.

[79] Ainsi sur un lécythe attique à fond blanc attribué au Peintre du Carré (c. 420), une jeune femme s'apprête à tomber à genoux, les mains portées à la tête, devant la tombe d'un guerrier (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 06.1021.133).

[80] Tsagalis 2008, 59.

[81] Closterman 2007, 649.

[82] Marchiandi 2011, 91–92.

[83] Je renvoie le lecteur à l'étude d'A. Tillios consacrée à cette iconographie des cavaliers (Tillios 2010).

[84] Spence 1993, 186.

[85] Athènes, Musée du Céramique, P 1130: *CAT* 2.209.

[86] *IG* II^2 6217: Δεξίλεως Λυσανίο Θορίκιος. ἐγένετο ἐπὶ Τεισάνδρο ἄρχοντος, ἀπέθανε ἐπ' Εὐβολίδο ἐγ Κορίνθωι τῶν πέντε ἱππέων.

[87] Bugh 1988, 139; voir aussi Spence 1993, 219; Osborne 2010, 250.

[88] Marchiandi 2011, 186.

[89] Athènes, Musée archéologique national 752: *CAT* 1.330.

[90] Athènes, Musée archéologique national 1488: *CAT* 3.410.

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BABESCH 97 (2022), 65-76. doi: 10.2143/BAB.97.0.3290533

Von Kultdienern und schwarzen Sklaven
Zu Ikonographie und Technik zweier hellenistischer Bronzestatuetten aus Ägypten

Norbert Franken

Abstract

The focus of the investigation are two little-known and only partially preserved bronze statuettes from Egypt, which apparently represent young men in ordinary working clothes. With the help of new photographs with detailed side and rear views, the author succeeds in reinterpreting a statuette of a young man that was recently found in a private collection in the United States (figs 1–6). Although the figure had already been correctly assigned to a bronze workshop in Roman Egypt in the auction catalogue of the Julien Gréau collection, which was published in 1885, this attribution seemed to have been forgotten recently. Even if there are no comparable examples among the preserved bronzes, a number of iconographically related terracottas can be cited, which speak for a origin from Hellenistic-Roman Egypt and an identification of the depicted as a servant in the cult of Harpocrates. The second part of the article is about a statuette torso, which was probably acquired in Lower Egypt and has long been on permanent loan from the Egyptian Museum and Papyrus Collection of the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin in the Antikensammlung of the University of Kiel, which can be reconstructed as a figure of a standing African slave wearing the exomis.

Vor allem außergewöhnliche oder gar einzigartige antike Fundstücke erhalten häufig nicht die Aufmerksamkeit und Anerkennung, die sie aus wissenschaftlicher Sicht verdienen. Viele der Objekte fristen lange Zeit ein Schattendasein in kaum erschlossenen Museumsdepots oder finden überhaupt nie den Weg in ein Museum oder in eine öffentliche Ausstellung, weil sie aufgrund unvollständiger Erhaltung in ihrer speziellen archäologischen Problematik schwer verständlich und somit dem modernen Betrachter kaum adäquat zu vermitteln sind.[1]

Anknüpfend an frühere Untersuchungen zu hellenistisch-römischen Bronzestatuetten von Männern in alltäglicher Arbeitstracht[2] widmet sich der Verfasser im Folgenden zwei bisher weitgehend unbekannten antiken Bronzen aus Ägypten. Wie sich im Verlaufe dieser Studie zeigen wird, weisen die beiden Bronzen trotz aller Unterschiede nicht nur eine verwandte Thematik und eine gemeinsame kunstlandschaftliche Einordnung, sondern auch ähnliche Merkmale in Hinsicht auf die an ihnen angewandte Anstückungstechnik auf.

Ein Kultdiener des Harpokrates in Privatbesitz

Wie eingangs bereits angedeutet, erschwert nichts eine seriöse Bearbeitung problematischer Bronzefunde mehr, als wenn solche Stücke nicht in einem öffentlichen Museum aufbewahrt werden, sondern nur von Zeit zu Zeit und eher zufällig im Kunsthandel oder in Privatbesitz auftauchen. So war es in der Tat ein glücklicher Zufall, dass sich die Bedingungen bei der Figur eines Mannes (*Abb. 1–7)*, mit der wir unsere Untersuchung beginnen, am Ende sehr viel günstiger entwickelten.[3]

Dabei stimmte die Ausgangssituation zunächst alles andere als optimistisch. Die besondere Schwierigkeit bei der Beurteilung der Statuette ist ganz entscheidend durch einen Umstand begründet, der auf den ersten Blick ins Auge springt. Der Figur fehlen beide Arme und damit auch alle mutmaßlich einst in den Händen gehaltenen Attribute, was vor allem die Benennung zu einer anspruchsvollen Aufgabe macht. Zwar war die Statuette dem Verfasser aufgrund eines besonderen Interesses für realistische Bildthemen in der antiken Kunst schon lange bekannt. Doch ergaben sich bisher keine ausreichenden Ansatzpunkte für ihr Verständnis, da es unter hellenistischen und römischen Kleinbronzen an vergleichbaren Beispielen mangelt. Mithilfe von Aufnahmen eines erfahrenen Berufsfotografen, die der freundlichen Vermittlung ihres Besitzers zu verdanken sind und die die Statuette in vielen Seiten- und Detailansichten zeigen, lassen sich nun erstmals neue und unerwartete Erkenntnisse zur Rekonstruktion der Statuette gewinnen, aus denen sich unter Berücksichtigung von Tracht

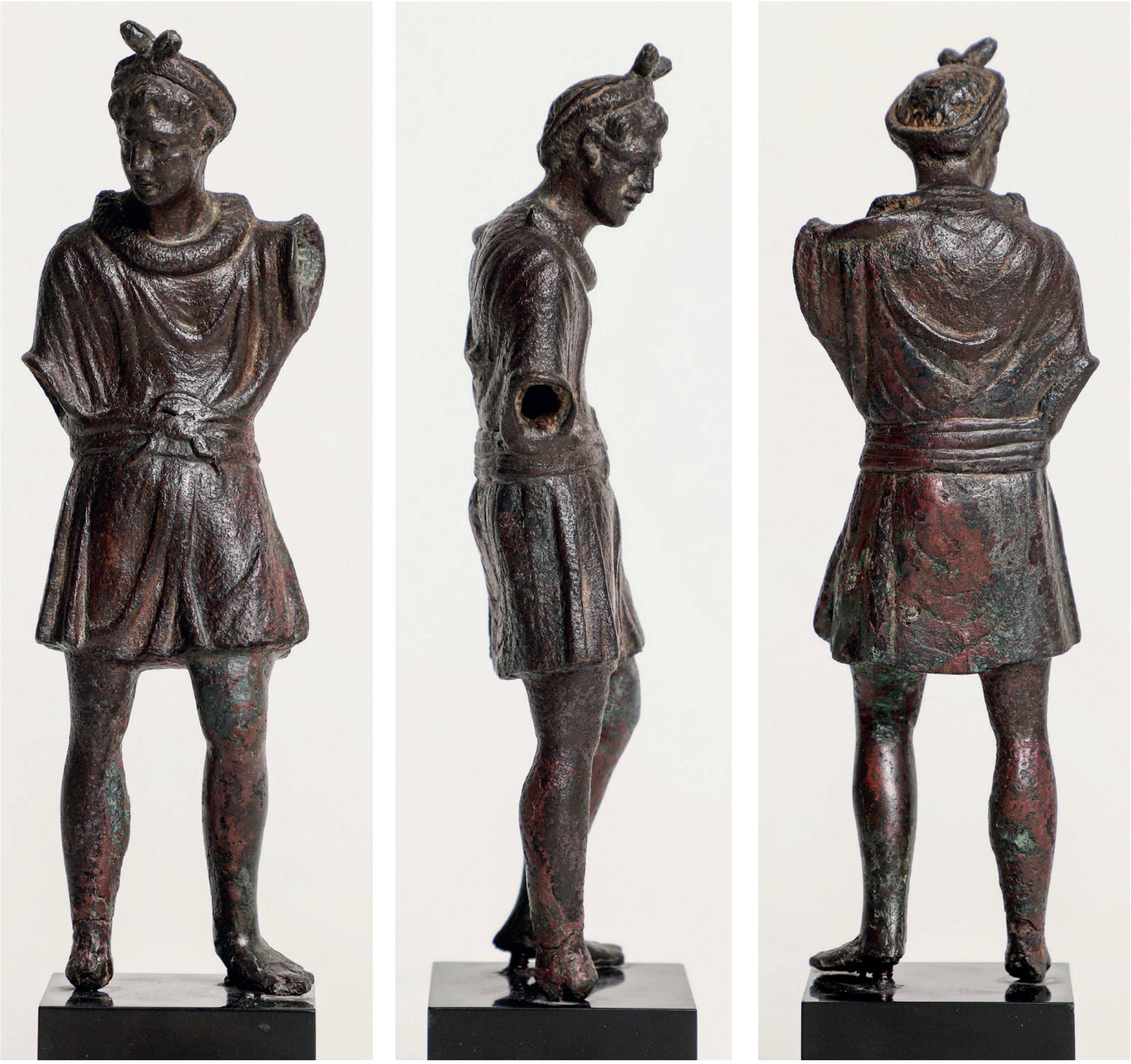

Abb. 1–3. Bronzestatuette eines Kultdieners, Privatbesitz Philadelphia/USA (Foto Christopher Descano, Philadelpia).

und Bekränzung am Ende entscheidende Hinweise auf ihre mutmaßliche Ergänzung und Benennung ergeben.

Bevor wir uns eingehender mit der ungewöhnlichen Ikonographie der Statuette beschäftigen, wollen wir sie zuerst kurz beschreiben und danach soweit wie möglich die wichtigsten seit dem späten 19. Jahrhundert bis heute zurückgelegten Stationen ihrer Sammlungsgeschichte rekonstruieren.

Eine kurze Beschreibung

Die mit einer Höhe von 21,5 cm nicht ganz kleine Statuette (*Abb. 1–6*) zeigt einen stehenden oder langsam voranschreitenden und mit gesenktem Kopf nach rechts blickenden jungen Mann in einem offenbar mehrfach gegürteten Chiton.[4] Beide Arme waren in einer mutmaßlich schon in klassischer Zeit entwickelten, vor allem aber in der römischen Kaiserzeit weit verbreiteten Technik separat gegossen und ehemals unter den Säumen der kurzen Ärmel angestückt.[5] Aus den Ansätzen lässt sich die Haltung der Arme weitgehend rekonstruieren. Der rechte Oberarm ist gesenkt. Gleiches galt wohl auch für den verlorenen Unterarm mit einem in der Hand gehaltenen Attribut, dem der Blick des Mannes folgt, während der linke Oberarm bis auf Schulterhöhe erhoben ist.

Beide Füße sind stark beschädigt, der rechte mehr als der linke. Vor allem die Fersen sind aus

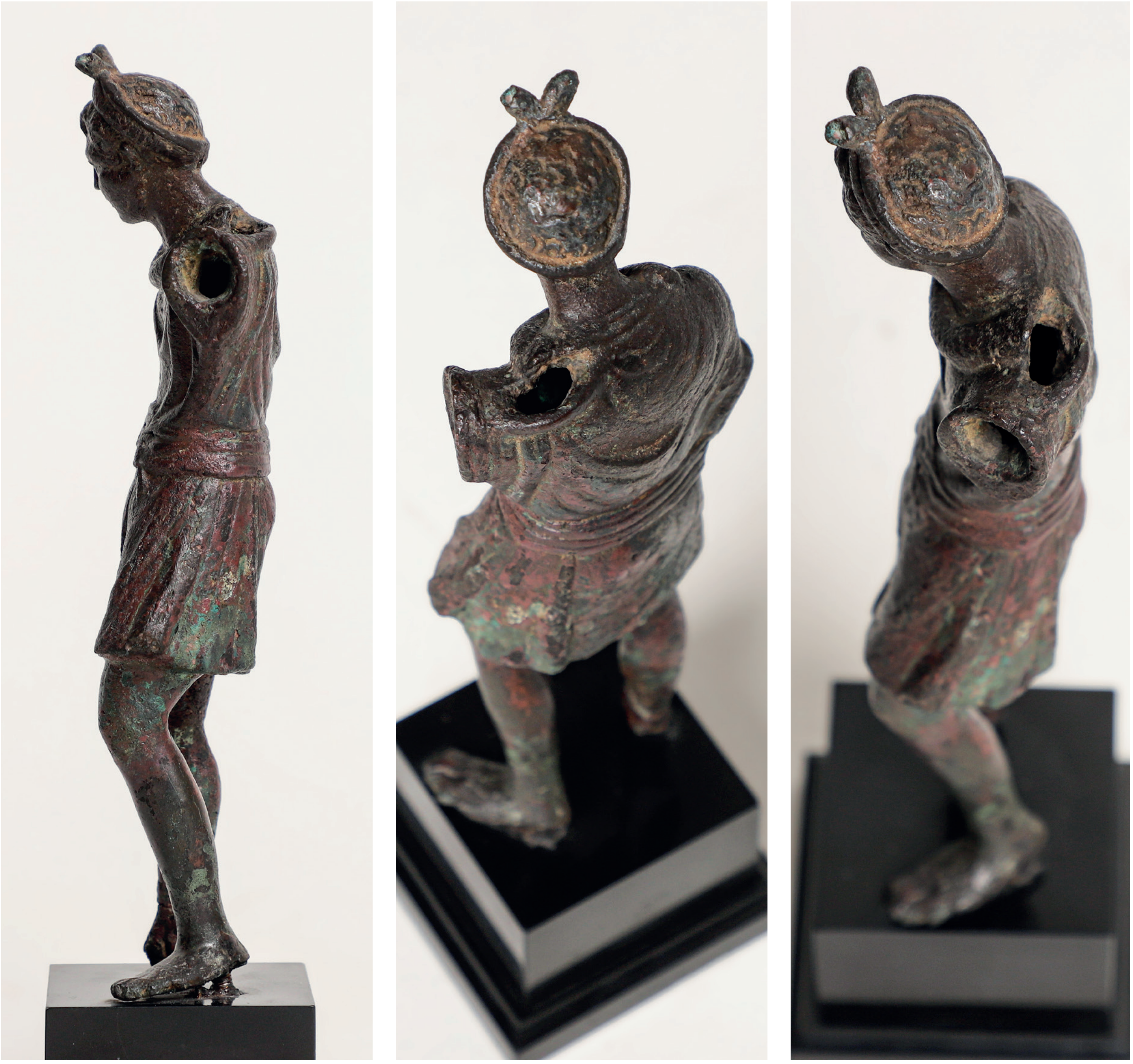

Abb. 4–6. Bronzestatuette eines Kultdieners, Privatbesitz Philadelphia/USA (Foto Christopher Descano, Philadelpia).

unbekanntem Grund verstümmelt. Während der rechte Vorderfuß gänzlich fehlt, ist am linken Fuß trotz beschädigter Zehen noch gut zu erkennen, dass der junge Mann keine Schuhe trug.

Vor dem Hals hängt eine seitlich nur bis zu den Schultern reichende, im Nacken von einer dünnen Schnur zusammengehaltene, dicke Blütengirlande.[6] Auf dem Kopf trägt der Mann einen ähnlich voluminösen Kranz und eine dahinter liegende schmale Wulstbinde (Strophion), an der über der Stirnmitte zwei markante Lotusknospen befestigt sind, die für eine Herkunft der Statuette aus dem ägyptischen Kulturkreis sprechen. Während das Strophion eine glatte Oberfläche aufweist, zeigen die Girlande und der dicke Kranz ein flächiges Muster aus wohl ins Wachsmodell eingetieften Kreisen, die offensichtlich Blüten darstellen sollen. Besonders im Kult des Harpokrates kommen ähnliche Blütenkränze an Bronzestatuetten und Terrakotten häufiger vor.[7] Der kindliche Gott[8] kann einen Kranz mit Lotusknospen ebenso tragen wie die kleinwüchsigen, nach altägyptischem Verständnis der Schadensabwehr dienenden Patäken[9] oder andere Zwerge[10] und Krüppel,[11] wobei die Knospen bisweilen auch ohne erkennbaren Kranz direkt auf dem kahlen Schädel aufsitzen.[12]

Eine nach heutiger Kenntnis einzigartige Besonderheit der Statuette ist auf den hier erstmals vorgelegten Rückansichten (*Abb. 5–6*) zu

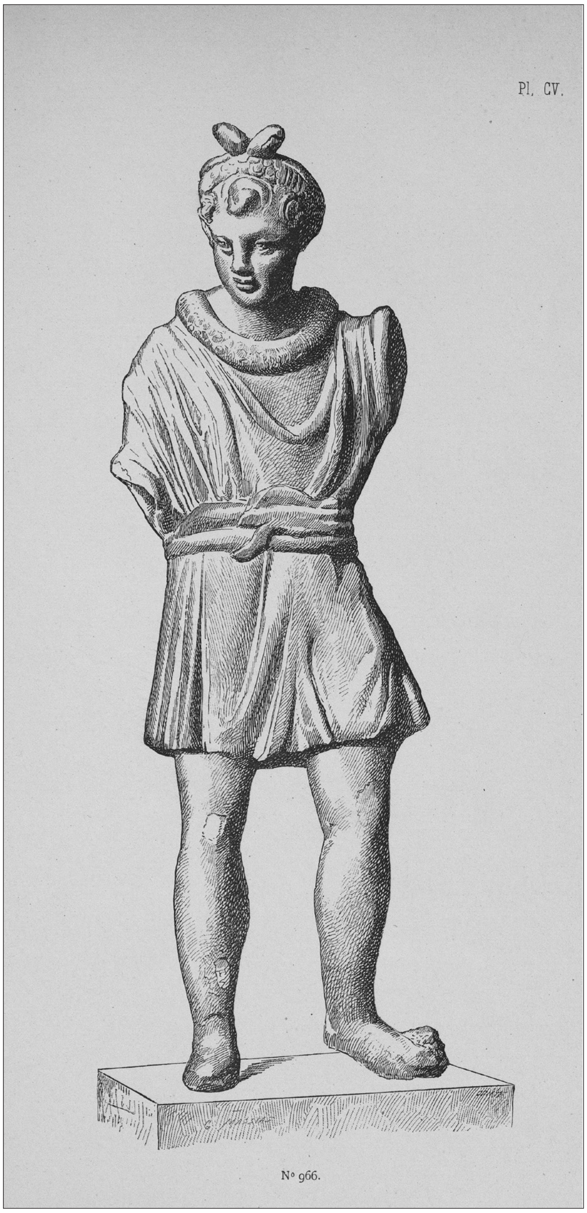

Abb. 7. Bronzestatuette eines Kultdieners (wie Abb. 1 - 6) ehemals Sammlung Gréau (Repro nach Froehner 1885).

erkennen.[13] Oberhalb der linken Schulter erkennt man nämlich ein unregelmäßig begrenztes Loch, welches bezeugt, dass außer beiden Armen an dieser Stelle ehemals noch ein drittes separat gegossenes Teilstück der Figur eingesteckt und angelötet war. Damit scheint klar, dass es sich bei dem fehlenden Stück um einen nicht ganz leichten Gegenstand gehandelt haben muss, den der Mann zum praktischen Transport geschultert hatte und zusätzlich mit der linken Hand festhielt. Die vorgestreckte Haltung des Kopfes und eine abgeflachte Stelle am Hinterkopf lassen darüber hinaus die Vermutung zu, dass das über der Schulter zu ergänzende Objekt ehemals eine gewisse Größe besaß und bis hinter den Kopf reichte.

Die Statuette dürfte nicht nur aus den bereits erwähnten ikonographischen Gründen, sondern auch nach stilistischen Kriterien dem kunstlandschaftlichen Umkreis der hellenistisch-römischen Hafenstadt Alexandria entstammen, ohne dass hieraus zwingend auf einen entsprechenden Fundort zu schließen wäre, da sich antike Bronzen aus Werkstätten des ptolemäisch-römischen Ägyptens schon im Altertum so großer Beliebtheit erfreuten, dass sie nicht nur im Original nach Italien und in die Provinzen des Reiches exportiert,[14] sondern dort auch imitiert wurden.[15]

Sammlungsgeschichtliche Spuren

Während also über den Fundort der Statuette nichts bekannt zu sein scheint, sind wir über ihr neuzeitliches Schicksal vergleichsweise gut unterrichtet. Demnach wurde sie zwischen 1981 und 1995 dreimal in mehreren New Yorker Auktionen angeboten. Einem Londoner Händler ist zudem der wertvolle Hinweis zu verdanken, dass sie sich heute in einer Privatsammlung in Philadelphia (USA) befindet. Doch ist sie auch schon früher nachweisbar. Sie stammt nämlich aus der bedeutenden, 1885 in Paris versteigerten Bronzesammlung von Julien Gréau (1810–1895).[16] Die Statuette erscheint als Zeichnung (*Abb. 7*) auf einer Ergänzungstafel, die in den üblichen Exemplaren des Auktionskatalogs fehlt, jedoch in einem erheblich umfangreicher illustrierten Katalogexemplar abgebildet ist, welches im Internet verfügbar ist.[17]

In dem Pariser Auktionskatalog von 1885 beschreibt der deutsch-französische Archäologe Wilhelm Froehner (1834–1925) die Bronze mit der nötigen Genauigkeit und Kennerschaft als « *Jeune homme en costume servile: tunique courte et ceinturon faisant quatre fois le tour du corps. Il porte une couronne de fleurs autour du cou, et autour de la tête une bandelette formant un grand noeud au-dessus du front. – Style des bronzes de la Basse-Égypte. H 0,21. – Manquent l'avant-bras droit et le bras gauche qui avaient été rapportés, de même qu'une partie du pied droit.* » Er erkennt also einen jungen Mann im üblichen Sklavengewand mit einer kurzen, vierfach umgürteten Tunika. Man mag an seiner Beschreibung allenfalls das Verständnis der zwei über der Stirn sichtbaren Verdickungen als vermeintliche Teile eines Knotens kritisieren, da diese heutzutage allgemein als Lotusknospen verstanden werden.

Wer die Statuette 1885 in Paris ersteigerte, beziehungsweise unmittelbar danach besessen hat, ist nicht bekannt. Ein im Besitz des Verfassers befindliches, ansonsten ausführlich annotiertes Exemplar des Katalogs der Gréau'schen Sammlung antiker Bronzen enthält zu Lot Nr. 966 leider keinerlei Notiz mit dem Namen des Erwerbers oder dem Zuschlagsgebot. Auch der französische Gelehrte Salomon Reinach (1859–1932), der die Figur unter der weit gefassten Überschrift *Acteurs, esclaves, grotesques* in den 1910 erschienenen vierten Band seines bis heute höchst nützlichen *Répertoire de la statuaire grecque et romaine* aufnahm, gibt keinen Hinweis auf den Besitzer.[18] Ebenso wenig scheint die deutsch-amerikanische Archäologin Margarete Bieber (1879–1978), die die Statuette in einem 1950 erschienenen Aufsatz nur kurz und nicht ohne Missverständnis als Darstellung eines gefesselten Sklaven zitiert,[19] den damaligen Aufbewahrungsort gekannt zu haben.

Immerhin bietet der auf dem Cover mit *Important Antiquities* betitelte Auktionskatalog der Firma Sotheby Parke Bernet vom 9. Dezember 1981 erstmals zwei Namen von Sammlern, die die Bronzestatuette vermutlich seit dem mittleren 20. Jahrhundert besessen haben.[20] Unter der mit *"Property from the Estate of Walter Stein - New York"* überschriebenen Losnummer 258 wird die Figur ausführlich beschrieben und auf einer ganzseitigen Tafel als Schwarzweißfoto abgebildet. Zudem wird als ältere Provenienz *"Otto Uekerus, Berlin"* angegeben.

Dieselben Angaben finden sich in den unter dem jeweils gleich lautenden Titel *Antiquities and Islamic Art* zu den Versteigerungen der Firma Sotheby's am 8. Juni 1994 und am 1. Juni 1995 in New York erschienenen Katalogen.[21] Der dort als erster genannte *"Otto Uekerus, Berlin"* dürfte aufgrund der Seltenheit des Familiennamens mit dem nach Internetrecherchen für die 1950er und 60er Jahre bezeugten gleichnamigen Inhaber der Kunsthandlung 'Asia-Egypt' in der Knesebeckstraße 33 in Berlin-Charlottenburg (West-Berlin) identisch sein. Bei dem an zweiter Stelle genannten Vorbesitzer, einem gewissen *"Walter Stein, New York"*, dessen Sammlung wie erwähnt am 9. Dezember 1981 ebendort bei Sotheby's Parke Bernet versteigert worden war,[22] handelt es sich offenbar um den amerikanischen Künstler Walter Stein (1924–1981), von dem sich zahlreiche Werke in verschiedenen renommierten Museen Nordamerikas nachweisen lassen.

Interessant ist an dieser Stelle der Hinweis, dass die mehr als hundert Jahre zuvor schon von Froehner richtig erkannte Zugehörigkeit der Statuette zur Kunst Unterägyptens offenbar in der Zwischenzeit in Vergessenheit geraten war. Jedenfalls findet sich in den Auktionskatalogen von 1981, 1994 und 1995 keine entsprechende kunstlandschaftliche Zuschreibung mehr. Ebenso wenig wird der aufgrund der Bekleidung evidente gesellschaftliche Status als Diener oder Sklave erkannt. Stattdessen ist nur von einem jungen Mann die Rede.

Im Auktionskatalog von 1981 wird die Figur folgendermaßen beschrieben: *"Bronze figure of a youth, Gallo-Roman (?), circa 1st/2nd Century A.D., clad in a short tunic, wide belt knotted in front, heavy collar, and stephane both decorated with incised circles, the missing arms cast separately; brown patina. Height 8 7/16 inches (21.5 cm.) ..."*. Ähnlich ausführlich sind die gleich lautenden Beschreibungen in den Katalogen von 1994 und 1995, die wir ebenfalls in genauem Wortlaut wiedergeben wollen:[23] *"A Roman Bronze Figure of a Youth, circa 1st/2nd Century A. D., standing with his weight on the right leg, and wearing a short tunic girt with a coiled belt at the waist and heavy cylindrical collar, his short wavy hair surmounted by a diadem with two conical ornaments, the missing arms cast separately. Height 8 ½ in. (21,6 cm.)"*

Trotz ihrer Genauigkeit in manchem Detail können sämtliche Beschreibungen hinsichtlich der Datierung und kunstlandschaftlichen Einordnung der Statuette nicht überzeugen. Zudem fällt auf, dass die Autoren auch für die nur als konische Ornamente beschriebenen Lotusknospen keine zutreffende Erklärung finden.

Zur Deutung des Dargestellten

So wollen wir uns endlich dem eigentlichen Problem, nämlich der ungeklärten Benennung des Dargestellten, zuwenden. In früheren, auf ähnliche Fragestellungen zielenden Untersuchungen des Verfassers erwiesen sich von Fall zu Fall Vergleiche mit Denkmälern der späthellenistischen und römisch-kaiserzeitlichen Flächenkunst als hilfreich. Erfahrungsgemäß finden sich vor allem auf Tonlampen[24], Elfenbeinreliefs[25] und Sarkophagen[26] sowie nicht zuletzt auf polychromen und schwarzweißen Mosaikböden[27] Darstellungen, in denen teils sehr ähnliche Figurentypen vorkommen, die aus dem erhaltenen szenischen Zusammenhang heraus wertvolle Hinweise auf das inhaltliche Verständnis der meist isoliert aufgefundenen Bronzestatuetten zu geben vermögen.

Obwohl sich dieses methodische Vorgehen in der Vergangenheit bereits mehrfach bewährt hat, kommen wir damit im konkreten Fall nicht weiter. Stattdessen können uns beim Problem des festlich geschmückten jungen Mannes – wie bei der Untersuchung der unter römischen Bronzestatuetten nur einmal vorkommenden Männer

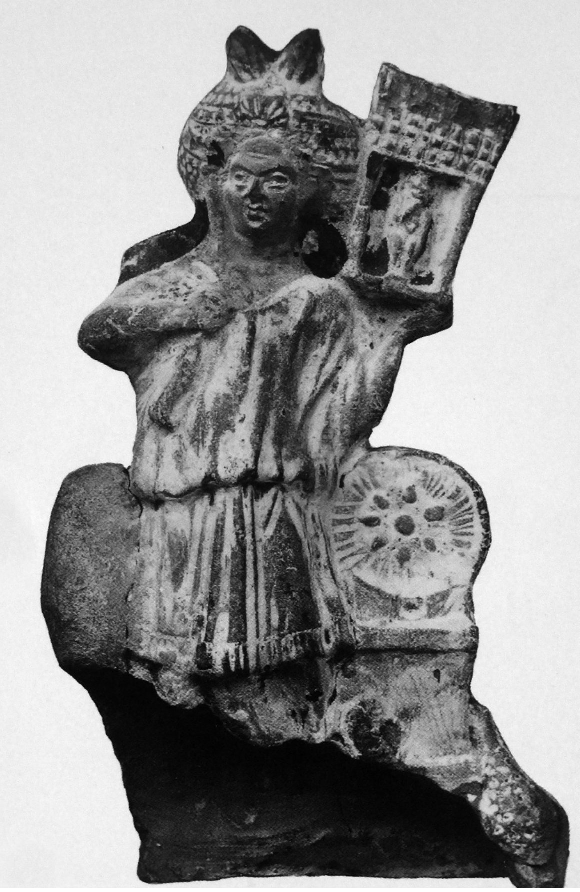

Abb. 8. Terrakottafigur eines Kultdieners, Saarbrücken, Universitätssammlung Inv. 217 (Repro nach Braun 1998).

mit Halbmasken[28] – nur Vergleiche mit antiken Terrakotten weiterhelfen. Es ist deshalb eine günstige Voraussetzung, dass von der vielgestaltigen koroplastischen Produktion des ptolemäisch-römischen Ägypten nicht nur vieles im Original erhalten ist, sondern darüber hinaus auch dankenswerterweise in großer Zahl wissenschaftlich publiziert[29] beziehungsweise in internetbasierten Bilddatenbanken vorgelegt wurde.

Wie oben bereits gesehen, ist der mit einem einfachen gegürteten Chiton bekleidete Mann mit einem dicken Blütenkranz mit Lotusknospen und einer Halsgirlande festlich geschmückt, weshalb er wohl als Darstellung eines Kultdieners zu deuten sein dürfte. Dazu passt in idealer Weise die Beobachtung, dass er mit der erhobenen linken Hand vermutlich einen im Bereich der Schulter auf dem Rücken aufliegenden Gegenstand festhielt. Auch wenn wir die Art des Objekts allenfalls annähernd eingrenzen können, dürfen wir doch Wert auf die Feststellung legen, dass es gerade im Kontext heiliger Feste nicht an Darstellungen von Dienern,[30] Zwergen und Krüppeln fehlt,[31] die augenscheinlich mit allerlei kultischem Gerät oder mit Speisen und Getränken beladen ins Heiligtum eilen.

Darstellungen junger Männer sind in diesem thematischen Zusammenhang auch unter den Terrakotten durchaus selten. Nur in dem 1998 von Karin Braun veröffentlichten Bestand der Antikensammlung des Instituts für Klassische Archäologie der Universität des Saarlandes in Saarbrücken findet sich eine geringfügig beschädigte Terrakottafigur (*Abb. 8*), die alle wesentlichen Bedingungen zu erfüllen scheint.[32] Inmitten diverser kultischer Gerätschaften (Altar, Opferbrot, Amphore) stehend präsentiert sich dem Betrachter gleichfalls ein junger Mann in gegürtetem Chiton und mit einem ähnlichen dicken Kranz mit zwei Lotusknospen auf dem Kopf. Er trägt keine Girlande um den Hals. Vielmehr scheint er mit seiner rechten Hand in den Halssaum des Chitons zu greifen. Besonders interessant ist aber die Tatsache, dass er mit der linken Hand einen auf der Schulter abgesetzten kleinen Kultschrein mit einer Figur des Harpokrates hält. Gleiches könnten wir für die Rekonstruktion der Bronzestatuette vermuten. Doch scheinen auch andere Möglichkeiten der Ergänzung nicht ausgeschlossen. So zeigen verschiedene Terrakotten aus ägyptischen Werkstätten bis in die römische Kaiserzeit auch Diener und Patäken, die in ähnlicher Haltung eine Figur des Harpokrates,[33] ein Tablett mit Speisen,[34] eine Amphore[35] oder anderes Gerät[36] schultern.

Wenn wir die längliche Form der Anstückungsstelle im Rücken der Bronzestatuette genauer betrachten, erscheint sie für die meisten der genannten Alternativen wenig geeignet, während ein kleiner Kultschrein nicht nur am ehesten einer solch stabilen Befestigung bedarf, sondern auch von seiner flachen Grundform her am besten auf die schmale Anstückungsstelle passen würde. Darauf, dass der zu ergänzende Gegenstand nicht nur auf dem äußersten Ende der Schulter auflag, sondern ein Stück weit bis hinter den Kopf reichte, lässt die gerade in den Profilansichten (*Abb. 2, 4*) gut erkennbare weit vorgestreckte Haltung des Kopfes schließen.

Datierung

Ein stilistischer Vergleich der Bronzestatuette mit der ins letzte Viertel des 2. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. datierten Terrakotte verbietet sich aus methodischen Gründen. Aber auch wenn wir kaum zuverlässig datierte Bronzen kennen, die wir zum Vergleich heranziehen könnten, gilt es doch zu betonen, dass die Bronze in Philadelphia keinerlei klassizistische Erstarrung und Linearität aufweist, wie sie für Kleinbronzen des Späthellenismus und der frühen römischen Kaiserzeit typisch wären. Stattdessen spricht der hier, wie bei vielen Werken der bronzenen Kleinkunst aus ägyptischen Werkstätten, zu beobachtende weitgehende Verzicht auf Kaltarbeit wohl eher für eine Datierung in das ausgehende 2. oder frühe 1. Jahrhundert v. Chr., so dass die Bronze etwa zeitgleich oder nur wenig später als die Terrakotte anzusetzen sein dürfte.

Praktische Überlegungen

Der Mangel an vergleichbaren Bronzen macht auch das praktische Verständnis der von uns als Darstellung eines Kultdieners gedeuteten Statuette schwierig. Die ohne eine sicherlich zu ergänzende Basis erhaltene Statuette hat mit einer Höhe von 21,5 cm ein beachtliches Maß und ist somit auch von ihrer Größe her gewissermaßen herausragend. Natürlich gibt die Tatsache, dass wir es mit einer realistischen Darstellung und nicht mit einer Götterdarstellung zu tun haben, eine Tendenz in Richtung ‘Angewandte Kunst’ vor. Doch reicht ein solches Argument nicht aus, um eine Funktion als Votivstatuette oder als Teil eines mehrfigurigen Weihgeschenks für weniger wahrscheinlich zu erklären oder sogar auszuschließen. Je nach dem, welche Art von Gegenstand auf der linken Schulter zu ergänzen ist, könnte man die Möglichkeit in Betracht ziehen, dass wir es auch hier mit einem kleinformatigen ‘Stummen Diener’ zu tun haben, wie wir sie schon mehrfach,[37] zuletzt in Form zweier Bronzestatuetten alexandrinischer Lastenträger untersucht haben.[38] So gerne wir den jungen Mann mit einer funktionstüchtigen Lampe oder irgendeinem anderen Behältnis auf seiner linken Schulter ergänzen würden, fehlen uns hierfür im vorliegenden Fall doch alle belastbaren Indizien.

TORSO EINES MANNES MIT EXOMIS IN BERLIN

Ebenfalls der Kunst des hellenistisch-römischen Ägypten zugehörig und aufgrund seiner fragmentarischen Erhaltung zunächst gleichermaßen schwierig zu verstehen ist eine weitere Bronze, mit der sich der Verfasser im zweiten Teil dieses Beitrags beschäftigen möchte.

Als Leihgabe des Berliner Ägyptischen Museums (offiziell: Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung–Staatliche Museen zu Berlin) befand sich seit Mai 1896 im Depot des Archäologischen Museums in der Kunsthalle der Christian-Albrechts-Universität Kiel das nur als Torso erhaltene Teilstück einer hellenistisch-römischen Bronzestatuette (*Abb. 9–12*), das der Verfasser dank der Freundlichkeit des damaligen Kustos Joachim Raeder im April 2007 eingehend in Augenschein nehmen und fotografieren konnte, bevor es nach Auskunft des heutigen Kustos Manuel Flecker zusammen mit allen anderen langfristigen Leihgaben des Ägyptischen Museums im Jahre 2019 zur Restaurierung nach Berlin zurückkehrte.[39]

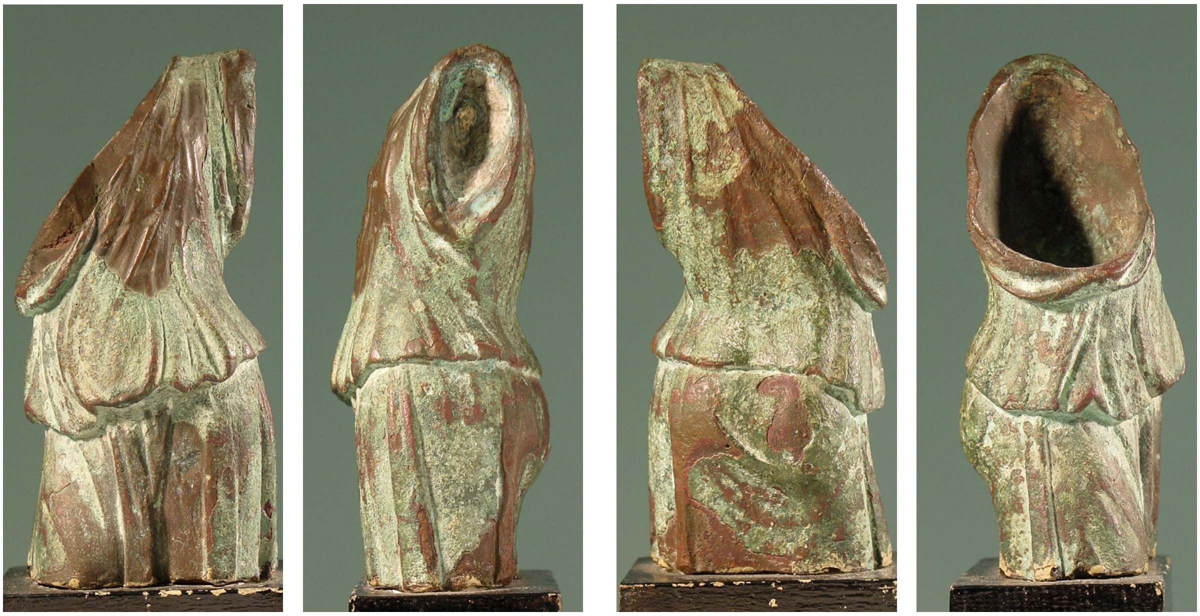

Abb. 9–12. Bronzetorso eines Sklaven (?) in Exomis. Berlin, ÄMP - SMB Inv. ÄM 8007 (Foto Norbert Franken).

Der 10,5 cm hohe und ungefähr 5 cm breite Torso wurde nach Auskunft des Inventarbuchs im Jahre 1881 durch den bekannten Ägyptologen Heinrich Brugsch (1827–1894) während einer Reise ins Nilland[40] für die Ägyptische Abteilung der Königlichen Museen erworben. Bald danach wurde er mit der Beschreibung *"Tunika. Gewandfragment einer weiblichen Figur?"* als *"VII 1093"* ins Inventar eingetragen wurde, während er heute die Inventarnummer *"ÄM 8007"* trägt. Das Datenblatt des Museumsdokumentationssystems verzeichnet als Herkunft "Unterägypten", wobei ohne nähere Kenntnis der Dokumentation für Außenstehende nicht ersichtlich ist, ob dies tatsächlich auf einer Angabe des Erwerbers beruht oder lediglich als kunstlandschaftliche Einordnung eines späteren Bearbeiters zu verstehen ist.

In dem 1956 erschienenen Standardwerk über "Ägyptische Bronzefiguren" des Ägyptologen und Museumsdirektors Günther Roeder (1881–1966) findet der – auch dort irrtümlich für weiblich gehaltene – Torso nur kurze Erwähnung,[41] kann aber im Grunde als unpubliziert gelten.

Bekleidung und Rekonstruktion der Statuette

Dank der Autopsie lässt sich die frühere Beschreibung der ungewöhnlichen Bronze in Teilen präzisieren und korrigieren. So handelt es sich bei dem gegürteten Kleidungsstück genauer gesagt nicht um einen gewöhnlichen griechischen Chiton oder eine römische Tunika, sondern um eine so genannte Exomis, die von Hephaistos bzw. Vulcanus genauso getragen wird wie von Handwerkern und Sklaven. Der besondere Schnitt der Exomis mit einer freien Schulter sollte dem körperlich Arbeitenden die notwendige Bewegungsfreiheit geben. Darüber hinaus zeigte sich am Torso selbst, dass zweifellos ein männliches und kein weibliches Individuum dargestellt ist, wobei es wohl das ausgeprägte Standmotiv mit der in beinahe lasziver Weise zur Seite schwingenden linken Hüfte gewesen sein dürfte, das den vielleicht nur mit einem Foto arbeitenden Gelehrten auf die falsche Spur brachte.

Nach den üblichen Körperproportionen muss der Torso ursprünglich zu einer Bronzestatuette von rund 20 cm Gesamthöhe gehört haben. Die Figur stand in ausgeprägtem Kontrapost mit linkem Stand- und rechtem Spielbein. Der möglicherweise gesenkte Kopf dürfte ehemals nach rechts, also in Richtung der Spielbeinseite geblickt haben, da ein nach links gedrehtes Gesicht in unvorteilhafter Weise mit dem Attribut kollidieren würde, das der Dargestellte mutmaßlich in der erhobenen linken Hand hielt.

Überlegungen zur Technik

Da die hier zu beobachtende Machart der Figur mit separatem Guss und späterer Anstückung der nackten Körperteile (Kopf, linker Arm, rechter Arm mit Brust, Beine) an den bekleideten Teil des Torsos technisch eher ungewöhnlich ist, war sich der Verfasser von Beginn an der besonderen Bedeutung dieses ägyptischen Fundstücks bewusst. Wie er schon früher an einem anderen Beispiel, nämlich der Statuette eines afrikanischen Schuljungen aus Augst (Kanton Basel-Landschaft, Schweiz), nachweisen konnte,[42] diente die Anstückungstechnik bei antiken Bronzestatuetten neben der überwiegenden Notwendigkeit, eine gusstechnisch vorteilhafte Verbindung von Gusskern und Gussmantel herzustellen, bisweilen auch der Absicht, durch die Kombination unterschiedlich legierter bzw. künstlich (zum Beispiel mit so genannter 'Schwarzpatina') patinierter Teile einen farblichen Gegensatz zu erzielen und der Figur so in ihrem ursprünglichen, vollständigen Zustand einen stärker naturalistischen Zug zu verleihen.[43] Da vieles dafür spricht, auch im vorliegenden Fall einen ähnlichen Grund für die Anwendung der Anstückungstechnik zu vermuten, bestand ursprünglich der Plan, den Torso zusammen mit anderen Beispielen, wie zum Beispiel Herkulesstatuetten mit separat gearbeiteten und angestückten Löwenfellen, in einem allgemeinen Aufsatz zur antiken Metallpolychromie zu veröffentlichen und dabei den Fokus auf diese besondere Technik zu legen. Dass die geplante Publikation immer wieder zurückgestellt wurde, sollte sich rückblickend als Vorteil erweisen, da erst einige Zeit später ein für das Verständnis des Bronzetorsos wichtiges Vergleichsstück auftauchte und sich dadurch nach längerer Überlegung eine plausible Antwort auf die bis dahin ungeklärte Benennungsfrage ergab.

Zur Benennung des Dargestellten

Wie bereits erwähnt, zeigt die Position der Schulter deutlich, dass der linke Arm ehemals hoch erhoben war, weshalb man zunächst an die Darstellung eines sich in herrscherlicher Pose auf ein stabförmiges Attribut (Zepter, Thyrsus, Dreizack etc.) stützenden Gottes denken könnte. Nun sind aber auch antike Bronzestatuetten des Hephaistos/Vulcanus mit erhobenem Arm eigentlich ungewöhnlich,[44] so dass auch über die Möglichkeit nachzudenken war, dass hier kein Gott sondern ein Sterblicher dargestellt ist. Da die wenigen bislang bekannten Bronzestatuetten, bei denen alle nackten Körperteile an einen bekleideten Torso angestückt sind oder waren, ausschließ-

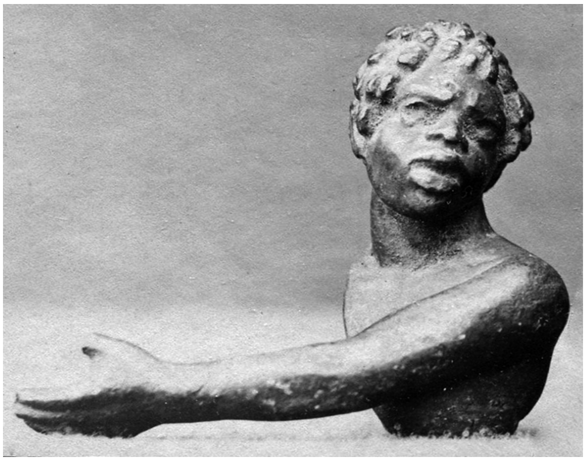

Abb. 13. Verschollenes Teilstück einer Afrikanerstatuette. Ehemals Kunsthandel Venedig (Repro nach Foto im Archäologischen Institut der Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg).

lich Afrikaner darstellen, ist es nach Ansicht des Verfassers zumindest sehr gut möglich, dass auch der Berliner Bronzetorso zu der Statuette eines schwarzen Arbeitssklaven gehörte, wobei er mit der Hand des erhobenen linken Arms entweder ein Tablett oder eine andere Last auf der Schulter oder auf dem Kopf balanciert haben könnte.

Tatsächlich findet auch das Stehen mit seitlich weit ausgestellter Hüfte durchaus Vergleiche bei nackten oder bekleideten Bronzestatuetten stehender afrikanischer Sklaven hellenistisch-römischer Zeit.[45] Eine dem Torso in allen Merkmalen entsprechende Sklavenstatuette scheint nicht überliefert zu sein. Mit einer Exomis bekleidet ist zwar auch die sehr qualitätvolle und detailreich gestaltete Bronzestatuette eines Afrikaners (?) in Cleveland.[46] Doch weicht sie durch eine orientalische Mütze und ein spitzes Kinnbärtchen von der üblichen Ikonographie ab. Außerdem bleibt eine Unsicherheit im Verständnis der Statuette, da das heutige Erscheinungsbild des mageren jungen Mannes als Bettler ganz wesentlich auf der modernen Ergänzung der rechten Hand mit einer Schale beruht.

Motivisch am nächsten steht die qualitätvolle Bronzestatuette eines mit gegürtetem Chiton bzw. Tunika bekleideten Sklaven im Cabinet des Médailles der Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.[47] Bemerkenswerterweise waren bei dieser Statuette die heute fehlenden Arme in Höhe des Ärmelsaums angestückt. Inwieweit möglicherweise auch der Kopf und die Arme separat gegossen und angestückt sind, ließe sich nur durch gründliche Autopsie des Originals bzw. eine Röntgenaufnahme klären.

Teilstück einer technisch vergleichbaren Sklavenstatuette

Besonders instruktiv für das Verständnis des Berliner Torsos und seiner Anstückungstechnik ist aber das Teilstück einer bronzenen Afrikanerstatuette, das sich spätestens zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts im venezianischen Kunsthandel befand.[48] Dokumentiert ist diese heute leider verschollene Bronze nur noch durch ein altes, wohl aus dem Nachlass des Archäologen und Kunsthändlers Paul Arndt (1865–1937) stammendes Schwarzweißfoto in der Fotothek des Archäologischen Instituts der Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg. (*Abb. 13*) Das offenbar separat gegossene

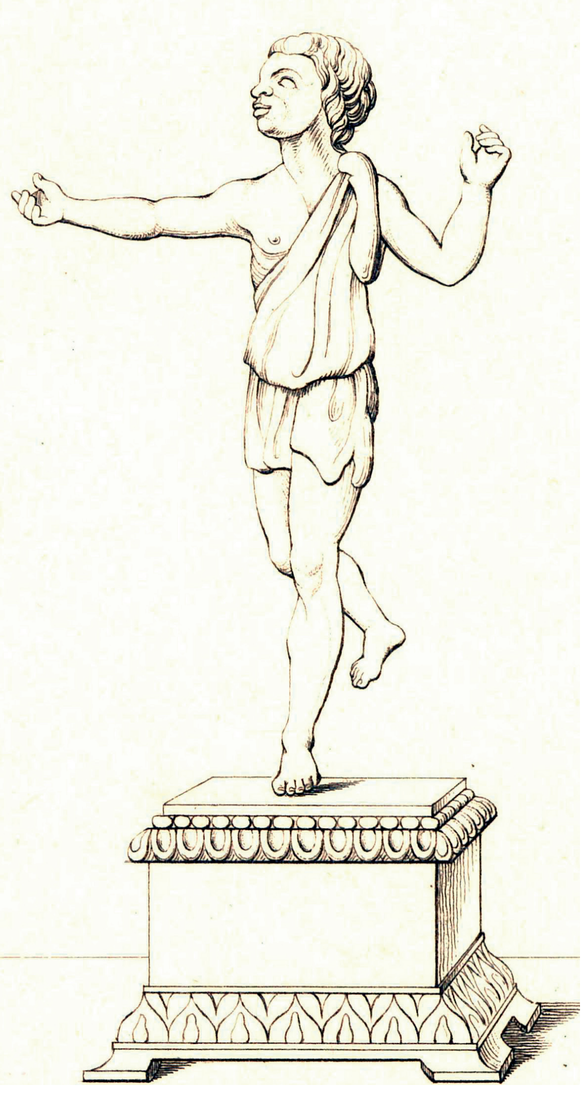

Abb. 14. Bronzestatuette eines schwarzen Sklaven. Neapel, MAN Inv. 5486 (Repro nach Roux/Barré 1862).

und zur Anstückung gedachte Stück umfasste den Kopf sowie den ausgestreckten linken Arm mit der halben Brust eines Mannes mit negroiden Zügen. Der Dargestellte wirft seinen Kopf energisch nach links, was zweifellos auf eine starke Bewegung der gesamten Figur schließen lässt. Auch der leicht geöffnete Mund und der sorgenvolle Blick des Mannes unterstreichen die in künstlerischer Vollkommenheit gestaltete Dramatik der Darstellung, für die sicherlich nur eine der besten Bronzewerkstätten des ptolemäischen Ägypten in Frage kommt.

Bronzestatuette eines schwarzen Sklaven in Neapel

Wie die ansonsten verlorene Figur in ihrer Gesamtheit ausgesehen haben könnte, offenbart eine aus den frühen Ausgrabungen in Herculaneum stammende Bronze im Archäologischen Nationalmuseum in Neapel.[49] (*Abb. 14*) Sie stellt augenscheinlich einen laufenden, mit der Exomis bekleideten Negersklaven dar. Dieser streckt in vollem Lauf den rechten Arm weit vor, wobei er in der Hand ursprünglich eine Fackel oder eine Lampe gehalten haben könnte. Zunächst verwunderlich ist die Tatsache, dass das verschollene Teilstück (*Abb. 13*) von einer seitenverkehrten Version desselben oder eines sehr ähnlichen Typus stammt, bei der die linke, statt wie üblich, die rechte Schulter entblößt ist. Auch wenn seitenverkehrte Ausformungen für die meisten Typen hellenistisch-römischer Bronzestatuetten eher unüblich sind, kommen sie doch vor.[50] Im Falle der Neapler Statuette und des verschollenen Teilstücks könnte die Erklärung für dieses Phänomen darin liegen, dass die (mit einer Fackel) herbeilaufenden Sklaven ähnlich den in größerer Zahl überlieferten tänzelnden Laren, laufenden Eroten und kindlichen Genien bisweilen als Paare in spiegelbildlicher Entsprechung Aufstellung fanden. Im Gegensatz dazu dürfte der Berliner Torso als Rest eines offenbar in entspannter Haltung bereitstehenden Sklaven eher als Einzelfigur zu verstehen sein.

Anmerkungen

[1] Der größtenteils während der weltweiten Pandemie in ‘home-office’ entstandene Aufsatz ist Teil eines von Juli 2017 bis August 2020 an der Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz laufenden Projekts zu antiken Bronzen im Nahen Osten. Der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft, dem Projektleiter Detlev Kreikenbom und Thomas M. Weber-Karyotakis ist für ihre freundliche Unterstützung herzlich zu danken. Ebenso danke ich Ulrike Haase, Annemarie Kaufmann-Heinimann (Basel), Friederike Seyfried, Jana Helmbold-Doyé, Klaus Finneiser, Ute Wolf (ÄMP–SMB), Marianne Bergmann, Jörg Deterling, Stephanie Pearson (Berlin), Claudia Voos (Bonn), Andreas Grüner, Elisabeth Günther (Erlangen), Carol C. Mattusch (Fairfax, VA), Maria Effinger (Heidelberg), Sven Kielau (Hildesheim), Annette Haug, Joachim Raeder, Manuel Flecker (Kiel), Florent Heintz (London), Robert Steven Bianchi (New York), dem auf eigenen Wunsch anonymen Besitzer der Bronze in Philadelphia, Michael Padgett (Princeton) und Jochen Griesbach (Würzburg) für wichtige Hinweise, technische Hilfe und die Publikationsgenehmigungen.

[2] Vgl. Franken 2020 (mit Verweisen auf frühere Arbeiten des Verfassers).

[3] Froehner 1885, 205 Nr. 966 Taf. 105; Reinach 1910, 352 Nr. 3; Bieber 1950, 8 Anm. 2; Kat. New York 1981, o. Pag. Nr. 258 Abb.; Kat. New York 1994, o. Pag. Nr. 173 Abb.; Kat. New York 1995, o. Pag. Nr. 318 Abb.

[4] Die Gürtung allein nach den Fotos zu beschreiben, fällt nicht leicht. Im Rücken sieht es so aus, als hätte der Mann ein Tuch als breiten Gürtel um die Taille geschlungen. Doch erkennt man auf der Vorderseite deutlich einen (vermutlich doppelten) Knoten, dessen schmale Enden oberhalb des Bauchnabels herabhängen. Gemeint ist also möglicherweise die in dünnen Enden auslaufende Form der hellenistischen Binde (Tänie).

[5] Zu einigen Bedeutungsmöglichkeiten der Anstückungstechnik: Franken 2002a.

[6] Entsprechende um den Hals gelegte Girlanden finden sich unter anderem bei Eros: Barr-Sharrar 1987 Kat. C 116–118. C 122. C 125. C 136 Taf. 37–40; und bei grotesken Tänzern: Krystalli-Votsi 2014, 95–100 Abb.

[7] Vgl. dazu auch Franken 2019, 112 Anm. 23.

[8] Philipp 1972, 19 Nr. 5 Farbtaf. 4; Kat. Hamburg 1991, 43–51 Abb. 8. 10–13. 21–22. 25.

[9] Philipp 1972, 10. 25 Nr. 24 Abb. 22.

[10] Als Vorläufer römischer Tintinnabula ist ein zum Aufhängen gedachter, nur 6,5 cm hoher Zwerg mit riesigem Phallus in Wien zu verstehen: Gschwantler 1986, 125–126 Nr. 184 Abb. 249. – Höchst eindrucksvoll ein 12,4 cm hoher Zwerg mit geschulterter Antilope in amerikanischem Privatbesitz: Kat. Princeton 1997, 2. 16 Nr. 14; Picón/Hemingway 2016, 287–288 Nr. 232 Abb. – Vgl. dazu auch Franken 2019 mit weiteren Hinweisen.

[11] Vgl. Froehner 1885, 211 Nr. 983 Abb. = Reinach 1898, 58 Nr. 3.

[12] Philipp 1972, 10. 21 Nr. 11 Abb. 9; Kat. Hamburg 1991, 44–46 Abb. 10. 13.

[13] Ich danke dem Besitzer für sein engagiertes Interesse und seine bereitwillige Hilfe bei der Beschaffung qualitätvoller Neuaufnahmen der Statuette.

[14] Vgl. dazu u. a. M. Kemkes in: Nuber 1988, 52. 99–100 Abb. 35; Franken 2011a unter Inv. Fr. 2142 a; Willburger, 2013, 746; Franken 2019, 115 Anm. 32.

[15] Als römische Imitationen ägyptischer Bronzen sind z. B. die Lampentischchen mit Seelenvögeln anzusehen: Franken 2010, 250–252 Abb. 7–9; Bianchi 2016, 390–399.

[16] Zu einigen von Adolf Furtwängler 1885 in Paris für das Königliche Antiquarium als Vorgänger der heutigen Berliner Antikensammlung ersteigerten Bronzen der Sammlung: Franken 2011b.

[17] Froehner 1885, 205 Nr. 966 Taf. 105 = https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k6495985d/f563.item

[18] Reinach 1910, 352 Nr. 3.

[19] Bieber 1950, 8 Anm. 2 (“... Standing slaves in bronze, not actors, one with bound hands, and a collar”).

[20] Kat. New York 1981 o. Pag. Nr. 258 Abb.

[21] Kat. New York 1994 o. Pag. Nr. 173 Abb.

[22] Kat. New York 1981 Nr. 258 Abb.

[23] Kat. New York 1994 o. Pag. Nr. 173 Abb.; Kat. New York 1995 o. Pag. Nr. 318 Abb.

[24] Franken 2009, 11Abb. 7.

[25] So bei Franken 1999.

[26] Franken 2009, 10 Abb. 6.

[27] Vgl. dazu exemplarisch: Franken 2018.

[28] Vgl. dazu Franken 2002b.

[29] Vgl. exemplarisch: Philipp 1972; Bayer-Niemeier 1988; Dunand 1990; Kat. Hamburg 1991; Fischer 1994; Fjeldhagen 1995; Pingiatoglou 1995; Török 1995; Schmidt 1997; Attula 2001; Bailey 2008; Griesbach 2013.

[30] Keinen Bezug zu einem Kultfest oder Heiligtum lässt die nur 8,5 cm hohe Bronzestatuette eines kindlichen laufenden Knaben in gegürteter Tunika erkennen. Obwohl er in der Rechten einen Hahn hält, fehlt ihm doch jeglicher Festschmuck: Kat. Houston 1970, 176 Nr. 83 Abb.

[31] Dazu zuletzt auch: Willburger 2013.

[32] Saarbrücken, Antikensammlung des Instituts für Klassische Archäologie der Universität des Saarlandes Inv. 217 (Erworben aus Privatbesitz, Höhe 20,3 cm): Braun 1998, 58–60 Nr. 138 Taf. 36, 1.

[33] Vgl. z. B. Bayer 1988, 126 Nr. 200 Taf. 39 1; Dunand 1990, 189–190 Nr. 512–515 Abb.

[34] Vgl. z. B. Bayer 1988, 128–129 Nr. 208 Taf. 39, 4; Philipp 1972, 20–21 Nr. 9 Taf. 6. 8 unten.

[35] Vgl. z. B. Bayer 1988, 125 Nr. 196–197 Taf. 38, 5–6; Dunand 1990, 187–188 Nr. 507 Abb.

[36] Vgl. z. B. Dunand 1990, 190–191 Nr. 517 Abb.; Kat. Hamburg 1991, 28. 54 Abb. 31 (zwergenhafte Kultdiener mit geschmückter Scheibe).

[37] Franken 2004; Franken 2018.

[38] Franken 2020.

[39] Die Unterseite des Torsos ließ sich wegen der festen Montage auf einem alten Holzsockel nicht beurteilen.

[40] Brugsch hielt sich 1881 in Ägypten auf, um den österreichischen Kronprinzen Rudolf von Habsburg nach Philae zu begleiten.

[41] Roeder 1956, 50 § 70f ohne Abb.

[42] Vgl. dazu Franken 2002a.

[43] Die Echtheit des Torsos wurde in Kiel zu Unrecht angezweifelt. Tatsächlich ist die hellgrün-sandige Patina, die von einer tiefer liegenden schokoladenbraunen Oberfläche abzublättern scheint, zunächst befremdlich, doch könnte es sich bei ihr um eine künstliche Patinierung hellenistischer Zeit handeln.

[44] Vgl. Brommer 1978 Taf. 24, 3; Franken 1994, 443–444 Nr. 50 Abb. 103–106.

[45] Vgl. z. B. Statuetten in Münster: Himmelmann 1983, 65 Taf. 43 a; und in Privatbesitz: Bolla 1998, 17–20 Nr. 7 Abb. 7 a–b.

[46] Snowden 1971, 73 Abb. 43 (“beggar”); M. True in: Kat. Cleveland 1988, 128–131 Nr. 20 mit Abb. (“Black banausos?”).

[47] Babelon/Blanchet 1895, 440 f. Nr. 1009 mit Abb.

[48] Ob es sich bei dem auf der Rückseite des Fotos als ‘Ougania’ angegebenen Händler möglicherweise um den im späten 19. Jh. in Venedig tätigen Verleger Ferdinando Ougania handelt, konnte nicht geklärt werden.

[49] Neapel, Museo Archeologico Nazionale. Inv. 5486. Aus Herculaneum. – Lit.: Kat. Neapel 1746, 70 Abb. 58; Piroli 1794 Taf. 52; Roux/Barré 1862, 199 Taf. 104, 1. 3; Reinach, RSt II 563, 4–5; Wace 1903, 107 Nr. E 8 (“Dancing negro, in chiton”); Calza 1915, 169 Anm. 3 (“an Ethiopian dancer”); Beardsley 1929, 96 Nr. 212 (“Dancing Ethiopian with a short chiton ...”); Pearl 1937, 588 (mir nicht zugänglich); Snowden 1971, 165. 241 Abb. 104 (“dancer”); Vercoutter 1976, 210 Abb. 269; S. 304 Nr. 206 (“black dancer”).

[50] Vgl. z. B. die bekannte große Bronzestatuette eines nachdenklichen Handwerkers in New York, Metropolitan Museum Inv. 1972,11.1, deren Problematik hier nicht wiederholt werden soll: Himmelmann 1983 Taf. 56–58.

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BABESCH 97 (2022), 77-91. doi: 10.2143/BAB.97.0.3290534

The Discovery of the Colossal Coronation Horoscope of Antiochus I, King of Commagene on Mt. Nemrud

Maurice Crijns

Abstract

The main sanctuary of Commagene is situated on Mt. Nemrud in eastern Turkey. Here, the coronation memorial of Antiochus is presented. Two identical ensembles of five colossal statues were erected at the East and West terraces during the first century BCE. The statues are named after five deities corresponding with the Sun, Moon, Mercury, Mars and Jupiter. The ensemble represents a frozen picture of the sky as seen from Mt. Nemrud on the 29th January 91 BCE at dawn around 06:58 local time. The time is determined by an annual phenomenon of Regulus, the royal star of Commagene as explained in the article. The colossi represent the largest known horoscope in the world and commemorate the coronation day of Antiochus I.

Next to the statues, an ensemble of five reliefs was erected on the West and East terraces i.e., four dexioseis *and the Lion Horoscope. The Lion relief is the oldest picture of a horoscope in the world. The importance of Regulus is emphasized by its central location at the heart of the lion. The sculpture is a frozen picture of the sky as seen from Mt. Nemrud on the 14th July of 109 BCE at dusk around 19:38 local time. Also here, the time is determined by Regulus. The ensemble of* dexioseis *and Lion relief is the coronation memorial of Mithridates I and likely commemorates the symbolic birthday of his son, Antiochus.*

The research presented in this article, allows for a reconstruction of the Commagenian calendar. Moreover, it is hypothesized that historical chronology can benefit from an unknown tool i.e., the use of the four annual phenomena of the agricultural marker star to determine absolute dates.

The astronomical research is based on data as obtained during the latest archaeological and conservation campaigns from 2001 to 2003 on Mt. Nemrud. The campaigns were a joint effort of the University of Amsterdam as well as other universities and the International Nemrud Foundation. The works were supervised by the Turkish Ministry of Culture.

INTRODUCTION

After a short introduction on the architectural design of the Nemrud monument, the proposals from the past regarding the dating and attribution of the Lion Horoscope are evaluated in chapter 2. Chapter 3 and 4 describe the research resulting in the discovery and dating of the horoscope of King Antiochus I i.e., his coronation memorial. The subsequent finds are presented in chapter 5 i.e., calendar, anomalies and building program. The time is notated as the universal time UT or local time at Greenwich. The local time at Mt. Nemrud is two hours and thirty-six minutes ahead of the UT

The architectural design at the top of Mt. Nemrud is most spectacular. Here, Antiochus built his tomb "*in closest proximity to the heavenly throne*" and constructed a fifty-meter high burial mound or *tumulus* (*fig. 1*).[1] The tomb has never been found despite the efforts of ancient treasure hunters and modern archaeologists.[2] Antiochus was determined "*to enlarge and embellish*" everything

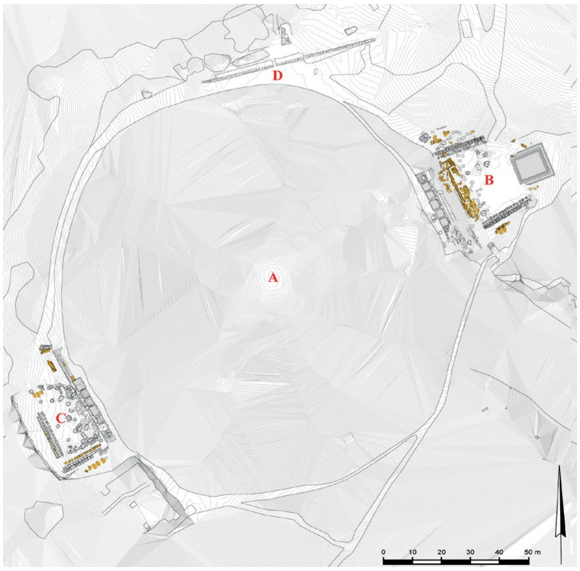


Fig. 1. GPS map of the monument on Mt. Nemrud. A: Tumulus. B: East terrace. C: West terrace. D: North terrace. Brijder 2014, Fig. 13a © 2008 Waagen and INF.

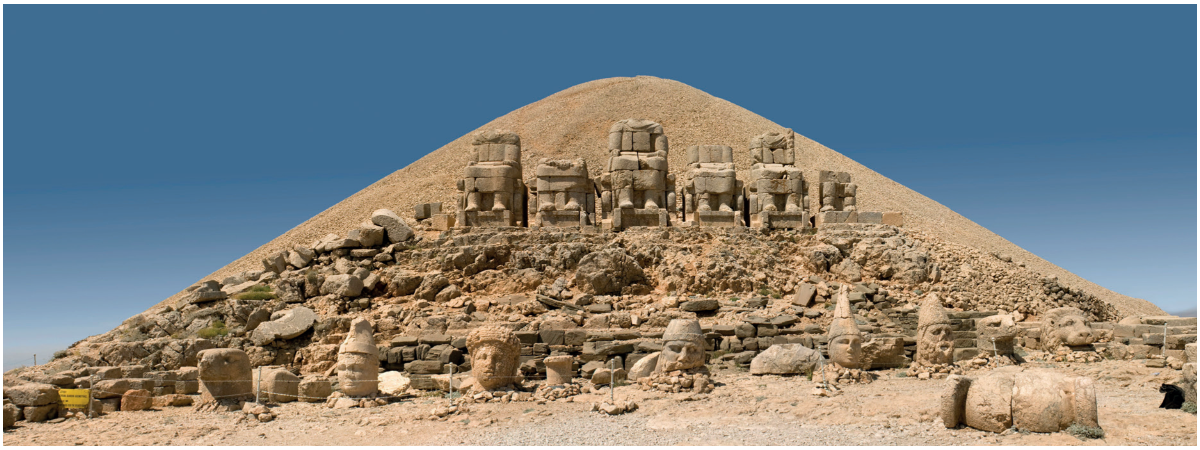


Fig. 2. East terrace: The five colossal statues and tumulus behind. The five dexiosis reliefs were erected at the stepped platform below. Brijder 2014, Fig. 20 © 2011 Roeloffs.

he had inherited.[3] Three terraces are constructed around the *tumulus*, the North, East and West terraces.[4] On the East and West terrace, Antiochus erected two identical groups of five colossal statues. The statues at the East terrace tower high above the court (*fig. 2*). At the West terrace, the statues are just slightly elevated (*fig. 3*). At the back of the statues a large text of Antiochus is inscribed, the *Nomos*.[5]

Next to the statues on the West terrace, a group of five stelae were erected (*fig. 3*). At four so-called *dexioseis,* the king welcomes a celestial deity. These are the same deities as depicted by the statues. The fifth relief is the Lion Horoscope depicting the image of a lion covered with stars. These five stelae are referred to as the *dexiosis* reliefs.[6] An identical group of these five reliefs was erected below the statues at the East terrace, on a stepped platform; they have preserved in the shape of fragments. The group of five statues and the group of five *dexiosis* reliefs, are both flanked by an eagle and a lion. The *dexiosis* reliefs may date from King Mithridates I.[7] They are dwarfed by the colossi of his son Antiochus: "*Antiochos embraced, as it were, his father's monument by building over it his own series of statues*".[8]

Two long rows of reliefs border the East as well as the West terrace. One row depicts the Greek-Seleucid ancestors of Antiochus' mother and the other row, the Persian ancestors of Antiochus' father. There are two more groups of five reliefs, each located at the East and West terrace, the so-called *investiture* stelae. These are not flanked by an eagle and a lion. The largest relief in the middle, depicts two kings, one of which is Antiochus.[9] Either Mithridates I is crowning his son Antiochus as co-ruler or Antiochus is crowning his son Mithridates II as co-ruler.[10] The *investiture* reliefs may hint at the meaning of both ensembles of statues and *dexiosis*.

The star cult of Commagene suggests that the design of the monument might feature certain astronomical alignments. The research regarding these possible alignments are based on a GPS-RTK map.[11] The map was surveyed by the University of Technology Delft of The Netherlands in 2002.[12] The survey is part of the SIS Site Information System. The SIS is a database of all artefacts on the Nemrud compiled during the archaeological campaigns mentioned.[13] The GPS map displays the true north. Previous maps were made with a compass, indicating the magnetic north which differs about five degrees. The true north enables a correct research resulting in the following astronomical alignments:

On the East terrace, the row of Greek-Seleucid ancestors at azimuth 58° points at the sunrise at the summer solstice, the longest day of the year. No specific celestial event is found for the row of Persian ancestors pointing at azimuth 70°.[14]

The azimuth of the view direction of the row of statues and *dexiosis* reliefs is 64° (*fig. 4*). That is the point on the horizon where Regulus was rising in the time of Commagene. So, the statues and *dexiosis* reliefs were looking at the daily rise of Regulus. This event is emphasized by the rows of Persian and Greek-Seleucid ancestors. The ancestor rows form together with the row of statues a large isosceles triangle pointing at the daily rise of Regulus.[15] The extended line of vision of Zeus at the centre of the statues, bisects the centre of the *tumulus* behind. The design suggests that this specific point on the horizon must have been of the greatest importance to the Commagenians.

A horizon profile might be of help for a better understanding (*fig. 5*).[16] The horizon profile

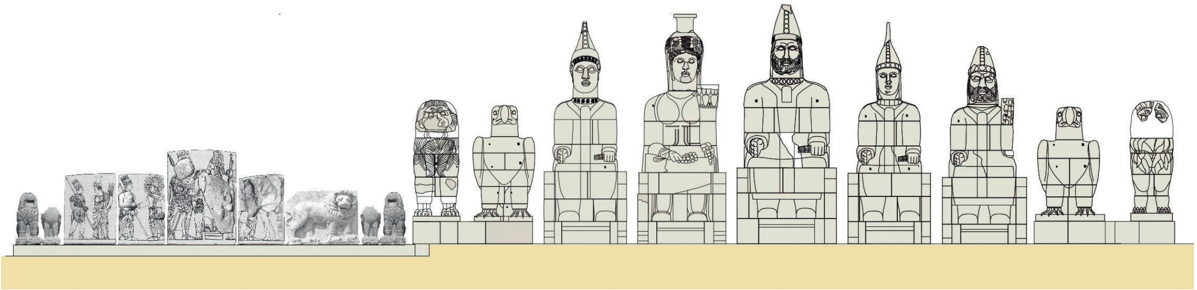


Fig. 3. West terrace: Reconstruction drawing of the five colossal statues. The five dexiosis stelae are erected to the left of the statues. Both ensembles are flanked by an eagle and a lion. Brijder 2014, Figs. 40 and 99D © 2011 Roeloffs and Brijder.

ranges from azimuth 57° to 70° as visible from the East terrace. The rise of Regulus in the time of Commagene is indicated. Regulus was rising from behind a mountain at a distance of about 23 kilometres. The extended line of view intersects a mountain, referred to by the locals as *Little Nemrud*. A picture that covers the same part of the horizon is displayed in *fig. 6*. The mountain contours match the contours of the horizon profile.

At the West terrace, the azimuth of the view direction of the row of statues is 241° (*fig. 7*). That is the point on the horizon where the Sun sets in midwinter.[17] The statues and *dexiosis* reliefs are looking at the sunset on the shortest day of the year. The importance of the Sun is emphasized by the row of Persian ancestors, pointing at the same event.[18] The azimuth of the view direction of the row of Greek-Seleucid ancestors is 65°. The azimuth of the rising Regulus is 64° (*fig. 4*). Despite the fact that the tumulus prohibits a direct view, the Greek-Seleucid ancestors are looking in the direction of the daily rise of Regulus in the east.

In sum, the astronomical alignments as found can be thought of as a blueprint of the astro-religion of Commagene in which the stars Sun and Regulus play a significant role. The importance of the Sun needs no explanation, but why was Regulus so important? Regulus is the brightest star of the Leo constellation and easily visible with the naked eye. More importantly, Regulus is an agricultural marker star. An agricultural marker star is a star of which the four annual phenomena regarding its visibility coincide with the agricultural seasons in a certain region. The ancient farmers used such a star to plan agriculture. Over time, the star became an integral part of the religious and cultural set of beliefs. The star phenomena were used to plan the date and time of important events like a coronation, also. For example, the agricultural marker star of

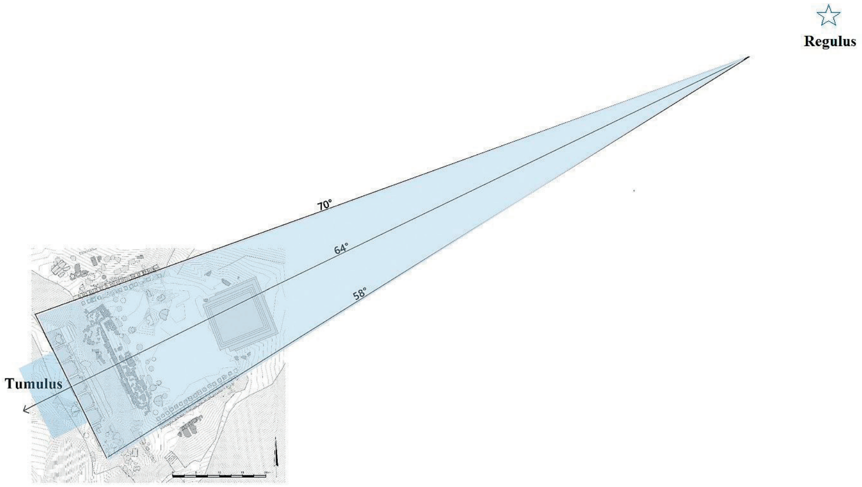


Fig. 4. East terrace, reconstruction drawing: The statues and the dexioseis ensemble look at the daily rise of Regulus at azimuth 64°. The rows of Persian and Greek-Seleucid ancestors and the row of statues, form a large isosceles triangle. The extended line of vision of Zeus, intersects the top of the tumulus behind. The arrow in blue points at the distant rise of Regulus. Brijder 2014, Fig. 13b © 2008 Waagen and INF.

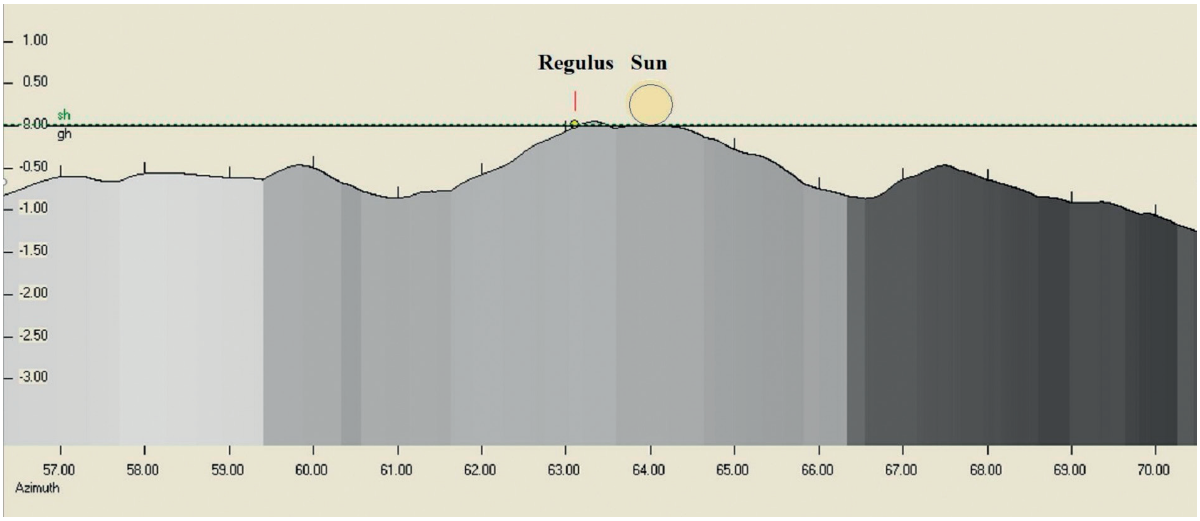


Fig. 5. Horizon profile as visible from the East terrace, © 2015 Rademaker.

Egypt is Sirius. The heliacal rise of Sirius is a well-known tool to determine Egyptian chronology. So far, the other three annual phenomena of Sirius are ignored. The Rosetta Stone provides for the coronation date of Ptolemy V on 28 November 205 BCE. This is common knowledge to Egyptologists, but they failed to notice that the day coincides with an annual phenomenon of Sirius. At dawn, Sirius can be seen to set for the first time. This is called the Apparent Morning Setting or AMS.[19] The phenomenon determines the time of the coronation around 6:13 local time in Memphis.[20] Maybe, Regulus played a similar role in Commagene.

THE CONFUSING LION HOROSCOPE

The importance of Regulus is confirmed by the Lion Horoscope, where the star is depicted at the heart of the lion. According to Friedrich Dörner, the Lion Horoscope '*is the oldest picture of a horoscope that has been preserved*' (*fig. 8*).[21] A horoscope is no more than an astronomical picture of the sky at a given time and place.[22] That picture can be dated by an astronomical analysis. In fact, the date is written on the relief through the astronomical data as depicted:

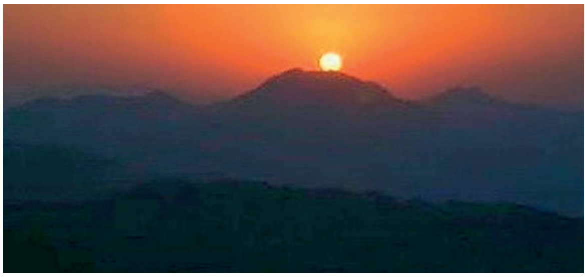


Fig. 6. The same horizon profile as Fig. 5 as pictured from the East terrace on the 26th of July 2005 at 2:24 UT © 2005 Crijns.

1. Nineteen 8-rayed stars are depicted on the lion body. These stars match the 19 stars of the constellation Leo as described by Eratosthenes.[23] The configuration searched for must be in Leo, which covers about 30 arc degrees of the ecliptic.[24] This has been extended to 50 arc degrees to avoid academic discussions about different norms.[25]
2. New moon is in conjunction with Regulus as depicted at the heart of the lion.
3. Three 16-rayed stars are depicted above the lion with their names inscribed above. From left to right these are the planets: The flaming one of Herakles - ΠΥΡΟΕΙCΗΡΑΚΛ[ΕΟΥC] (Mars), The shining one of Apollo CΤΙΛΒΩΝΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΟC (Mercury), and The radiating one of Zeus – ΦΑΕΘΩΝΔΙΟC (Jupiter). In that order Mars, Mercury, Jupiter and Moon/Regulus must be part of the searched configuration in Leo.
4. Venus and Saturn are not depicted. These planets are not part of the searched configuration in Leo.

Now, the search can start to determine the date with a matching planetary configuration. The first archaeologists assumed that the Lion Horoscope dates back to Antiochus in the period from 100 BCE to 50 BCE.[26] In 1890, that assumption was reasonable as King Antiochus states in the *Nomos* that he constructed the monument in its present state. Over time, this assumption was taken for a fact. Unfortunately, there exists no

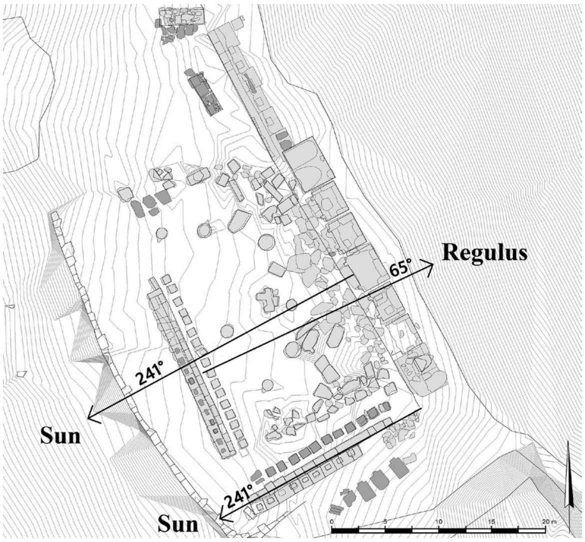


Fig. 7. West terrace, reconstruction drawing: The statues and dexioseis look at the annual sunset on the shortest day at azimuth 241°. The row of Persian ancestors, point at the same event. The Greek ancestors look at the daily rise of Regulus at 65°. Brijder 2014, Fig. 13c © 2008 Waagen and INF.

matching configuration in the era of Antiochus as has been confirmed by Otto Neugebauer.[27] And so, plenty look-alike configurations have been proposed right from the beginning.

In 1890, the astronomer Paul Lehmann found four possible configurations in the prescribed period i.e., 27 July 49 BCE, 3 July 51 BCE, 22 July 96 BCE and 17 July 98 BCE.[28] The latter was selected as the best look-alike.[29] The sequence Mars-Mercury-Jupiter is correct, but the Moon had already passed Leo. More important, the configuration was invisible, because Mars, Mercury and Jupiter were in conjunction with the Sun. During the day, it is difficult to see stars or planets.

In 1959, Otto Neugebauer decided not to ignore the position of the Moon in Leo, but to ignore the sequence of Mars-Mercury-Jupiter. This assumption yielded five new dates of look-alikes of which two were selected, the 11 July 49 BCE and 6/7 July 62 BCE. He opted for 7 July 62 BCE.[30]

In 1984, Vladimir Tuman decided to not to ignore the conjunction of Moon-Regulus and the sequence Mars-Mercury-Jupiter, but to ignore the crescent Moon and the location of the planets in Leo. He found 4/5 February 55 BCE. On that day it was full Moon and the planets were invisible.[31]

In 2007, Talât Saygaç decided not to ignore the sequence Mars-Mercury-Jupiter, but to ignore the conjunction Moon-Regulus. He found 3 July 62 BCE at 18:43 UT.[32]

In 2010, Juan Belmonte decided to not to ignore the location of the planets in Leo, but to ignore the conjunction of Moon-Regulus in Leo and the sequence Mars-Mercury-Jupiter. He found 23 July 49 BCE. By ignoring subsequently the location of the planets in Leo, he found also 23 December 49 BCE.[33]

All these and other proposed configurations are as valuable as the most frequently accepted one of 7 July 62 BCE by Neugebauer. They are all look-alikes, ignoring one or more of the astronomical data of the relief. From a scientific perspective, there is no reason to favour one or the other.

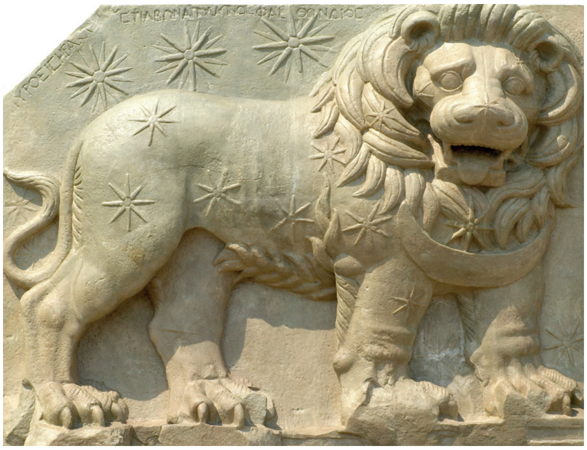


Fig. 8. The plaster cast of the complete Lion Horoscope as found in 1883, Crijns 2014, Fig. 305b © 2004 Crijns.

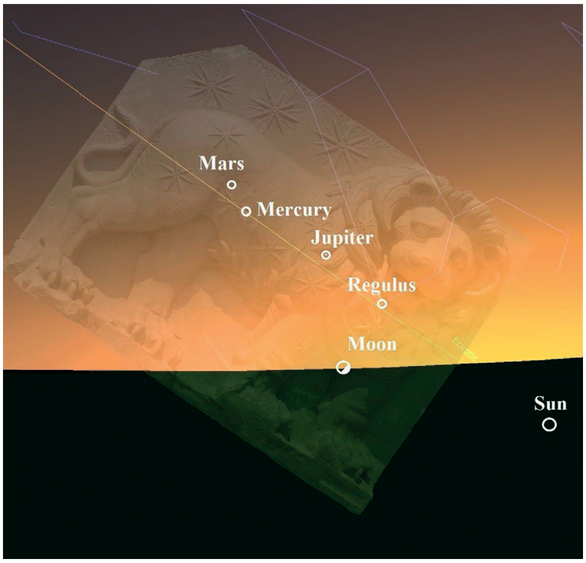


Fig. 9. The setting coronation configuration of Mithridates I on the 14th of July at 17:02 UT (Universal Time). The lion relief is depicted in the background © 2021 Crijns.

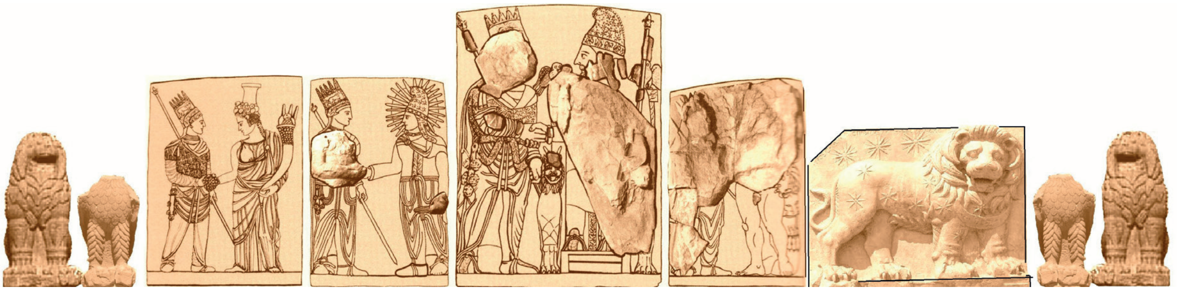


Fig. 10. Reconstruction drawing of the coronation memorial of Mithridates I, from left to right: Lion, Eagle, Commagene-Moon, Apollo-Mercury, Zeus-Jupiter, Herakles-Mars, Lion Horoscope-Regulus, Eagle, Lion. Brijder 2014, Fig. 203a-d © 2021 Crijns.

Any date can be found by selectively ignoring data as depicted on the relief. This arbitrary approach created confusion and induced some scholars to consider the relief completely symbolic. Wolfgang Haase in 1975: "*The expression of a personal katasterismos of the King i.e., the transformation of the king into a star.*"[34] And Öncü Güney in 2009: "*He* [Antiochus] *might be seen as the conquering lion, ultimate domineer of the land wearing a lion embroidered thiara, seating on a lion carved throne*".[35] Contrary, Miguel John Versluys assumes that the Lion relief refers to a specific date, but: "… *the date of the constellation displayed is not necessarily congruent with the date of the Lion horoscope's creation. Antiochos I could well have made the horoscope in 50 BC to recall or claim an event that occurred in 62 BC or 109 BC —or any date before its fabrication — and therefore have displayed this specific constellation.*"[36] This the case, the question remains why Antiochus does not claim the Lion relief, while he does claim the *dexioseis* and the other reliefs. Moreover, it does not explain the removed text on the back of the Lion relief. Following on from Versluys's thought construct, it is theoretically possible that Antiochus changed his mind in e.g., 40 BCE and had the text removed. These thought constructs are interesting, but we are no closer to what event the Lion relief refers to.

In 2021, the never ending debate resulted in a premature conclusion: "*The exact interpretation of the meaning of the lion horoscope is therefore likely to remain unknowable*".[37]

A more scientific approach would have been to reconsider the initial assumption by Otto Puchstein and Karl Humann: Does the configuration of the Lion Horoscope really date back to Antiochus? The answer can only be provided by searching an era larger than that of Antiochos and by applying the astronomical data stringently without manipulating them. Over a period of 10,000 years, there is only one perfect match to be found.[38] I have argued in previous studies that that unique planetary configuration was visible in Commagene on the 14th July of 109 BCE.[39] Fig. 9 displays the actual configuration with the Lion relief at the background. The planetary sequence is identical. It is new Moon in conjunction with Regulus and Mercury is visible.[40]

Fascinating is the unexpected find that the 14th July of 109 BCE also coincides with one of the four

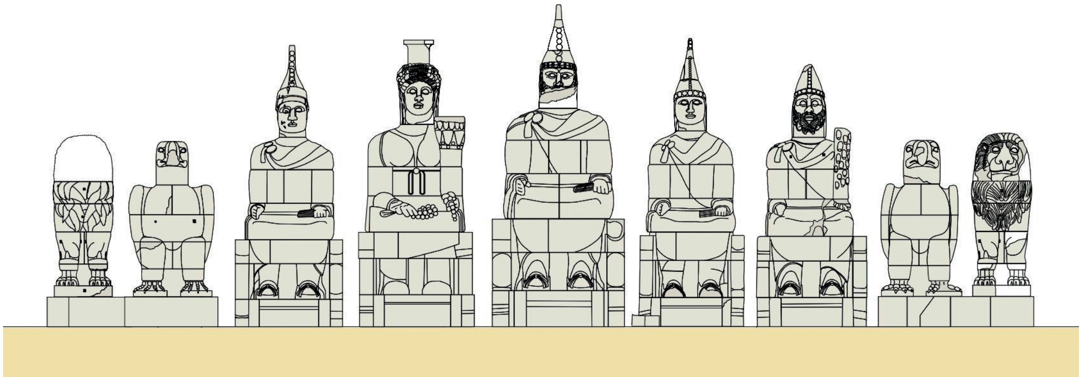


Fig. 11. East terrace: Reconstruction drawing of the statues, from left to right: Lion, Eagle, Antiochus, Commagene-Moon, Zeus-Jupiter, Apollo-Mercury and Herakles-Mars, Eagle, Lion. Brijder 2014, Fig. 39 © 2011 Roeloffs.

annual phenomena of Regulus. That day at 17:02 UT, is the last visible setting of Regulus. And so, Regulus determines the time of the configuration.

In 2005, Stephan Heilen criticised my dating proposal.[41] I discussed his criticism and had to refute it in great detail in 2014.[42] Since then, no reaction by Heilen nor by others has been published nor any further criticism, suggesting that the debate is finished. The proposed date is undisputable from an astronomical perspective. It is of course meaningful that Stephan Heilen admits that 14 July 109 BCE is '*plausibel*.'[43] Moreover, Otto Neugebauer stated in his letter to Friedrich Dörner that 14 July 109 BCE "*remains a possibility*", contradicting his earlier statement that "*-61 July 7 remains the only possibility*".[44]

Seen from a historical perspective, the 14th July of 109 BCE fits to the coronation date of Antiochus' father, Mithridates I. The ensemble of the four *dexioseis* stelae and the Lion Horoscope, flanked by a guardian eagle and lion, comprise the coronation memorial of Mithridates. It is most unlikely that Antiochus displays the coronation memorial of his father without displaying his own memorial. Until now, this was the missing link to give final proof of the attribution of the *dexiosis* reliefs as the coronation memorial of Mithridates (*fig. 10*). In the following, I would like to present the discovery of the second coronation memorial i.e., the horoscope of Antiochus.

THE HOROSCOPE OF ANTIOCHUS

Antiochus placed the *dexiosis* reliefs commemorating his fathers' coronation day next to the statues at the West terrace and under the statues at the East terrace. The five *dexiosis* reliefs and the five colossal statues are each flanked by a guardian eagle and a lion (*fig. 3*).

The reliefs and statues depict the same four deities: Commagene (Moon), Zeus-Oromasdes (Jupiter), Apollo-Mithras-Helios-Hermes (Mercury) and Artagnes-Hercules-Ares (Mars) (*fig. 11*). Waldmann concludes: "*This shows that the entire row of colossal statues (...) represents a single large dexiosis*."[45] Here, the dating of the 'large *dexiosis*' is presented.

3.1 Method

Before the astronomical search can be conducted, the order of the statues and the celestial body assigned to each single statue must be undisputed. The monument was found with all heads tumbled down and the statues collapsed in part or completely. Only the statue of Commagene at the East terrace was intact until 1964.[46] The identification of the statue of Commagene (female), Zeus (the largest in the middle) and Herakles (holding a club) is beyond doubt. The identification of the remaining two statues i.e., Apollo and Antiochus, was an issue. Initially, it was concluded that the first statue from the left was Apollo and the one next to Zeus was Antiochus.[47] At present, there is consensus that it is the other way around. This is confirmed by the SIS: On the West terrace, block number WT109 is the shoulder block of the most left statue. The neckline displays an array of lightning symbols. Block number WT108 is the head of Antiochus. On his

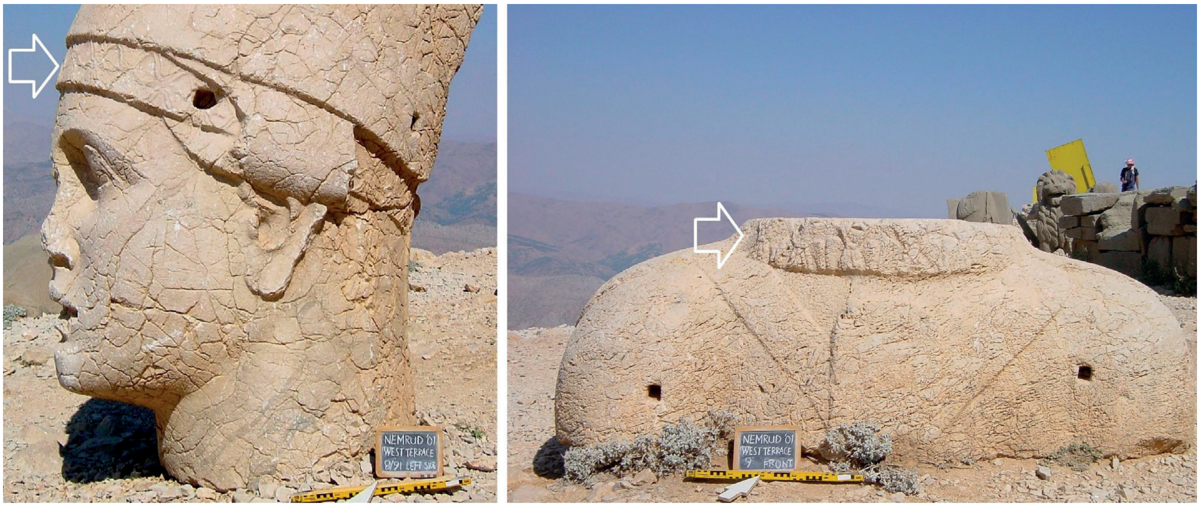


Fig. 12. The identical embellishment with an array of lightning symbols on the tiara of the head and the neckline of the shoulder block, © 2001 Crijns.

tiara Antiochus has the same embellishment (*fig. 12*). As the shoulder block is part of the most left statue, the head of Antiochus must belong to this statue.

The order of the statues (and celestial bodies) is from left to right: Antiochus (unknown), Commagene (Moon), Zeus-Oromasdes (Jupiter), Apollo-Mithras-Helios-Hermes (Mercury) and Artagnes-Heracles-Ares (Mars) (*fig. 11*). The attribution of a celestial body to each statue is unambiguous, except for Antiochus. The text at the back of the statues provides for no clue. Common assumption is that Antiochus associated himself with Regulus: "*Antiochos chose the star Regulus as Royal Star, as the image of himself*".[48] The alignments of the East terrace emphasizing Regulus, are in support of this assumption (*fig. 4*). Therefore, Regulus is an option. The West terrace emphasizes another star, the Sun (*fig. 7*). Therefore, the Sun is a second option.

Research Criteria

The search criteria can now be defined as follows: The location of the event was on Mt. Nemrud (search criterium 1). The search period starts before Commagene became independent and ends after the death of Antiochus i.e., from 200 BCE to 1 CE (search criterium 2). The configuration of the statues should be taken literally as the archaeologists Humann and Puchstein did in the 1880s (search criterium 3). The celestial objects assigned to the statues should be part of the configuration. The other celestial objects must be left outside (search criterium 4). The configuration must have been visible in the sky in agreement with Neugebauer's and Dörner's conclusion (search criterium 5).[49] The statues are placed next to one another, suggesting that the celestial objects must be in close proximity as well. Therefore, the maximum distance between the two most extreme objects of the configuration i.e., Regulus/Sun and Mars is limited to 80^0 (search criterium 6).

The resulting search criteria are:
Location: Mt. Nemrud, altitude 2156 meters, N $37^0$59' and E $38^0$44'.
Search period: 200 BCE to 1 CE.

Astronomical order with decreasing longitude:
Configuration 1: Regulus, Moon, Jupiter, Mercury and Mars.
Configuration 2: Sun, Moon, Jupiter, Mercury and Mars.
Venus and Saturn outside configuration 1 and 2.
Sun outside configuration 1.
Visibility: All objects visible.
Configuration span: 80^0.

The astronomical data have been calculated with the following programs:

1. Astronomical Calculation Program version 2.10, 2020 @ Rademaker Software, The Netherlands.
2. Calendar Conversion Program version 1.60, 2020 @ Rademaker Software, The Netherlands.
3. Stellarium version 0.19.3. Stellarium is one of the most professional astronomical programs. The open source platform allows the verification by anyone of the astronomical data as provided in this article.

RESULTS

Dating

The astronomical search of the configurations yields no date for configuration 1 and only one date for configuration 2 i.e., the 29th of January 91 BCE (*fig. 13*).[50] The configuration was visible in the constellation of Capricornus or Sea-Goat. The Sea-Goat is known from coinage minted in the capital of Commagene, Samosata.[51]

At dawn, first Mercury became visible, rising in the east at 03:36 UT (*table 2*). Mercury is normally not visible due to its proximity to the Sun, but now Mercury was visible thanks to its almost maximum apparent distance of 27°. Mars followed Mercury at 03:39 UT. At 03:58 UT, the waning crescent Moon became visible and at 04:20 UT the brilliant rising Jupiter.

Then, a surprise unfolded in the sky. Far away to the west, Regulus could be seen to set for the first time at 04:22 UT (*fig. 14*). The phenomenon is called the Apparent Morning Setting or AMS, see n.17. The same phenomenon determined the time of the coronation of Ptolemy V. Finally, sunrise followed at 04:39 UT and the configuration was no longer visible.[52]

The horoscopes of 91 BCE and 109 BCE feature remarkable astronomically similarities. Compare *tables 1* and *2*: The same planets are part of the horoscope. Mercury is in both cases at a maximal distance to the Sun and thus visible. The Sun is located just under the horizon. And most importantly, the time of both celestial events is determined by an annual phenomenon of Regulus. An interesting detail is that the configuration of Antiochus was rising at azimuth 115^0 exactly opposite the setting configuration of Mithridates at azimuth 295^0 (*fig. 15*).

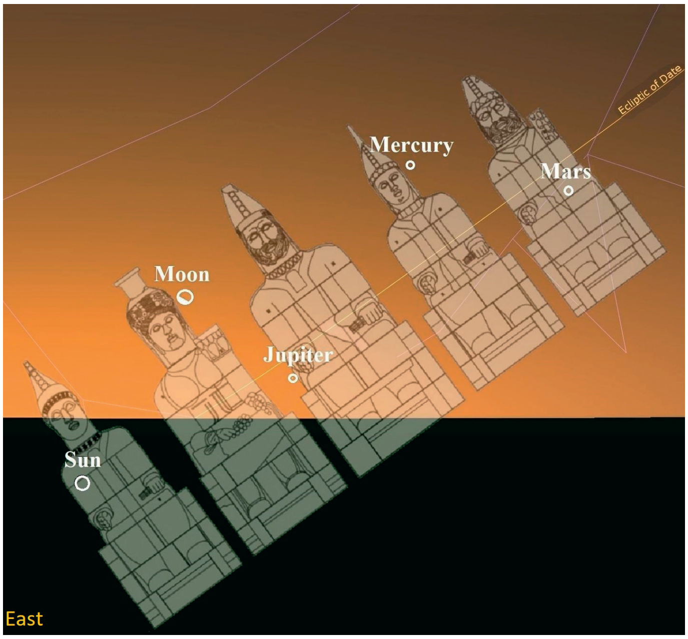


Fig. 13. East: The rising celestial configuration on the 29th of January 91 BCE at 04:22 UT. The statues are depicted in the background, © 2021 Crijns.

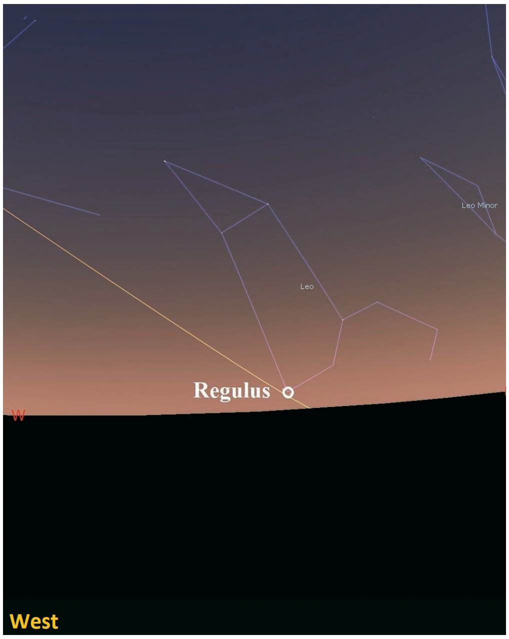


Fig. 14. West: The first visible setting AMS of Regulus at 04:22 UT, © 2021 Crijns.

Historical Event

The date of the 29th of January 91 BCE, must be attributed to a certain event. Antiochus mentions in the *Nomos* two annual events to be celebrated i.e., his birthday and his coronation.

A birthday in 91 BCE is possible, because Antiochus is mentioned as king in 69 BCE by Cassius Dio: "*He* [the Roman general Lucullus] *furthermore received Antiochus, king of Commagene*."[53] Antiochus would then have been 22 years of age. The year 36 BCE is generally accepted for his death.[54] That leaves us with a lifespan of 55 years. A controlled study states that the median life span for Roman and Greek men born before 100 BCE is 72 years and 62 years if born after 100 BCE.[55] In that perspective, an age of 55 years does not fit the statement of Antiochus in the *Nomos*: "[I] *have attained the fullness of a long life*".[56]

The second possibility is that 91 BCE refers to his coronation as suggested by the *investiture* reliefs. The reliefs display a king coronating a second king as co-ruler.[57] Presumably, Mithridates died in 70 BCE and so, Antiochus may have been crowned by his father as co-ruler in 91 BCE.[58]

The strongest argument in favour of a coronation is found in the *dexiosis* reliefs. They are placed prominently next or under the statues on both terraces. The design of the two ensembles of *dexioseis* and statues feature an identical architectural design as discussed i.e., five reliefs and five statues flanked by a guardian eagle and lion. Moreover, their horoscopes feature similar astronomical characteristics as mentioned. The most convincing conclusion is that the statues commemorate the crowning of Antiochus in 91 BCE,

Horoscope of Mithridates 14 July 109 BCE

	Phenomenon	UT
Sun	apparent set	16:50
Regulus	AES	17:02
Moon	New Moon (topocentric)	16:55
Jupiter		17:02
Mercury	distance to Sun 28°	17:02
Mars		17:02

Table 1. Astronomical data of the Horoscope of Mithridates.

Horoscope of Antiochus 29 January 91 BCE

	Phenomenon	UT
Regulus	AMS	04:22
Moon	waning crescent	04:24
Jupiter		04:24
Mercury	distance to Sun 28°	04:24
Mars		04:24
Sun	apparent rise	04:39

Table 2. Astronomical data of the Horoscope of Antiochus.

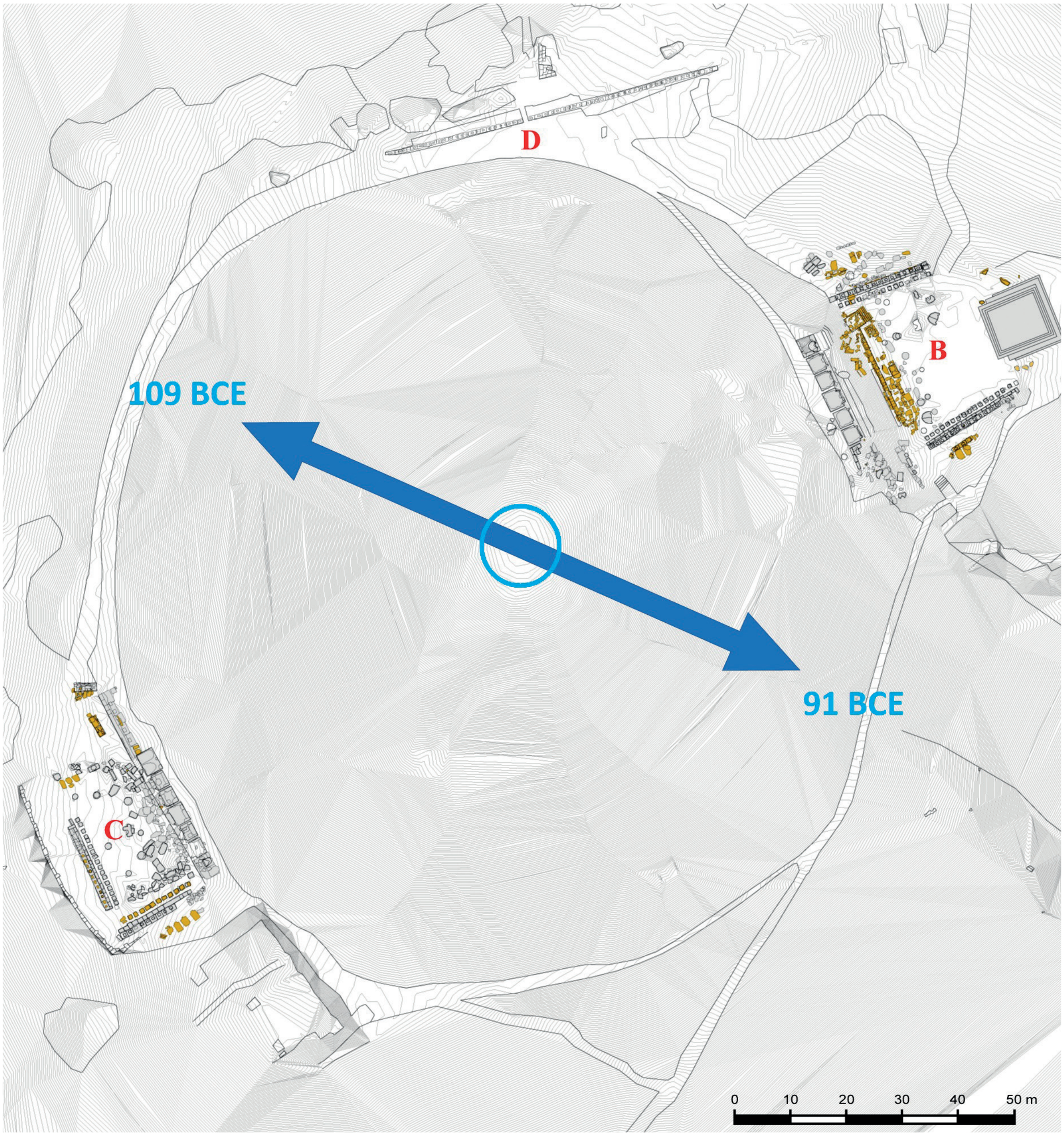


Fig. 15. The setting configuration of Mithridates in 109 BCE at azimuth 295^0. The rising configuration of Antiochus in 91 BCE at azimuth 115^0. Brijder 2014, 15 Fig. 13a © 2008 Waagen and INF.

while the reliefs commemorate the crowning of his father in 109 BCE.[59] The scale of both ensembles is different: The coronation memorial of Mithridates is dwarfed by the colossal coronation memorial of Antiochus.

The fact that the configuration of Antiochus rises exactly opposite the one of his father fits in this picture (*fig. 15*). It is a perfect metaphor for a going and coming king, In the early morning, the people of Commagene could see the rising celestial configuration of their new king Antiochus in the east. At the same moment, the setting Regulus indicated the location of his fathers' coronation configuration in the west. The people witnessed how Antiochus honoured his father and Regulus, the star of their homeland. Thus, Antiochus justifies his own statement in the *Nomos* as "*the Righteous One*".

A coronation was a major event. The extensive ceremonies and festivities required that the day had to be planned long in advance. Most important was the celestial configuration on that day. The fickle deities were associated with the erratic moving planets. Like the planets, their actions were unpredictable and it was important to keep them appeased. The coronation configuration had to reflect the benevolence of the deities. It should reassure the people that the new king was a capable mediator. The configurations of 109 BCE and 91 BCE, must have been considered to be 'beneficial' configurations. To calculate and select these configurations before they were actual visible, gives proof of an advanced mathematical and astronomical knowledge in the circles around the Royal Court of Commagene.

The *Nomos* mentions the coronation day of Antiochus to be celebrated as well as his birthday. The date of the coronation day has been established, but the birthday not. A coronation day can be chosen, but not a birthday. Dörner stressed the fact that the royal birthday had to be celebrated on a symbolic day, because: "*with the knowledge of the birthday horoscope, one also possessed the astrological key to make the calculations about the end of life* [and other important events]".[60] The celebration of a royal symbolic birthday is long-lived tradition. A tradition that survives until today e.g., in England and The Netherlands.[61] Speculating, Antiochus will have chosen a symbolic day to celebrate his birthday. Provided that Antiochus was born around 109 BCE, an obvious choice would have been to align the celebration of his birthday to his father's coronation memorial on the 14th of July. In that way, he both honoured his father and promoted himself by attaching his birthday to the benevolent configuration of his fathers' coronation.

In 1883, Hamdy Bey was the first archaeologist to observe the lion relief and wondered whether the relief was referring to the birthday of Antiochus.[62] Herman Brijder assumes that the five *dexiosis* reliefs possibly commemorate the coronation of Mithridates as well as the symbolic birthday of his son Antiochus.[63] Historically, it is a possibility that Antiochus was born in 109 BCE.[64] A birth of Antiochus in 109 BCE would mean that "*the king must have been 73 when he died*".[65] Contrary to a birth in 91 BCE, this age is in accordance with the statement of Antiochus in the *Nomos* of "*a long life*". To determine the feasibility of the hypothesis, we must look at the Greek dates for these celebrations as mentioned in the *Nomos* and subsequently the Commagenian calendar.

CALENDAR

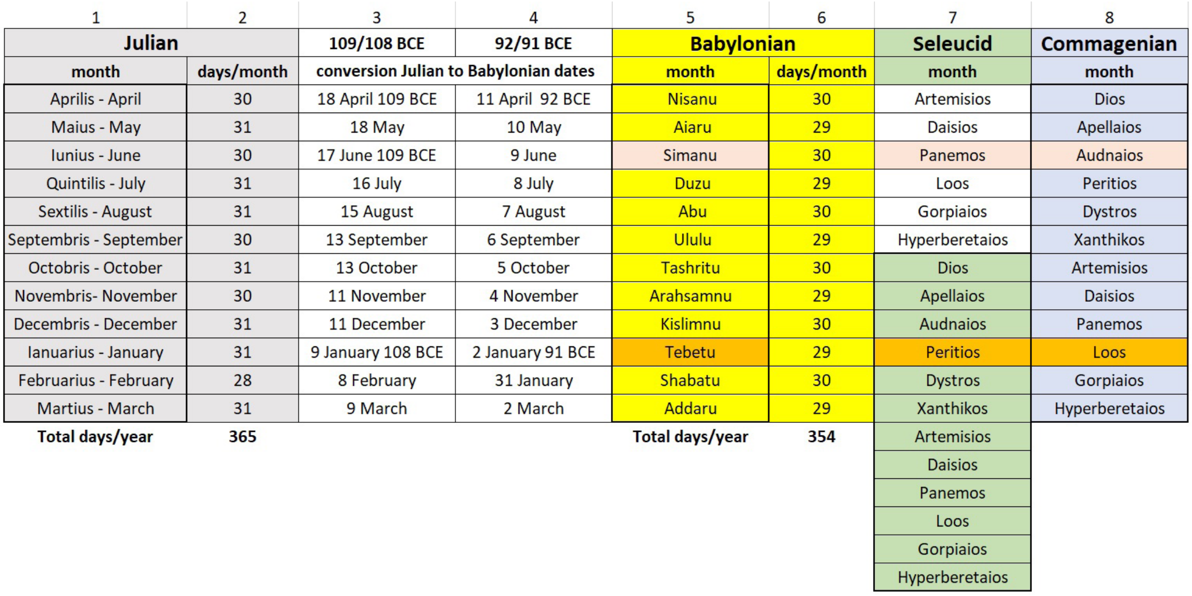
Having discussed the astronomical and historical context of the dates in 109 and 91 BCE, a connection must be established to the monthly and annual celebrations mentioned in the *Nomos*. First, a short introduction for those scholars who are not familiar with astronomy and subsequently, calendars. The modern calendar is the Gregorian which is quite similar to the Julian calendar based on twelve months of about 30 days, see *table 3*, first and second column in grey. The Julian is a solar calendar. That means that the calendar matches the annual seasons winter, spring, summer and autumn as dictated by the Sun. The New Year is on 1 January in winter, after the shortest day of the year around 21 December. The shortest day occurs every 365 days and so the Julian year has 365 days in total, see *table 3*, second column.[66]

Ancient calendars are different. The Babylonian calendar is a luni-solar calendar with twelve lunar months of 29 or 30 days, see *table 3*, column 5 and 6 in yellow. A lunar month matches the number of days between two new moons, which is in average 29.5 days.

The Babylonian year counts in total 354 days, lagging behind the solar year with 11 days (365-354). The Babylonians added an extra lunar month to stay in sync with the solar year when they noticed that New Year in a certain year would fall in winter instead of spring. As a result Babylonian New Year on 1 *Nisanu* (the first day of the first month) is always a day after 21 March. For example, Babylonian New Year on 1 *Nisanu* in 109 BCE is 18 April, see *table 3* column 3. In 92 BCE, 1 *Nisanu* is 11 April, see *table 3* column 4.[67]

In 311 BCE, the Seleucids replaced the Babylonian calendar of the former Persian empire by the Seleucid calendar. They shifted New Year to fall in autumn and substituted the Babylonian month names by Greek names, see *table 3* in green. The exact date of the Seleucid New Year on 1 *Dios* is unknown, but must have been a day in September/October. The Seleucid New Year was only in use by the Seleucid court. The common people continued to use the Babylonian New Year in March/April. A Seleucid date cannot be converted to a Julian date, because it is not known with certainty to which Julian date a Seleucid New Year refers.[68]

Antiochus mentions two annual celebrations in the *Nomos* inscription: "*The birthday of my natural body, the 16th of Audnaios and the 10th of Loos, the day of my accession to the throne…*"[69] Puchstein concluded from the Greek month names that the Seleucid calendar was in use in Commagene.[70]



1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Julian		**109/108 BCE**	**92/91 BCE**	**Babylonian**		**Seleucid**	**Commagenian**
month	**days/month**	**conversion Julian to Babylonian dates**		**month**	**days/month**	**month**	**month**
Aprilis - April	30	18 April 109 BCE	11 April 92 BCE	Nisanu	30	Artemisios	Dios
Maius - May	31	18 May	10 May	Aiaru	29	Daisios	Apellaios
Iunius - June	30	17 June 109 BCE	9 June	Simanu	30	Panemos	Audnaios
Quintilis - July	31	16 July	8 July	Duzu	29	Loos	Peritios
Sextilis - August	31	15 August	7 August	Abu	30	Gorpiaios	Dystros
Septembris - September	30	13 September	6 September	Ululu	29	Hyperberetaios	Xanthikos
Octobris - October	31	13 October	5 October	Tashritu	30	Dios	Artemisios
Novembris- November	30	11 November	4 November	Arahsamnu	29	Apellaios	Daisios
Decembris - December	31	11 December	3 December	Kislimnu	30	Audnaios	Panemos
Ianuarius - January	31	9 January 108 BCE	2 January 91 BCE	Tebetu	29	Peritios	Loos
Februarius - February	28	8 February	31 January	Shabatu	30	Dystros	Gorpiaios
Martius - March	31	9 March	2 March	Addaru	29	Xanthikos	Hyperberetaios
Total days/year	**365**			**Total days/year**	**354**	Artemisios	
						Daisios	
						Panemos	
						Loos	
						Gorpiaios	
						Hyperberetaios	

Table 3. The Julian (grey), Babylonian (yellow), Seleucid (green) and Commagenian (blue) calendars. column 1: Julian months; column 2: number of days per month; column 3: Julian dates in 109/108 BCE for the first day of a Babylonian month; column 4: Julian dates in 92/91 BCE for the first day of a Babylonian month; column 5: Babylonian months; column 6: number of days per month; column 7: Seleucid months; column 8: Commagenian months.

This is understandable as Commagene was part of the Seleucid empire before it became an independent kingdom.

Now, we can look how the astronomical dates as found fit into these calendars. The dates are the assumed symbolic birthday of Antiochus on the 14th of July 109 BCE and his coronation on the 29th of January 91 BCE.

The 16th of July 109 BCE is 1 *Duzu*, see *table 3*, column 3 and 5. And the 14th of July is two days earlier on 29 *Simanu*. *Simanu* corresponds to the Seleucid month *Panemos*, see *table 3*, columns 5 and 7 in pink.

The 2nd of January 91 BCE is 1 *Tebetu*, see *table 3* column 4 and 5. And the 29th of January is 27 days later on 28 *Tebetu*. *Tebetu* corresponds to the Seleucid month *Peritios*, see *table 3* columns 5 and 7 in orange.

Both Seleucid months are different from the ones mentioned by Antiochus. The *Nomos* states as birthday the month *Audnaios* and not *Panemos*. Moreover, the coronation month is *Loos* and not *Peritios*.

As an architect, the present author is not a specialist on ancient calendars. As a thought experiment he assumes that Commagene restored the former Babylonian New Year. In that case the Seleucid months may either have remained and *Artemisios* becomes the first month or have shifted and *Dios* becomes the first month, see *table 3*. Assuming the latter, the birthday in the month *Panemos* becomes *Audnaios* and the coronation in the month *Peritios* becomes *Loos*, see *table 3*, columns 7 and 8 in pink and orange, respectively.

Now, the coronation day of Antiochus on the 29th of January 91 BCE fits to the month *Loos* and the symbolic birthday of Antiochus on the 14th of July 109 BCE fits to the month *Audnaios*.

The find suggests that Commagene restored the Babylonian New Year as the official New Year. And more importantly, the find is in line with the hypothesis that on the 14th of July the symbolic birthday of Antiochus was celebrated.

CONCLUSIONS

The *coronation memorial of Antiochus* is the major discovery of the article. The five colossal statues flanked by a guardian lion and eagle, commemorate the coronation day of Antiochus on the 29th of January 91 BCE at 04:22 UT. The colossi are the largest known horoscope in the world.

The *coronation memorial of Mithridates* is displayed by the four *dexioseis* and the Lion Horoscope flanked by a guardian lion and eagle. The Lion relief depicts the celestial configuration on the 14th July of 109 BCE at 17:02 UT. The relief '*is the oldest picture of a horoscope that has been preserved*'.[71] The celebration of Antiochus' symbolic birthday may be attached to this day.

Regulus, the royal star of Commagene, determines the time of both horoscopes at the minute by one of the four annual visible phenomena:

AMS Apparent Morning Set (Acronychal set), AMR Apparent Morning Rise (Heliacal rise), AES Apparent Evening Set (Heliacal set) and AER Apparent Evening Rise (Acronychal rise).

The *lifespan of Antiochus* may be pinpointed to 109 BCE until 36 BCE, assuming that the coronation memorial of his father was also a symbolic birthday memorial for his birth somewhere in 109 BCE.

Two stars, *Regulus and the Sun* determine the design of the East and West terrace of the main sanctuary of Commagene.

The *Commagenian calendar* was identical to the former Babylonian calendar. New Year started in spring, the month *Loos* equals the Julian month January and the month *Audnaios* July.

Historical chronology in general, can benefit from the use of the four annual phenomena of an agricultural marker star to determine a date as suggested by the coronation day of Ptolemy V of Egypt and the two coronation days of Commagene. This tool is not used, because it is not known to classical scholars.

The *archaeological anomalies* can now be explained in the context of this research:

- Erased texts are visible on some pedestal stones and at the back of the *dexiosis* reliefs. These reliefs were erected by Mithridates and re-used in the new context of Antiochus' rule: "*Antiochos erased the old text of Mithradates I on the dexiosis and wrote his own texts on them*".[72]
- Antiochus claims all Greek-Seleucid and Persian reliefs as well as four of the five *dexiosis* reliefs. The fifth relief, the Lion Horoscope, is not claimed by Antiochus. That makes only sense, if the relief origins from his father and not from him as is the case.
- At the West terrace, the limestone pedestal of the statues has been built over the soft sandstone pedestal of the reliefs (*fig. 3*): "*which means that it [the pedestal of the statues] must have been constructed later*."[73] The years of the configurations as found; i.e., 109 BCE and 91 BCE, supports a later date of erection of the statues. The anomalies suggest that the Nemrud monument was constructed in different phases as suggested by Eric Moormann.[74]

In retrospective, the assumption that the Lion Horoscope dates from Antiochus was logic in the context of 1890. Accepted as a fact over time, it hampered novel insights and subsequently, new finds.

Notes

[*] The author likes to express his gratitude to Herman Brijder and Eric Moormann for their critical comments. Also, he likes to thank Jan Rademaker and Rob van Gent for their astronomical advice.

[1] Sanders 1996, 214.

[2] Şahin 1991, 53 - 79.

[3] Dörner/Goell 1963, 41.

[4] Brijder 2014, Fig. 13a-c.

[5] Sanders 1996, 206-224.

[6] The Lion relief can be considered a symbolic *dexioseis*. Dörrie 1964, 205: "*Es ergab sich am Himmel das Bild der Dexiosis: ein Sterngott nach dem andren näherte sich grüßend dem Königsgestirn, dem Regulus*."

[7] Moormann/Versluys 2002, 100 and Crijns 2014, 593.

[8] Moormann/Versluys 2002, 101.

[9] Waldmann 1991, 159 and: Brijder 2014, 366, Fig. 224.

[10] Jacobs 2009, 51-6.

[11] GPS-RTK is Global Positioning System - Real Time Kinematic, has an accuracy of 2 mm.

[12] Garlich 2002, 188-93.

[13] Stek/Thiermann/Waagen 2014, 458-465.

[14] Azimuth is the arc of the horizon measured clockwise from the north. True north is 0°, east is 90°, south is 180°.

[15] Crijns 2014, 594.

[16] The shown altitudes are corrected for refraction and the curvature of the Earth (both axis in degrees), and are calculated with the biquadratic interpolation method based on SRTM3-data. The gray shading defines the distance: lighter gray is at a smaller distance than darker gray. Left top about 63.34, 22500 metres and right top about 63.95, 23200 metres: sh = Apparent horizon at 22500 metres; gh = Geometrical horizon Nemrud. The vertical red line indicates the rising Regulus on 14/07/-0108 JD at 3:10:07 UT with azimuth 63.110. The yellow circle indicates the rising Sun on 26/07/2005 at 02:24 UT

[17] Contrary to Regulus, that is valid until today. The azimuth of rise and set of a star gradually changes in the course of time.

[18] Crijns 2014, 598.

[19] See for a definition of all four star phenomena Robinson 2009, 356.

[20] Crijns 2020, 1-5.

[21] Dörner 1987, 237: "*Es handelt sich um das älteste Bild eines Horoskops, das uns erhalten geblieben ist*."

[22] Astrology interprets that picture to cast predictions. This article is about astronomy.

[23] Olivieri 1897, 15.

[24] The star signs matched the star constellations around 2000 years ago. Nowadays, they have shifted about 30 arc degrees.

[25] Heilen 2005, 147: The system of Eudoxus, the Babylonian System A and B and of Hipparchus / Ptolemy, define different borders for Leo. The actual constellation of Leo ranges from 105° to 145° of the ecliptic. The borders have been extended to 105° and 145° respectively, to avoid academic discussions.

[26] Humann/Puchstein 1890, 331: "… *an welchen Tagen in der ersten Hälfte des ersten Jahrhunderts v. Chr. die Konstellation des Antiochos eintreten konnte*."

[27] Neugebauer/van Hoesen 1959, 15: "*Following this principle* [the literal order Mars-Mercury-Jupiter] *the only date possible within the first century B.C. seemed to be -97 July 17* [the date of Lehmann which was not accept-

able]”. The astronomical year -97 equals the Julian year 98 BCE.

[28] The dates have been abbreviated for a better overview e.g., the 17th of July 98 BCE has been notated as 17 July 98 BCE.

[29] Humann/Puchstein 1890, 332-333.

[30] Neugebauer/van Hoesen 1959, n. 9: ”*The 6th and 7th of July are strictly speaking equivalent dates*.”

[31] Tuman 1984, 56-69.

[32] Saygaç 2008, 1327.

[33] Belmonte 2010, 6-8. Belmonte used the Brokamp map displaying the magnetic north. The true north was measured on site: “*In June 2009, within the context of a dedicated archaeo-astronomical mission in eastern Anatolia, we visited Mount Nemrud at the precise epoch of the summer solstice (see Figure 6) in an attempt to check possible astronomical alignments and to obtain direct observations that would permit the immediate correction of the orientation data*.”

[34] Haase 1975, 21.

[35] Öncü Güney 2008, 5.

[36] Versluys 2017, 180.

[37] De Jong 2021, 274: “*The exact interpretation of the* meaning *of the lion horoscope is therefore likely to remain unknowable But its* function *is at least somewhat clear: it supports the notion that the king, without inhibiting traditional custom in any way, strongly experienced that the gods ordered him to do something new for his kingdom: to reshape it into a lasting abode of the gods and of his own blessed ancestors, whose ranks he would join in due time This is, of course, literally what he tells us*.”

[38] Crijns 2014, 585: There is a second match on 28 August 3996 CE which cannot not be applicable.

[39] Crijns 1987, 39. And Crijns 2002, 97-99.

[40] Most of the time Mercury is invisble due to its close proximity to the Sun.

[41] Heilen 2005, 145-158.

[42] Crijns 2014, 563-599

[43] Heilen 2005, 146.

[44] Crijns 2014, 586.

[45] Waldmann 1973, 163 n 1: “*Hier zeigt sich daß die gesamte Reihe der Kolossalstatuen (…) eine einzige große dexiosis darstellt.*“

[46] Brijder 2014, 402-405.

[47] Humann/Puchstein 1890, Tafel XII and Young 1964, 32-34.

[48] Dörner 1987, 240: “*Antiochus erwählte den Stern Regulus, …als Königsstern, als Abbild seiner Person.*“

[49] Configuration 2 can only have been visible at sunrise. During the day, the celestial objects are invisible and at sunset they are below the western horizon.

[50] Contrary to the Lion Horoscope, the statues may look at their own celestial bodies as well. Then, we get the mirrored versions of configuration 1 and 2. The search of these configurations did not yield any date.

[51] Dillen 2014, 561.

[52] Due to atmospheric refraction, the Sun is lifted up. The apparent upper limb of the Sun is visible when the Sun is still 0.83^0 below the horizon. Source: The United States Naval Observatory. 2020. Rise, Set, and Twilight Definitions, in USNO, retrieved 2021-01-16.

[53] Cary 2001, Cassius Dio XXXVI, 1-3

[54] Wagner 1983, 212-213.

[55] Montagu 1994, 25-26.

[56] Sanders 1996, 213.

[57] Jacobs 2009, 53.

[58] Brijder 2014, Fig. 28.

[59] The hypothesis as published in 1987 and 2002 proofs to be correct, see Crijns 1987, 40 and Moormann 2012, 103. The speculated year is not correct. The research was limited to configuration 2 and resulted in a look-alike configuration in 87 BCE: “*The combination of all these ‘stars’ visible at the same moment is in 87 BC. This constellation may represent the personal horoscope of Antiochos, similar to that on the Lion stele discussed above*.”

[60] Dörner 1987, 239: “*…mit der Kenntnis des <Geburtshoroskops> besaß man zugleich den astrologischen Schlüssel dazu, die Berechnungen über das Ende des Lebens anzustellen*.“

[61] The birthday of the Queen of England is celebrated in countries of the Commonwealth. That day does not necessarily correspond to the date of her actual birth. The Kingdom of The Netherlands celebrated the birthday of former Queen Beatrix on Queen’s Day at the 30st of April for pragmatic reasons, not because of traditions. The real date of the latter queen’s birthday is the 31 January.

[62] Hamdi Bey 1883, 22.

[63] Brijder 2014, 60.

[64] Waldmann 1991, 55.

[65] Brijder 2014, 65.

[66] To be precise 365.25 days. That’s why we add one extra day in February each four years.

[67] The conversion of Babylonian/Julian dates is based on the calculation method of Louis Straus. These formulas are corrected by Jan Rademaker to synchronise the results with those as provided by the tables of Parker and Dubberstein. Alternatively, the online date converter of the University of Utrecht made by Rob van Gent can be applied, see the online date converter.

[68] Strootman 2015, 2: “*Still, the problem remains that for the modern historian it is sometimes unclear whether a date given in SE* [Seleucid Era] *refers to the Macedonian or the Babylonian year*”.

[69] Sanders 1996, 214.

[70] Humann/Puchstein 1890, 334.

[71] See n. 17.

[72] Moormann/Versluys 2002, 100.

[73] Moormann/Versluys 2002, 86. And see Brijder 2014, 358.

[74] Moormann/Versluys 2002, 100. Moreover, novel data were obtained during the archaeological campaigns. Predrag Gavrilovic found that the building technique of the statues at the West and East terrace is not identical: “*The main difference is that the statues on the East Terrace are constructed of massive large blocks*.” And: “*The statues on the West Terrace are erected of smaller stone blocks*.” (Gavrolovic 2014, 480). The construction method applied at the West terrace is more efficient i.e., less limestone was required to construct the same statues. At the East terrace, all heads are connected to the shoulder block with mortise-and-tenon joints and additional filling mortar. At the West terrace, the heads are placed directly on the shoulder block, without any support tenons or mortar (Brijder 2014, Fig. 235a-j). As the digital volume models show, that is only possible because the artisans had mastered a technique to locate the point of gravity of the heads exactly at the centre of each shoulder block. The statues of the West terrace give proof of an advanced building technique. A technical development which was acquired from previous experience or when accumulated funding allowed to hire more experienced artisans from abroad. These finds suggest that the statues on the West terrace have been constructed after those of the East terrace and not

at the same time. Moreover, the style and iconography of the both ensembles of statues is different. Contrary to the puppet style of the heads at the East terrace, the heads at the West terrace are naturalistic which fits the Hellenistic style of a later era as noted by some scholars: "*The East Terrace statues are still simpler than their counterparts*" (Moormann/Versluys 2002, 104). Another reason to assume that the Nemrud monument was constructed in different phases, is that the required funds were not available at first. Commagene was a minor mountain kingdom with limited resources. Obviously, the ancestors of Antiochus did not have such resources: "*Written records are known stating the wealth of Commagene during the reign of Antiochus I and thereafter, but not before*" (Brijder 2014, 172). A possible explanation for the sudden wealth may be the silk trade. In 69 BCE, Armenia was defeated by the Romans (Cary 2001, Cassius Dio XXXVI, 1-3), Commagene remained as the only 'independent' kingdom between Rome and Parthia. Antiochus was on good terms with both. And so, Commagene was in an excellent position to act as a central trading hub.

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BABESCH 97 (2022), 93-112. doi: 10.2143/BAB.97.0.3290535

Nos fritillum dicimus. Nuovi dati sulla cultura materiale ludica di Pompei

Alessandro Pace

Abstract

This paper deals with a particular kind of ludic objects, the so-called fritilli *(or dice-shakers). Usually, peculiar types of small pot of pyriform or cylindrical shape are considered* fritilli *in Pompeii, but the question can be faced in a different way. The work carried out in the storageroom of Pompeii has permitted to identify several gaming sets in which the presence of* fritilli *can be attested. The data here presented can offer new insights to the question, shifting from a morphological approach to a contextual one, as suggested by the last perspectives of research. This paper underlines, once again, the complexity of the Pompeian material culture and allow us to throw new lights on the ludic habits of the ancient inhabitants.*

> I dadi sono indifferenti: come posso sapere i punti che verranno?
> Ma servirmi con diligenza e con abilità dei punti che sono venuti,
> ecco appunto quale è il mio compito.
>
> Epitteto, *Diatribe*, 2.5.3

Nella letteratura archeologica di Pompei è invalso utilizzare la definizione di ‘fritillo’ per indicare dei vasetti acromi di morfologia cilindrica e ovoido/piriforme, genericamente interpretati come bussolotti per i dadi.[1]

Il vocabolo *fritillus* compare in diversi autori latini come termine strettamente legato al gioco e allusivo al peculiare suono prodotto durante il suo scuotimento (deriverebbe dal verbo *fritinnio*):[2] Seneca parla di *resonante fritillo*,[3] mentre in un passo di Marziale si canta *blanda vagus alea December incertis sonat hinc et hinc fritillis.*[4] Il forte legame con la sfera ludica è evidente anche in un passo di Giovenale, dove si ammonisce che *si damnosa senem iuvat alea, ludit et heres bullatus parvoque eadem movet arma fritillo.*[5]

Un sinonimo di *fritillus* era *phimus*, un vocabolo di origine greca;[6] Orazio, nelle *Satire*, ricorda un tal *Volanerius* che, afflitto da artrite alle mani, mantenne al suo servizio una persona *qui pro se tolleret atque mitteret in phimum talos.*[7]

Il grammatico Porfirione, in epoca tarda, commentò la parola *phimum* spiegando che *nos fritillum dicimus in quo coniectae tesserae agitataeque mittuntur;*[8] l’appartenenza dei due vocaboli al medesimo dominio semantico è sottolineata dal fatto che, secondo altri, il *fritillus* […] *phimum dicitur;*[9] dunque, *phimus* era lo strumento, esattamente come il *fritillus*, *ex quo coniciuntur tesserae ne possit fallis, qui cum altero ludit.*[10]

È interessante notare come tra gli scrittori e gli scoliasti di età tardo-antica ci fosse una certa confusione terminologica intorno agli strumenti ludici; in alcuni casi, infatti, *fritillus* viene indicato come sinonimo di *pyrgus*, o *turricula.*[11]

Quest’ultimo era un dispositivo ludico che nella forma ricordava una piccola torre (da cui il nome), utilizzato per evitare i lanci truccati;[12] introducendo i dadi dalla superficie superiore, essi giungevano alla base, dopo essere rotolati attraverso diversi piani inclinati posizionati all’interno.[13]

Le due tipologie di oggetti erano morfologicamente molto diverse tra loro, ma essendo dotate della medesima funzione, subirono nel tempo un progressivo slittamento semantico sino a giungere a una definitiva sovrapposizione.[14]

Come detto poco sopra, a Pompei il termine fritillo è entrato nel vocabolario archeologico, con l’inizio del secolo scorso,[15] come sinonimo di ‘vasetto a forma di campanello’, ‘vasettino grezzo a corpo ovoidale a larga bocca’, ‘vasettino rustico di forma ovoidale’ o di ‘vasetto cilindrico’.[16]

Maria Annecchino è stata la prima a tentare di fare ordine nella questione; sino a quel momento, infatti, erano considerati *fritilli* solo gli esemplari di forma cilindrica (*fig. 1*, b) (tipo 2 e sottotipi Annecchino), mentre gli altri, piriformi od ovoidi (*fig. 1*, a) (tipo 1 e sottotipi Annecchino), erano etichettati come ‘tappi d’anfora’.[17]

La studiosa riteneva invece che la forma piriforme/ovoide fosse quella che si prestava meglio

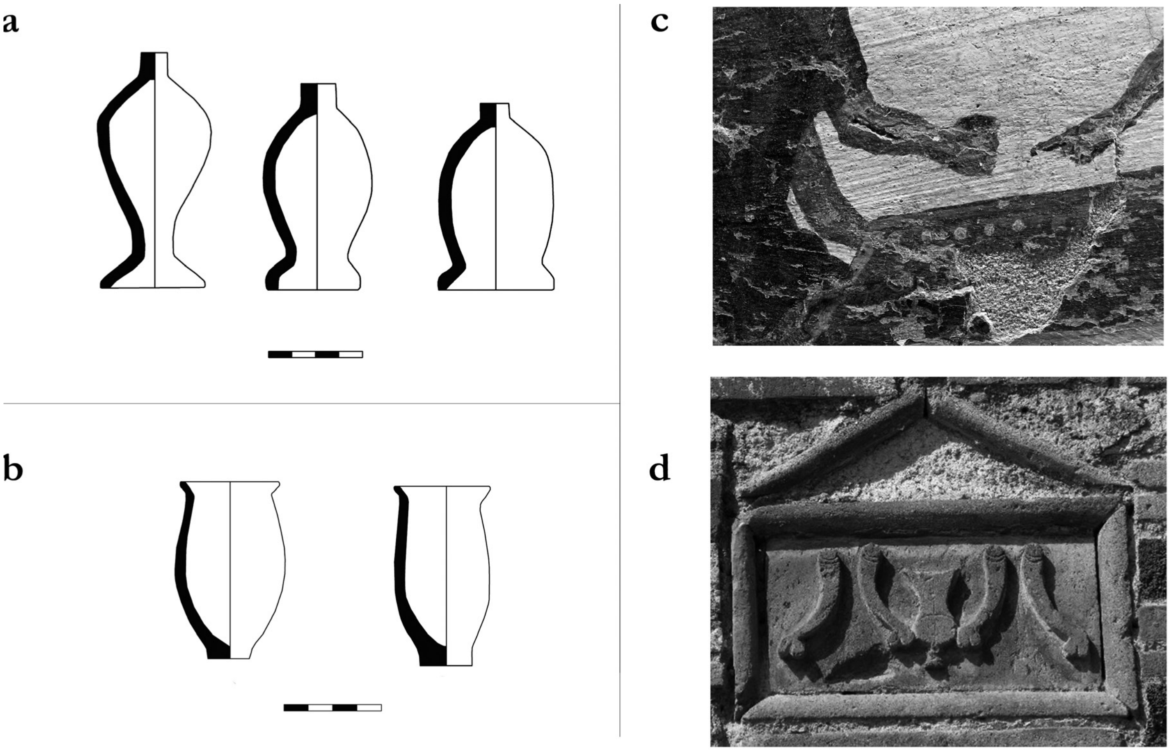

Fig. 1. Tipologie di vasetti acromi a profilo ovoide (a) e cilindrico (b), rielaborazione dell'autore da Annecchino 1977, figg. 1 e 2. (c) Dettaglio dell'affresco dalla caupona *di* Salvius *(VI 14, 35.36) (MAN inv. 111482). (d) Insegna della* taberna lusoria *(VI 14, 28) da Giacobello 2015a, fig. 4.*

all'uso come bussolotto, considerando gli altri piuttosto dei «rustici bicchieri» (ma non escludendo «all'occorrenza anche l'altro ufficio»).[18]

Questa inversione era proposta basandosi sia su argomentazioni di tipo morfologico che iconografico; la conformazione maggiormente sinuosa e la strozzatura del collo evitavano il rischio che i dadi potessero uscire mentre il bussolotto era agitato; l'ampio peduncolo alla sommità era invece funzionale a mantenere salda la presa mentre lo si scuoteva.[19]

A Pompei c'erano poi delle rappresentazioni di *fritilli* che, a detta dell'autrice, costituivano una controprova della sua interpretazione; si tratta di due noti affreschi a soggetto ludico, uno dalla *caupona* di *Salvius* (VI 14, 35-36)[20] e l'altro da una *caupona* della *Regio* VI (VI 1, 1.19),[21] in cui degli avventori erano ritratti attorno a una *tabula lusoria*; in entrambi i casi, uno dei giocatori avrebbe tenuto in mano, secondo la studiosa, un fritillo, riconoscibile dalla larga bocca, dunque della stessa tipologia dell'esemplare ben visibile sull'insegna di una *taberna lusoria* (VI 14, 28).[22]

La nuova proposta della Annecchino non aveva ricadute solo locali, ma andava a toccare una questione che riguardava un più ampio orizzonte; l'enigma legato alla funzione di questi oggetti attraversava trasversalmente tutte le regioni dell'impero dove ne fossero rinvenuti degli esemplari. Dalla Britannia all'Italia, dalla Spagna alla Germania, le posizioni degli studiosi variavano da un cauto 'agnosticismo' alle più diverse interpretazioni:[23] tappi o ventose-cavatappi per anfore, 'vasetti per volticine' (ovvero materiale da costruzione usato per alleggerire il peso delle volte), passando dall'utilizzo come unguentari e arrivando a quello come lampade o lucerne.[24]

Venivano dunque aperte nuove prospettive sulla questione, sebbene non mancasse qualche cono d'ombra come evidenziato qualche anno più tardi da Carlo Pavolini; analizzando il materiale di Ostia, lo studioso, ammetteva che, tra tutte le spiegazioni disponibili, quella della Annecchino urtava «contro minori ostacoli diretti»,[25] sebbene mancasse «la conferma di una documentazione sicura».[26]

A detta di Pavolini, alcune argomentazioni, soprattutto quelle di carattere iconografico, non erano soddisfacenti e a ciò si sommava il fatto che molti oggetti della medesima morfologia provenienti da Ostia avevano il collo così stretto da non poter permettere la fuoriuscita dei dadi. Era quindi meglio evitare, cautamente, un'interpretazione univoca, anche considerando che «diversi tipi di vasetti avessero funzioni diverse, e che riutilizzazioni e usi secondari fossero comuni».[27]

Una fortunata scoperta vicino a Bevagna (PG) ha contribuito non poco a rendere più salde le posizioni della Annecchino; nel 1979 lo scavo della locale necropoli di età romana ha permesso di documentare, tra gli oggetti del corredo di una incinerazione databile tra il I e il II secolo d.C., due vasetti acromi piriformi in associazione a due dadi, lasciando pochi dubbi, in questo caso, circa la loro funzione ludica. Da una parte il «rinvenimento viene a confermare dunque la recente ipotesi […] riguardo ai 'vasetti' specificatamente ovoidi e piriformi: quella cioè di identificarli con bossoli per il gioco dei dadi (*fritilli*)»;[28] naturalmente non andava esclusa la possibilità, come già rimarcato da Pavolini, che tali oggetti «possano aver avuto, a seconda dei diversi tipi, utilizzi diversi o reimpieghi di vario genere».[29]

Sulla questione è tornata più recentemente Penelope Allison a proposito del materiale pompeiano, con un approccio decisamente più cauto;[30] la studiosa, correttamente, mette in guardia dal considerare tutti gli oggetti della stessa categoria come dotati della medesima funzione.

Viene sottolineato che la morfologia non è sufficiente, da sola, ad attribuire un uso univoco ai vasetti ovoidi/piriformi e cilindrici rinvenuti a Pompei:[31] dunque «*the presence alone of such a vessel should not be taken as indicating any specific activity*».[32]

Di conseguenza, ai cosiddetti *fritilli*, non sarebbe possibile attribuire *a priori* un valore ludico dato che, a dire della studiosa, «*no such vessels have been found in direct association with artifacts that can be definitely identified as gaming objects (for example, gaming boards or die)*».[33]

Bisogna quindi evitare il rischio di entrare in discorsi circolari e di utilizzare la presenza di *fritilli*, *ipso facto*, come traccia di attività ludiche; solo un'attenta analisi dei contesti da cui essi provengono «*might assist in ascertaining whether in fact they were habitually associated with other identifiably gaming implements or whether each vessel type occurs in a variety of assemblages*».[34]

In molti casi un approccio acritico alla questione ha portato a una sorta di cortocircuito; leggendo i resoconti di scavo è facile imbattersi nel termine fritillo, ma considerare meccanicamente tutti gli oggetti chiamati in questo modo come bussolotti per dadi non solo è azzardato dal punto di vista interpretativo, ma anche dannoso perché porterebbe a sovrastimare la diffusione delle attività ludiche in città.

In questa sede si è ritenuto che l'unica controprova decisiva a conferma dell'uso ludico di questi oggetti consista nell'individuare una loro associazione diretta con altri strumenti da gioco, dotati di una funzione ludica primaria, come dadi, astragali e varie tipologie di *tesserae lusoriae.*[35]

Ma anche in questo caso bisogna evitare il rischio di incappare in discorsi circolari ovvero di utilizzare tipologie di oggetti, la cui funzione è tutt'altro che accertata, per confermare l'ipotesi che i 'nostri' vasetti acromi cilindrici e ovoido/piriformi fossero effettivamente utilizzati come bussolotti Ci si riferisce, ad esempio, alle semisfere in vetro colorato, capillarmente diffuse in tutte le province dell'impero, e oltre.

Generalmente nelle relazioni di scavo e nelle pubblicazioni, relative non solo a Pompei,[36] esse vengono catalogate come 'bottoni in pasta vitrea', 'sferette in pasta vitrea' o 'pedine in pasta vitrea',[37] in quest'ultimo caso includendole implicitamente entro la sfera ludica.

Non si può qui affrontare questa intricata problematica, ma il dibattito in proposito è stato recentemente stimolato dalla proposta della Cool che ha suggerito di individuare nella dimensione una *ratio* per comprenderne la funzione.[38]

Si tornerà più ampiamente sulla questione in altra sede;[39] basti qui dire che nel presente lavoro l'unico parametro ritenuto valido per conferire un valore ludico a questo materiale è la sua associazione con quelle tipologie di giochi prima accennate (dadi, astragali, pedine e *tesserae lusoriae*);[40] dal punto di vista terminologico si è dunque preferito l'utilizzo di 'semisfera in vetro' piuttosto che di 'pedina in vetro', essendo il primo interpretativamente più neutro. Infatti, anche nel caso sia possibile accertare un impiego ludico, altra questione è definirne la modalità di utilizzo; 'pedine' sarebbero infatti solo gli esemplari mossi su una *tabula lusoria*, cosa particolarmente difficile da dimostrare a Pompei considerando la totale assenza di tavole da gioco documentate in città.[41]

Tendo presente questi *caveat* metodologici,[42] si presentano di seguito alcuni contesti in cui sono state documentate associazioni dirette tra diverse tipologie di strumenti da gioco e vasetti acromi di forma ovoido/piriforme e cilindrica, dunque verosimilmente interpretabili come *fritilli*.

I contesti vengono presentati seguendo un ordine progressivo in base alla *Regio*, all'*Insula* e al 'numero civico'.

Fullonica di Stephanus (I 6, 7).
(*figg. 2-4*) (*Tab. 1*)

Il primo *set* ludico individuato proviene dalla *fullonica* di *Stephanus*[43] – una casa 'ad atrio' poi parzialmente trasformata in impianto produttivo[44] –

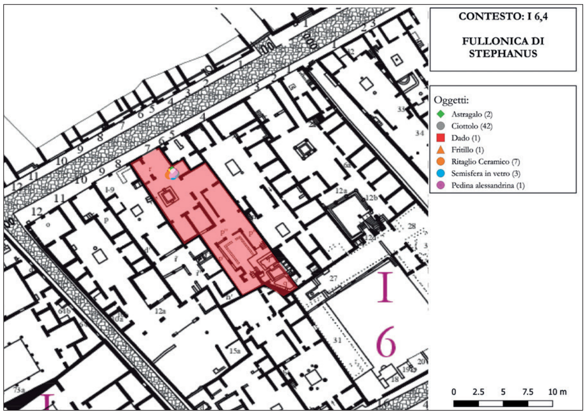

Fig. 2. Pianta della Fullonica *di* Stephanus *con il posizionamento del set ludico (mappa ottenuta via QGIS).*

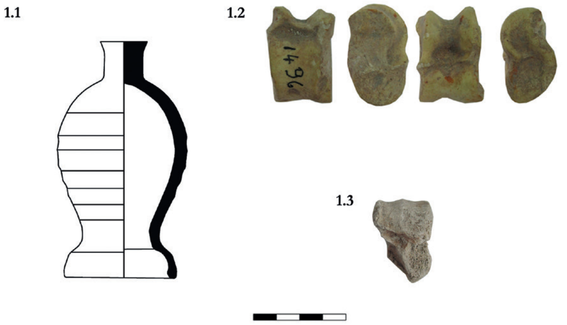

Fig. 3. Materiali dalla Fullonica *di* Stephanus *(I 6, 7). 1.1. Vasetto acromo piriforme in ceramica (inv. 1469). 1.2. Astragalo in osso (inv. 1496). 1.3. Astragalo in osso (inv. 1496).*

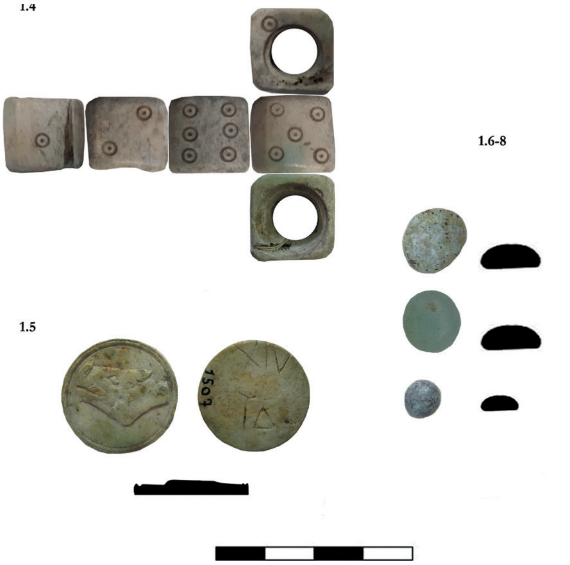

Fig. 4. Materiali dalla Fullonica *di* Stephanus *(I 6, 7). 1.4. Dado in osso (inv. 1496). 1.5. 'Pedina' alessandrina in osso (inv. 1507). 1.6-8. Semisfere in vetro colorato (inv. 1498B-D).*

così chiamata dal nome *Stephanus* menzionato su due programmi elettorali presenti sulla facciata.[45]

L'ambiente, che si apriva direttamente sulla Via dell'Abbondanza, era quello più spiccatamente commerciale e legato al rapporto con la clientela,[46] mentre subito alle sue spalle c'era un ampio atrio, dove aspetto privato e pubblico erano strettamente intrecciati sia dal punto di vista spaziale che temporale,[47] sebbene esso fosse dotato «*primarily domestic character*».[48]

Nell'angolo Nord-Est di questa stanza, è stato rinvenuto durante gli scavi un armadio in legno con all'interno un insieme eterogeneo di materiali; tra questi si segnalano «un fritillo cilindrico»,[49] «due astragali»,[50] «un dado […] recante in 4 facce i segni 1, 2, 5 e 6, mentre i segni 3 e 4, poiché il dado è attraversato da un foro cilindrico, dovevano essere sui tappi che chiudevano le due estremità opposte del foro»;[51] « tre pedine a sezione di sfera, di vario colore: con esse devono forse connettersi, come occorrenti forse per un gioco, quarantadue piccole ghiaie lenticolari, di pietra, e sette ghiaie artificiali di terracotta risultanti da cocci smussati»[52] e infine «una tessera anfiteatrale di osso, recante da una parte, in campo limitato da cerchi concentrici rilevati, l'emblema di una testa di maiale e dall'altra, in cifre romane e greche, il n. 14 rozzamente inciso (XIV e sotto IΔ)».[53]

In questa sede,[54] leggendo i dati nel loro complesso, pare possibile ricostruire un *set* da gioco composto da: 1 vasetto ovoide in ceramica (inv. 1469), 2 astragali (inv. 1496), 1 dado (inv. 1497),[55] 1 'pedina alessandrina' (inv. 1507),[56] 3 semisfere in vetro (inv. 1498B-D), 42 ciottoli,[57] e 7 ritagli ceramici.[58]

Data la collocazione liminale dell'armadio, proprio al passaggio tra l'atrio e la parte aperta alla clientela, è difficile stabilire se gli oggetti fossero utilizzati nel contesto domestico, o in quello a carattere più spiccatamente commerciale (sebbene questa differenza riguardi più le nostre categorie mentali che la realtà pompeiana);[59] ma dato il carattere funzionalmente 'fluido' di questa parte della casa i due aspetti rappresentano verosimilmente i due lati della stessa medaglia.

Casa con bottega (I 9, 8)[60] (*figg. 5-8*) (*Tab. 2*)

È un edificio caratterizzato da un atrio largo, ma proco profondo e privo di *impluvium*, con tetto chiuso a un solo spiovente;[61] anche in questo caso, come per la *fullonica* di *Stephanus*, si tratta di una struttura, a destinazione produttivo-residenziale.[62]

I materiali da gioco sono stati rinvenuti in un vano dell'edificio, collocato nella parte più interna e subito a ridosso di uno spazio aperto, forse da interpretare come giardino. Di difficile comprensione è la funzione dell'ambiente, interessato dalla presenza di una variegata suppellettile e di un grande numero di lucerne in terracotta (più di una ventina).[63]

Comunque sia, gli oggetti che si possono considerare pertinenti ad attività ludica sono: 4 vasetti in ceramica di forma grossomodo cilindrica (inv. 9313), 5 pedine in osso (inv. 9345-9346, 9348-9350)[64] e 6 semisfere in pasta vitrea (inv. 9360); a questi, va aggiunto un altro vasetto acromo (9315A), chiamato dagli scavatori 'fritillo',[65] rinvenuto con all'interno diverse semisfere in vetro di vario colore (9315).[66]

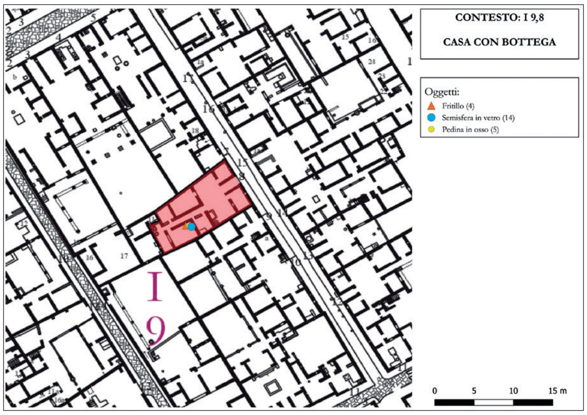

Fig. 5. Pianta della struttura I 9, 8 con posizionamento del set ludico (mappa ottenuta via QGIS).

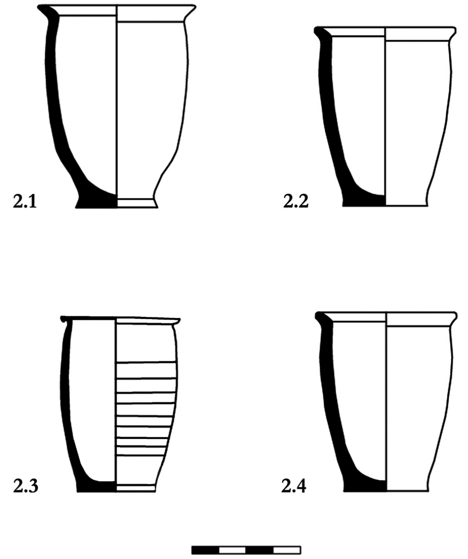

Fig. 6. Materiali dalla struttura I 9, 8. 2.1-4. Vasetti acromi a profilo cilindrico (inv. 9313A-D).

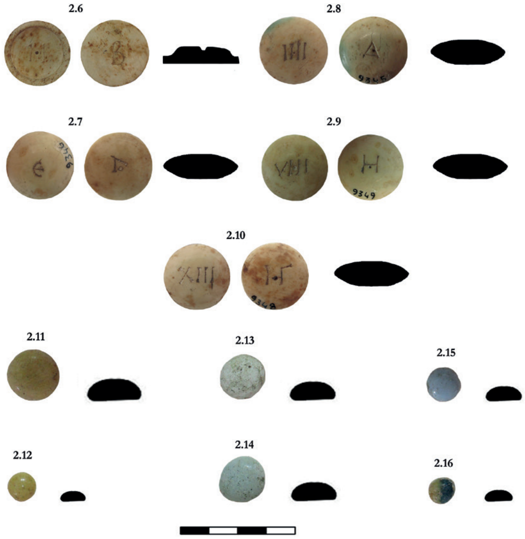

Fig. 7. Materiali dalla struttura I 9, 8. 2.6-10. Pedine in osso con iscrizione (inv. 9345-9346, 9348-9350). 2.11-16. Semisfere in vetro (inv. 9360).

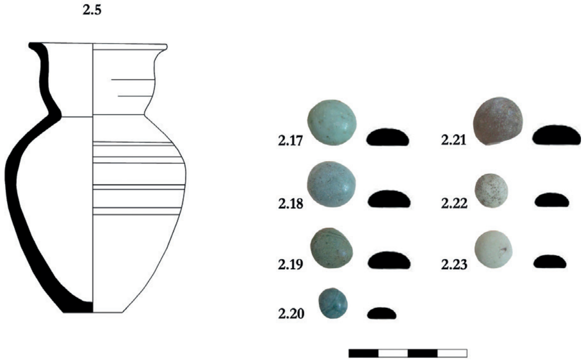

Fig. 8. Materiali dalla struttura I 9, 8. 2.5. Vasetto acromo (inv. 9315A). 2.17-23. Semisfere in vetro (inv. 9315B).

CASA CON BOTTEGA (I 9, 9) (*figg.* 9-11) (*Tab.* 3)

Subito a Sud di quello precedentemente descritto, è stata individuato un altro edificio, anche in questo caso a destinazione produttivo-residenziale;[67] un *set* ludico è stato documentato in un vano situato proprio all'ingresso.[68]

Questo – forse conservato in piccolo armadio in legno insieme a molti altri oggetti[69] – è costituito da 1 dado (inv. 9495), 1 vasetto acromo piriforme (inv. 9500)[70] e 20 ciottoli di forma lenticolare (inv. 9497).[71]

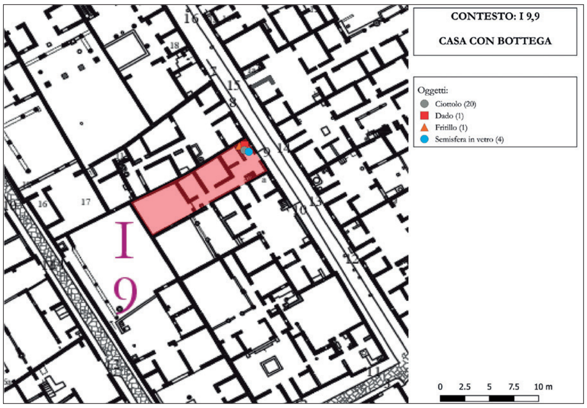
CONTESTO: I 9,9
CASA CON BOTTEGA
Oggetti:
● Ciottolo (20)
■ Dado (1)
▲ Fritillo (1)
● Semisfera in vetro (4)
I
9
0 2.5 5 7.5 10 m

Fig. 9. Pianta della struttura I 9, 9 con posizionamento del set ludico (mappa ottenuta via QGIS).

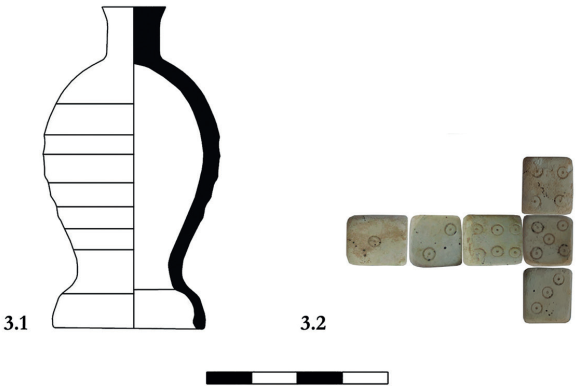

Fig. 10. Materiali dalla struttura I 9, 9. 3.1. Vasetto acromo a profilo piriforme (inv. 9500). 3.2. Dado in osso (inv. 9495).

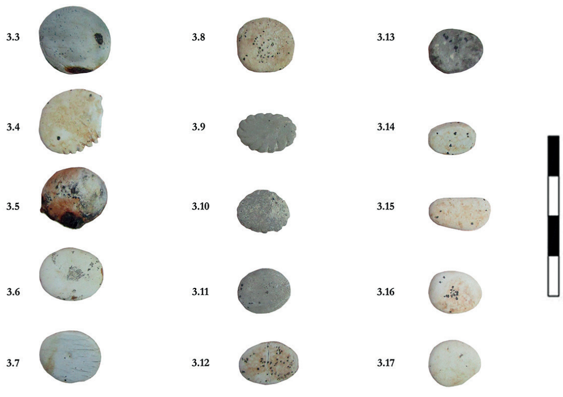
3.3
3.4
3.5
3.6
3.7
3.8
3.9
3.10
3.11
3.12
3.13
3.14
3.15
3.16
3.17

Fig. 11. Materiali dalla struttura I 9, 9. 3.3-17. Ciottoli (inv. 9497).

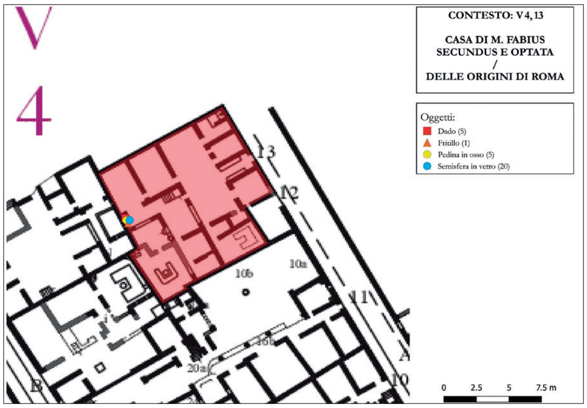
CONTESTO: V 4,13
CASA DI M. FABIUS SECUNDUS E OPTATA
/
DELLE ORIGINI DI ROMA
Oggetti:
■ Dado (5)
▲ Fritillo (1)
● Pedina in osso (5)
● Semisfera in vetro (20)
V
4
0 2.5 5 7.5 m

Fig. 12. Pianta della casa di M. Fabius Secundus *(V 4, 13) con posizionamento del set ludico (mappa ottenuta via QGIS).*

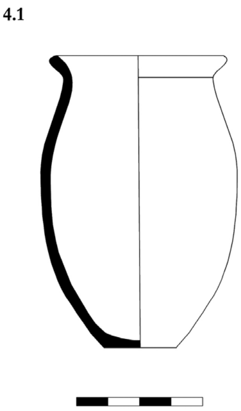

Fig. 13. Vasetto acromo a profilo cilindrico (inv. 55382) dalla casa M. Fabius Secundus *(V 4, 13).*

Casa di *M. Fabius Secundus* e *Optata* o Casa delle origini di Roma (V 4, 13)[72]
(*figg.* 12-14) (*Tab.* 4)

Le ricerche effettuate in questa struttura vennero condotte nell'Aprile del 1903,[73] e poi pubblicate nel volume di *Notizie degli Scavi* del 1905.[74] L'edificio prende il nome da un graffito di saluto,[75] collocato presso l'ingresso, rivolto da una figura femminile (*Optata*) a un tal *Secundus*, che si è ritenuto essere il proprietario della casa, come pare poi confermato dal rinvenimento, all'interno della stessa costruzione, di un sigillo con il nome *M. Fabius Secundus*.[76] Lo stabile è indicato anche con il nome di 'Casa delle Origini di Roma' per la presenza di un affresco con soggetto mitologico raffigurante l'allattamento dei due gemelli divini da parte della lupa,[77] collocato nella parte più interna della struttura.

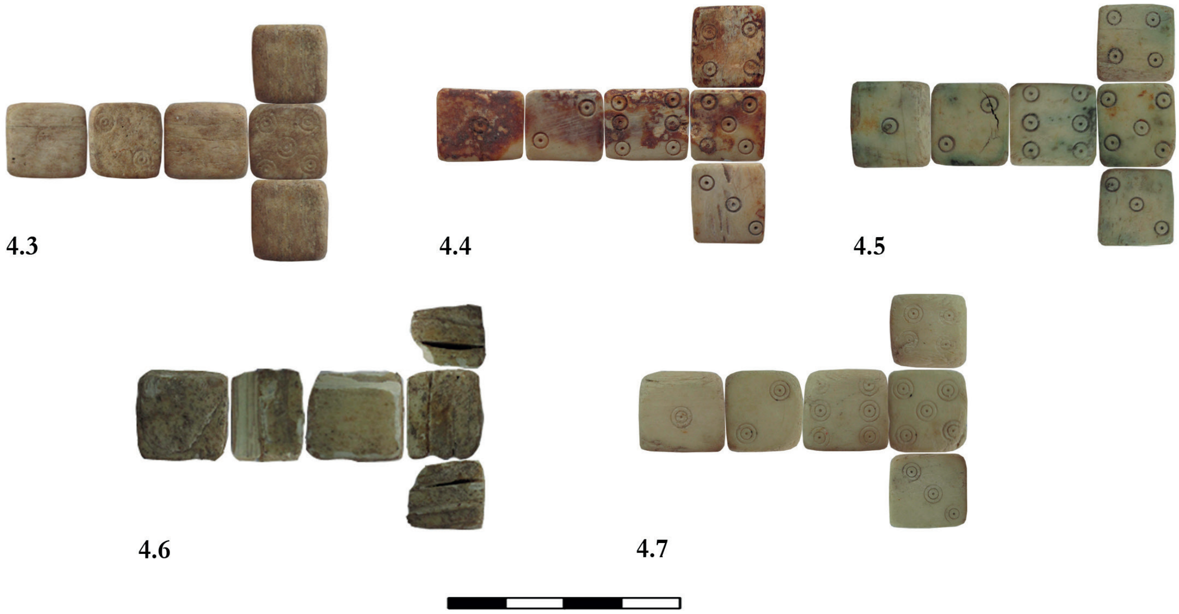

Fig. 14. Dadi in osso dalla casa M. Fabius Secundus *(inv. 55386-55388, 55390).*

Strettamente connesso a quest'ultimo, quasi ne fosse l'anticamera, era un vano, caratterizzato da pareti prive di decorazione con alto zoccolo in laterizio e pavimento in *opus signinum;*[78] qui, addossato alla parete occidentale, fu documentata «una cassa o armadio»[79] in cui si rinvennero, tra le altre cose, 1 vasetto acromo cilindrico (inv. 55382),[80] 5 dadi in osso (55386-55390), 5 'pedine' in osso,[81] 1 tazzina con all'interno 20 semisfere in vetro.[82]

CASA DI *IULIUS POLYBIUS* (IX 13, 3) (*figg. 15-16*) (*Tab. 5*)

La casa di *Iulius Polybius* è un'ampia *domus* affacciata sul lato Nord della via dell'Abbondanza;[83] la struttura, piuttosto articolata planimetricamente, presenta nella porzione posteriore uno spazio aperto circondato da un peristilio. Qui, addossati al muro orientale,[84] vennero rinvenuti durante lo scavo, effettuato nell'Aprile del 1973, ben cinque armadi in legno in cui era conservata una gran congerie di materiale;[85] da uno di questi provenivano,[86] tra le altre cose, 9 dadi in osso (inv. 229 - P22416)[87] e un «bicchiere di terracotta»,[88] come diligentemente registrato nei Giornali degli Scavi.[89]

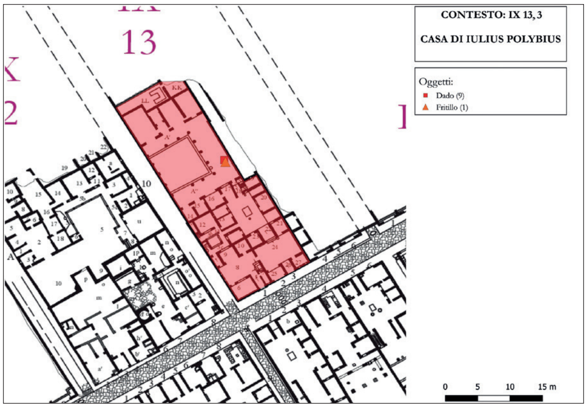

Fig. 15. Pianta della casa di Iulius Polybius *(IX 13, 3) con posizionamento del set ludico (mappa ottenuta via QGIS).*

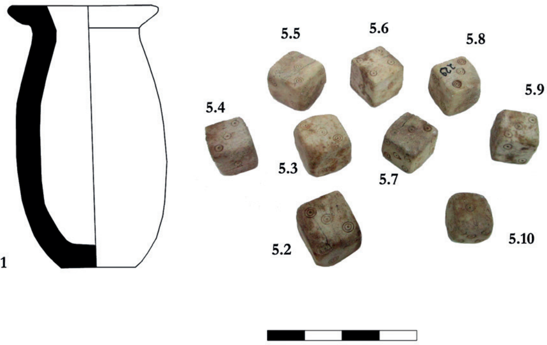

Fig. 16. Materiali dal IV armadio nel peristilio della casa di Iulius Polybius. *5.1. Vasetto acromo a profilo cilindrico (disegno dell'autore a partire da uno schizzo presente nei diari di scavo). 5.2-10. Dadi in osso (inv. 229 – P22416).*

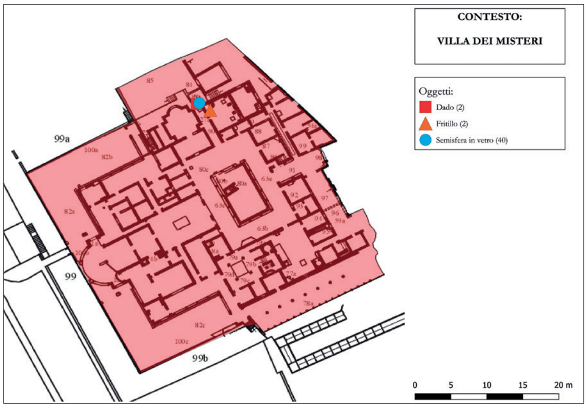

Fig. 17. Pianta della Villa dei Misteri con posizionamento del set ludico (mappa ottenuta via QGIS).

Villa dei Misteri
(*figg. 17-19*) (*Tab. 6*)

Poco fuori Porta Ercolano è situata la celebre Villa dei Misteri,[90] una grande e ricca struttura, che deve il suo nome alla nota serie di affreschi provenienti da un vano collocato nella parte occidentale.[91] Come di norma per le strutture distribuite nel contado pompeiano, accanto alla parte abitativa era presente un'area dedicata alle attività produttive e specialmente a quella vinicola, come testimoniano gli spazi destinati all'attività di spremitura e di stoccaggio.[92]

Proprio durante l'indagine del vano in cui era collocato il *torcularium*,[93] la pressa per l'uva, furono rinvenuti due vasetti acromi, uno di forma piriforme e l'altro ovoidale, che lo scavatore non esitò a chiamare «*fritilli*»,[94] provenienti dall'ingresso del vano adiacente,[95] quindi a diretto contatto spaziale, sono due dadi e 40 semisfere in vetro,[96] lasciati direttamente sul pavimento.

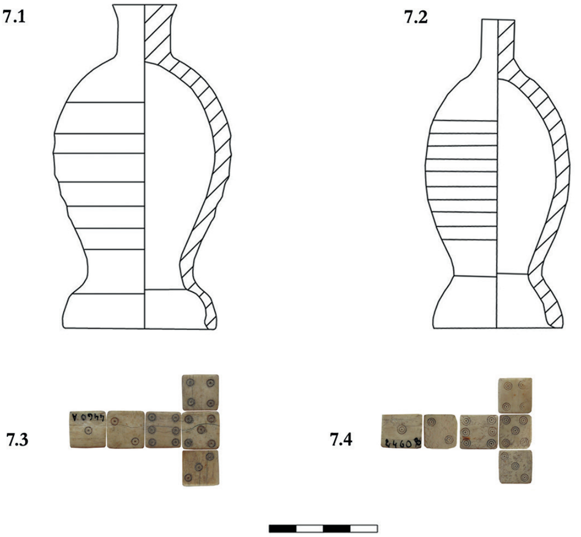

Fig. 18. Materiali dalla Villa dei Misteri. 6.1-2. Vasetti acromi a profilo piriforme (inv. 4481A-B). 6.3-4. Dadi in osso (inv. 4460).

Verosimilmente il *set* ludico era dunque composto da due vasetti acromi (inv. 4481), due dadi (4460) e quaranta semisfere in vetro (inv. 4461A-D).[97]

Dalla morfologia ai contesti. Nuove prospettive per la definizione di *fritillus*

Questa breve panoramica su alcuni *sets* ludici provenienti da Pompei ci consente di affrontare diverse questioni, legate ai cosiddetti *fritilli*. La prima domanda, che pare naturale porsi, è quella riguardante la proposta fatta a suo tempo dalla Annecchino, domanda che si sono ripetuti in molti: è corretto interpretare i vasetti acromi di forma ovoido/piriforme come bussolotti per dadi? Il quadro è chiaro, visto che circa la metà degli oggetti presentati in questa sede sono della tipologia che la studiosa riteneva essere tali.

Non si ha qui certamente la velleità di essere esaustivi dal punto di vista quantitativo, ma i dati presentati bastano per offrire una risposta; si può senza timore dire che, in maniera molto salomonica, i *fritilli* erano anche, ma non solo, i vasetti di forma ovoido/piriforme (*fig. 20*).

È dunque sufficiente questo per risolvere l'annoso dibattito e poter di conseguenza interpretare in questo modo gli oggetti di entrambe tipologie? Certamente no.

Bisogna probabilmente rivedere i termini della questione e chiedersi se sino ad oggi ci si è posti le giuste domande. È necessario, ad esempio, abbandonare un approccio essenzialmente tipologico in favore di uno contestuale; si è da più parti sottolineato come questi oggetti potessero essere impiegati in funzioni diverse e riutilizzati in usi secondari. È dunque inutile sperare che la morfologia possa darci risposte definitive, risposte che possono essere ricavate solo dall'analisi funzionale degli altri materiali rinvenuti in associazione diretta con i 'nostri' vasetti acromi.

In questa sede ci si è dedicati a definire il possibile impiego ludico di questi oggetti, impiego che, in senso lato, non era verosimilmente l'unico, come dimostra la loro straordinaria diffusione in città e al di fuori di essa;[98] per dirla con le parole di Pavolini, «se oggi più di ieri appare giustificata l'ipotesi che l'utilizzo primario o prevalente degli 'ovoidi e piriformi' fosse quello indicato dalla Annecchino, non siamo ancora autorizzati a pensare che tale funzione fosse l'unica. Resta plausibile, anzi, che «riutilizzazioni e usi secondari fossero comuni» e che, in generale,

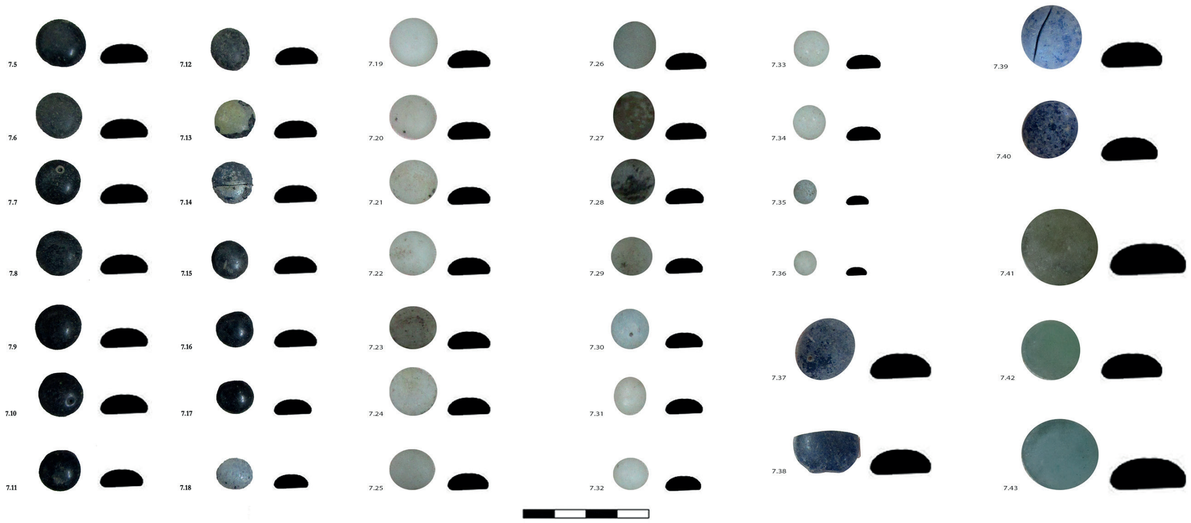

Fig. 19. Materiali dalla Villa dei Misteri. 6.5-17. Semisfere in vetro colorato (inv. 4461A-D).

la strana serie di oggetti in questione rappresenti un tipico esempio di quella "multifunzionalità" più volte invocata».[99]

Illuminante a tal proposito è quanto osservabile nel vano 1 della cosiddetta *officina pigmentaria* (I 9, 9); qui vennero rinvenuti circa un centinaio di vasetti acromi, di varia morfologia, contenti delle tracce di colore. Solo uno di essi, di forma piriforme (*fig. 10*), non presentava resti di pigmento all'interno e fu verosimilmente utilizzato come oggetto ludico. Altri esemplari del tutto simili, indicati dagli scavatori come 'fritilli', contenevano invece resti di materia colorata; dunque, nello stesso contesto, oggetti della medesima tipologia erano impiegati in maniera differenziata.

D'altro canto, potevano far parte di un *set* da gioco anche oggetti dalla foggia assolutamente eccentrica rispetto al panorama formale sin qui considerato. Ci si riferisce, ad esempio, al vasetto acromo (*fig. 8*, 2.5) – a corpo piriforme espanso verso l'alto, con basso collo bombato e labbro esoverso – proveniente dalla struttura I 9, 8, all'interno del quale furono trovate diverse semisfere in vetro colorato.

Gli scavatori non esitarono a definirlo 'fritillo' ma dal punto di vista formale esso esula totalmente dalle categorie di cui abbiamo sinora parlato (cilindrica e ovoido/piriforme). Fatto singolare è che tra gli studiosi non c'è concordanza su come definire oggetti di questa stessa tipologia, classificati di volta in volta come brocche, boccali, olle o unguentari.[100] In tal senso è significativo anche sottolineare che nella casa *M. Fabius Secundus* e *Optata* (V 4, 13) fu invece rinvenuta una 'tazzina', il cui impiego ludico può essere colto solo grazie alle 20 semisfere in vetro documentate al suo interno.

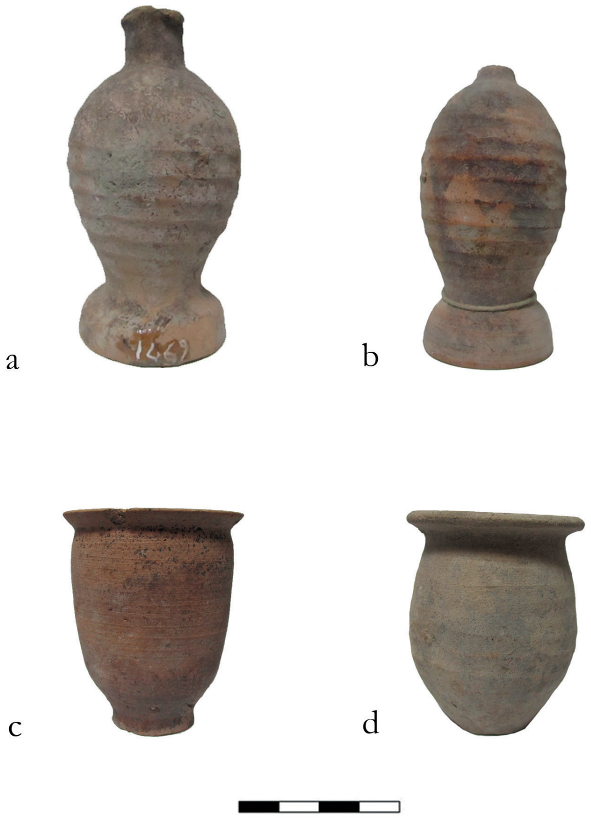

Fig. 20. Panorama morfologico dei vasetti acromi citati nel testo. a) Vasetto acromo piriforme in ceramica (inv. 1469); b) Vasetto acromo a profilo piriforme (inv. 4481A); c) Vasetto acromo a profilo cilindrico (inv. 9313A); d) Vasetto acromo a profilo cilindrico (inv. 55382).

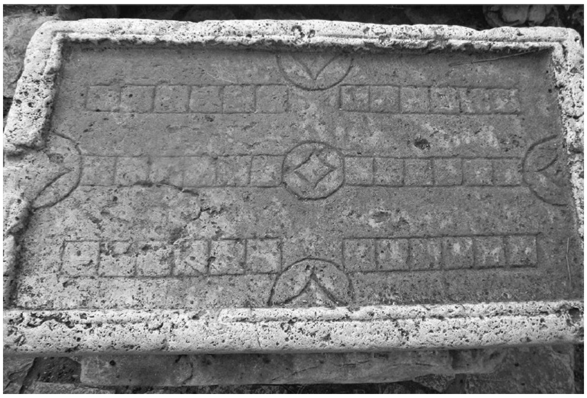

Fig. 21. Tabula per il ludus duodecim scripta *(da Lambrugo 2015, fig. 2)*

Bisogna quindi riflettere sul fatto che ci potesse essere una reciprocità nell'impiego secondario; ovvero che strumenti ludici potessero essere poi impiegati in altre attività, e viceversa che oggetti con funzione primaria differente potessero essere successivamente coinvolti nelle pratiche da gioco.

A dimostrazione dell'estrema complessità della questione è necessario far notare che ci possono poi essere usi secondari pur all'interno della medesima sfera ludica; così un vaso acromo può essere utilizzato come bussolotto o, una volta concluso il gioco, per contenere le pedine, come testimoniato dai casi sopra presentati.[101] È dunque molto complicato ogni tentativo di irreggimentare i comportamenti umani, fluidi per loro natura, entro rigide categorie interpretative.

Si è poi naturalmente consci che i bussolotti in ceramica erano solo una delle versioni in cui essi potevano essere realizzati; d'altro canto, le fonti parlano principalmente di esemplari in altri materiali;[102] quelli in legno, o in altri materiali deperibili, a Pompei non sono documentati perché probabilmente non documentati al momento dello scavo.

Queste riflessioni portano dunque a chiedersi quanto sia per noi comprensibile una società del passato partendo dall'analisi della cultura materiale che essa ha prodotto; quanto riusciamo in realtà a comprendere delle abitudini ludiche dei Pompeiani? In tal senso può essere utile ampliare la nostra riflessione sulle pratiche di gioco, non limitandola ai soli *fritilli*.

A tal proposito è necessario tornare su di alcuni contesti qui presentati; dall'armadio in legno individuato nell'angolo Nord/Est dell'atrio della *fullonica* di *Stephanus* (I 6, 7) provenivano, tra le altre cose, «quarantadue piccole ghiaie lenticolari, di pietra, e sette ghiaie artificiali di terracotta risultanti da cocci smussati»[103] che lo scavatore già ipotizzava «come occorrenti forse per un gioco».[104] Si tratta dunque di materiali molto semplici, sassolini e ritagli di ceramica, il cui valore ludico è certificato solo dall'associazione diretta con altri strumenti da gioco. Lo stesso si può dire dei ciottoli rinvenuti nella *officina pigmentaria* (I 9, 9) il cui utilizzo come pedine sarebbe stato arduo da cogliere senza l'ausilio dei dati di contesto.

Questione di non secondaria importanza è quella relativa al tipo di gioco in cui erano impiegati i 'nostri' *fritilli* e con quali modalità. In alcuni casi, il rinvenimento insieme a dadi ne certifica la funzione 'canonica' di bussolotti. Lo stesso utilizzo si può ipotizzare anche quando i dadi sono stati rinvenuti insieme altre tipologie ludiche interpretabili come pedine;[105] in tal caso si potrebbe ipotizzare il loro coinvolgimento in giochi 'da tavola', come il *ludus duodecim scripta*,[106] un gioco paragonabile al moderno backgammon. Il nome deriva dalla peculiare conformazione della *tabula* necessaria per praticarlo, che era divisa in 3 ordini di 12 caselle (divise in due segmenti di 6) per un totale di 36 (*fig. 21*); molto spesso, almeno negli esemplari in pietra che si sono conservati, le singole caselle erano interessate dalla presenza di lettere che formavano sei parole (*scripta*) di sei lettere ciascuna (esagrammi) ed esprimevano delle frasi-sentenze dai toni scherzosi (spesso verso i giocatori stessi).[107] Per avviare una partita, oltre naturalmente alla *tabula lusoria*, erano necessarie delle pedine (15 per giocatore) e due dadi; la sfida terminava quando uno dei due contendenti riusciva, per primo, a far uscire dalla *tabula* tutti i suoi pezzi.[108]

Più complessa è l'interpretazione dei *sets* compositi (come quello rinvenuto nella *fullonica* di *Stephanus*) difficilmente riconducibili a tipi di giochi a noi noti; nel caso di un'esclusiva associazione tra *fritilli* e pedine, senza una contestuale presenza di dadi, se ne potrebbe dedurre un impiego, a gioco finito, come contenitori del materiale ludico, esattamente come documentato per il vasetto acromo rinvenuto nella struttura I 9, 8 o per la 'tazzina' dalla casa *M. Fabius Secundus* e *Optata* (V 4, 13), entrambi trovati dagli scavatori pieni di semisfere in vetro.

Concludendo, in questa sede si è tentato di fornire nuovi spunti a un dibattito che per certi versi aveva imboccato un binario morto, essendosi focalizzato esclusivamente sugli aspetti morfologici.

Per dare nuova linfa alla questione è sembrato opportuno abbandonare un approccio tipologico in favore di uno contestuale; solo l'analisi dei dati archeologici può infatti, di volta in volta, portarci a individuare la giusta interpretazione funzionale di un oggetto.

Coerente con questa prospettiva è la recente interpretazione come fritillo di un vasetto ceramico piriforme proveniente dallo scavo di Piazza Marconi a Cremona;[109] decisiva in tal senso è stata, più che la morfologia, l'associazione ad altre tipologie giochi. Valorizzare i dati di contesto sembra dunque il giusto approccio per affrontare questa intricata questione.

Note

[1] Questa ricerca fa parte del progetto ERC Advanced, Locus Ludi. The Cultural Fabric of Play and Games in Classical Antiquity (2017-2022) (European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme, grant agreement No 741520), Università di Fribourg CH. Sulle coordinate metodologiche del progetto si veda Dasen 2018; Dasen 2019a; Dasen 2019b; Schädler 2019a; Dasen/Schädler 2019; Dasen/Vespa 2020. Per una panoramica si veda la pagina web: https://locusludi.ch/Anche nella bibliografia recente questo tipo di oggetti è etichettata con il termine di 'fritillo', si veda ad esempio Castiglione Morelli 2015, 351.

[2] Per una panoramica sulle fonti si veda Mau 1910; Saglio 1918, 1341; Hurschmann 1998.

[3] Sen. *Apocol*. 15.1.

[4] «il libero dicembre fa risuonare qua e là, nel piacevole giuoco dei dadi, i bossoli dall'esito incerto» (trad. Giuseppe Norcio); Mart. 4.6-7; Soldevila 2006, 181-182.

[5] «se al vecchio piacciono i rovinosi dadi, anche l'erede vi gioca quando ha ancora il ciondolo al collo» (trad. Biagio Santorelli); Juv. 14.4-5.

[6] Mau 1910, 109; Annecchino 1977, 199-200.

[7] «che raccogliesse e imbussolasse in luogo suo i dadi» (trad. Tito Colamarino e Domenico Bo); Hor. *Sat*. 2.7.16-17.

[8] Porph. S. 2.7.17

[9] Schol. *ad* Juv. 14.5.

[10] Schol. Cruq. *ad* Hor. 2.7.17.

[11] Schol. *ad* Hor. 2.7.17: *phimum*: *pyrgum; alii fritillum dicunt*; Schol. *ad* Juv. 14.5: *fritillum pyrgum dixit*; Schol. Cruq. *ad* Hor. 2.7.17: *in pyrgum seu fritillum*.

[12] Costanza 2019, 188.

[13] Sulle *turriculae* si veda Horn 1989; Cobbett 2008; Cobbett 2013; Cobbett 2020.

[14] Questa sovrapposizione tra *fritillus* e *turricula* compare anche nei primi autori moderni che si sono occupati del gioco nell'antichità; ad esempio Becq de Fouquières, parlando del gioco dei dadi, dice «ajoutons enfin qu'on se servait d'un cornet pour agiter et jeter les dés, et d'une tour (πύργος, *turricula*); nous avons déjà dit que cette tour était un cornet cylindrique percé des deux bouts, à l'intérieur duquel se trouvaient des degrés que les dés dégringolaienten tombant», Becq de Fouquières 1869, 367-368.

[15] Mau 1910.

[16] Annecchino 1977, 198-199.

[17] Annecchino 1977, 199.

[18] Annecchino 1977, 199.

[19] Annecchino 1977, 200.

[20] Annecchino 1977, 203-204, figg. 5-6; Giacobello 2015a, 37, figg. 1-2. Sulla terminologia riguardante le strutture ricreative a Pompei si veda: Ellis 2004, 371-375; DeFelice 2007, 474-476; Grossi 2011; Ruiz de Arbulo/Gris 2017, 153-156; Grossi 2017, 33-39.

[21] Annecchino 1977, 204-205, figg. 7-8; Giacobello 2015a, 38, fig. 3.

[22] Annecchino 1977, 207, fig. 9; Giacobello 2015a, 39, fig. 4.

[23] Per una panoramica sulle varie proposte interpretative si veda Lusuardi Siena 1973-1974; Mayer i Olivè 2008, 223-224; Tassinari 2018, 253-254 con bibliografia.

[24] Pavolini 1980, 1009-1013 e relativa bibliografia.

[25] Pavolini 1980, 1012.

[26] Pavolini 1980, 1012.

[27] Pavolini 1980, 1013.

[28] Egidi 1983, 286.

[29] Egidi 1983, 286.

[30] Allison 1999, 62-63; Allison 2004, 58-59.

[31] Allison 1999, 62-63.

[32] Allison 2004, 59.

[33] Allison 2004, 59.

[34] Allison 1999, 63.

[35] Si è consapevoli che oggetti come dadi e astragali possono avere una funzione diversa da quella ludica, ad esempio magica o mantica (si veda Costanza 2019, 186-197), ma per quelli in catalogo l'impiego in altre pratiche che non siano giochi non può essere dimostrato con i dati archeologici a disposizione.

[36] Questa tipologia di oggetti è generalmente interpretata come materiale ludico anche nei contesti provinciali, per la Britannia si veda Cool/Baxter 2002, 370-375, tab. 2, fig. 2; per la Spagna, Carretero Vaquero 1998, 127, fig. 3; Alonso/Sabio Gonzales 2017.

[37] Così sono state interpretate le semisfere in vetro colorato rinvenute nell'ambiente 1 della Casa del Menandro, insieme a due dadi; Varone 2003, 193; questa associazione è stata intrepretata come traccia di attività ludica in Allison 2004, 76. Come pedine sono state interpretate anche le semisfere in vetro rinvenute, non in associazione con altro materiale ludico, nella casa di *Iulius Polybius*, Castiglione Morelli 2015, 351. Anche in Arletti *et al.* 2006 le semisfere sono considerate pedine da gioco. Per altri esempi si veda Cool 2016, 158.

[38] Cool 2016, 164-166.

[39] È in preparazione da parte dello scrivente un lavoro dedicato specificatamente a questa problematica.

[40] Per altri contesti non pompeiani in cui semi-sfere in vetro sono state trovate con altro materiale ludico si veda ad esempio il vano 18 della *domus* del Ninfeo di Cremona, Cecchini/Bianchi/Diani 2015, 123-124; Tassinari 2018, 254.

[41] Che siano esistite *tabulae lusoriae* in città è desumibile da prove indirette; ad esempio, nei già citati affreschi della *caupona* di *Salvius* (VI 14, 35-36) e in quella VI 1, 1.19 compaiono tavole da gioco mobili, verosimilmente in materiale deperibile.

[42] Per le ultime prospettive teoriche circa l'approccio alla realtà pompeiana si veda anche Zanella 2020; Coralini 2020.

[43] PPM I 1990, 332-351.

[44] Pirson 2007, 463-466.

[45] CIL IV, 7172; CIL IV, 7174; Della Corte 1954, 238-239.

[46] Bradley 2002, 27, fig. 8; Flohr 2003, 448.

[47] Flohr 2009, 181; Flohr 2011, 92.

[48] Flohr 2011, 93.

[49] Della Corte 1912, 286.

[50] Della Corte 1912, 286.

[51] Della Corte 1912, 286-287.

[52] Della Corte 1912, 287.

[53] Della Corte 1912, 287.

[54] In passato, è stato proposto di interpretare il dado, gli elementi in vetro e i ciottoli come gli elementi di una

collana (Flohr 2011, 93), ma pare un'interpretazione poco verosimile essendo le semisfere prive di foro passante.

[55] Sui dadi e sulle modalità della loro documentazione si veda Béal 1983, 349-354; Poplin 2004-2005; Feugére 2013; Giacobello 2015b; de Voogt/Eerkens 2018, 99-101; Manniez 2019.

[56] Questi oggetti sono stati generalmente etichettati come 'tessere alessandrine', si veda Bianchi 2015 con bibliografia; anche Bianchi cs. In questa sede si è preferita la definizione 'pedine alessandrine'.

[57] Di questi non è stato possibile effettuare un'analisi autoptica.

[58] Di questi non è stato possibile effettuare un'analisi autoptica.

[59] Allison 2009, 15.

[60] Giornale degli Scavi 4 Luglio 1952; sulla struttura si veda anche Ciarallo 2012, 399-402.

[61] PPM II 1991, 138.

[62] Fiorenza Proto analizzando nel complesso i materiali provenienti da questa struttura non ne identifica una chiara destinazione d'uso, etichettandola come 'incerta', Proto 2006, 26; Cirillo *et al.* 2015, 723.

[63] Giornale degli Scavi 4 Luglio 1952; la difficoltà di comprendere la funzione di un ambiente in base alla cultura materiale è evidenziata in Allison 2001, 105-106.

[64] Questi gettoni non possono essere definiti di tipo alessandrino presentando le due iscrizioni sulle facce opposte, Bianchi cs.

[65] Giornale degli Scavi 4 Luglio 1952.

[66] Gli scavatori indicano che il vasetto acromo conteneva «alcuni bottoni di varie forme, di vario colore e grandezza», Giornale degli Scavi 4 Luglio 1952. Nei magazzini sono conservate 7 semisfere di vetro colorato (inv. 9315).

[67] Si tratterebbe di un'abitazione con annessa *officina pigmentaria*, si veda Proto 2006, 18, fig. 5; 26; Cirillo *et al.* 2015, 723. Ma più verosimilmente si tratta di un *atelier* in cui veniva praticata la pittura a fresco o su cavalletto, si veda Tuffreau-Libre 1999, 69; Brun *et al.* 2003, 24.

[68] Giornale degli Scavi 27 Luglio 1952.

[69] Tuffreau-Libre 1999, p. 68.

[70] Nel medesimo vano furono rinvenuti circa un centinaio di vasetti acromi di varia morfologia, contenenti tracce di colore; di questi solo quello che non presentava tracce di pigmento all'interno è stato considerato come bussolotto; si veda Giornale degli Scavi 27 Luglio 1952. Sul medesimo contesto si veda Tuffreau-Libre 1999, 65-66, fig. 3; Brun *et al.* 2003, 24-28; Proto 2006, 26.

[71] Di questi ne sono conservati solo 15.

[72] PPM III 1991, 1062-1068.

[73] Giornale degli Scavi, 6 Aprile 1903.

[74] Sogliano 1905, 85-97.

[75] Sogliano 1905, 86; *Optata Secondo suo salutem*, CIL IV 6755.

[76] Sogliano 1905, 97; Della Corte 1965, 110.

[77] Sogliano 1905, 93-96; PPM III 1991, 1064-1067.

[78] Sogliano 1905, 92.

[79] Sogliano 1905, 92.

[80] Nei Giornali di Scavo si parla di un solo 'vasettino', mentre nella pubblicazione si indicano «due vasettini con avanzi di colore (?)», Sogliano 1905, 92. Nel resoconto degli scavatori si segnala che il vasettino conteneva «avanzi di materia organica», situazione che non pare ostare all'uso dell'oggetto come bussolotto. Tali avanzi potrebbero infatti essere i resti del tappo, in materia organica, o il risultato dell'intrusione all'interno del vasetto dei resti dell'armadio in legno in seguito a fenomeni post-deposizionali.

[81] Di queste non è stato possibile effettuare un'analisi autoptica; per questo motivo si utilizza il termine 'pedine' impiegato nei diari di scavo e nella pubblicazione, Sogliano 1905, 93.

[82] «pedine di pasta vitrea», Sogliano 1905, 92.

[83] De Franciscis 1988; Zevi 1996; Fergola 2003; Castiglione Morelli *et al.* 2015.

[84] Giornale degli Scavi 1973, mese di Aprile; Grimaldi 2015, 278, fig. 1.

[85] Gli armadi erano probabilmente collocati in quella posizione in maniera provvisoria, considerando i lavori di restauro che si stavano svolgendo nella casa al momento dell'eruzione; Grimaldi 2015, 271.

[86] Più precisamente da quello indicato dagli scavatori con il numero IV.

[87] Già pubblicati in Borriello *et al.* 1996, 237, scheda n. 296.

[88] Giornali di Scavo, 9 Febbraio 1973.

[89] Di questo oggetto non è stato possibile effettuare un'analisi autoptica.

[90] Maiuri 1960; Richardson 1997, 355-360.

[91] Maiuri 1960, 51-84; Logenfellow 2000; Bergmann 2007.

[92] Per la villa Regina a Boscoreale si veda De Caro 1994, 35-46; per la struttura rinvenuta in località Ponticelli (NA), Cascella, Vecchio 2012, 172-175; sulle ville di Terzigno, Cicirelli 1989; Cicirelli 2003; sulle ville rustiche di Scafati (via Spinelli e via Poggiomarino), De' Spagnolis Conticello 1993-1994.

[93] Maiuri 1960, 40-44. Nella pianta edita da Maiuri il *torcularium* è indicato con i numeri 48 e 49, mentre il vano numero 27 è un lungo corridoio che metteva in comunicazione il grande peristilio centrale con il *torcularium* e la cella vinaria

[94] Giornale degli Scavi, 7 Marzo 1930.

[95] «Nell'angolo sud-ovest dell'ambiente N° 50, poggianti sul pavimento», Giornale degli Scavi, 7 Marzo 1930.

[96] «quaranta bottoni in pasta vitrea di varia grandezza», Giornale degli Scavi, 7 Marzo 1930.

[97] È stato possibile fare un'analisi autoptica solo di 39 esemplari.

[98] Più di 120 vasetti acromi di forma cilindrica sono stati trovati in un'officina ceramica a Pompei, si veda Cerulli Irelli 1977, 56-57; sul materiale di Ostia si veda Pavolini 1980.

[99] Pavolini 2000, 375.

[100] Per una panoramica sulla questione si veda Pavolini 2000, 235-245; per un preciso confronto e relativa bibliografia si veda Pavolini 2000, 238-239, n. 126, figg. 60, 75.

[101] Ci si riferisce al vasetto acromo (inv. 9315) rinvenuto nel vano 9 Bottega (I 9, 8) contente varie semisfere di vetro colorato (inv. 9315) e la tazzina acroma (senza inv.) proveniente dall'armadio situato nel vano Q della casa di *M. Fabius Secundus* (V 4, 13) con all'interno 20 semisfere in vetro (senza inv.).

[102] Schol. *ad* Juv. 14.5 (*fritillus pyxis cornea, qui fimus dicitur Graece*); per i *fritilli* in legno si veda Annecchino 1977, 200. Un fritillo in osso è stato rinvenuto a Mérida, si veda Murciano Calles 2017.

[103] Della Corte 1912, 287.

[104] Della Corte 1912, 287.

[105] Ad esempio, nei *sets* documentati nella casa con bottega (I 9, 9), nella casa di *Iulius Polybius* (IX 13, 3) e nella Villa dei Misteri.

[106] Schädler 1995, 83-84; Schädler 2013; Torre 2015, 19; Lambrugo 2015, 26-27; per le regole si veda Schädler 2019b, 128-129.

APPENDICE: TABELLE DEI MATERIALI

Tabella 1. Set ludico dalla fullonica *di* Stephanus *(I 6, 7).*

CAT.	INV.	TIPOLOGIA	MATERIALE	DIMENSIONI	DESCRIZIONE
1.1	1469	Vasetto acromo piriforme	Ceramica	h: 12; ø bocca: 5,9; ø piede: 2,4	Orlo piatto; labbro bombato. Corpo piriforme; peduccio cilindrico. Integro; abrasioni e concrezioni diffuse. Ingubbiatura: 10R 8/2 (pinkish white); corpo ceramico: 10R 8/3 (pink).
1.2	1496	Astragalo	Osso	2,8 x 1 x 0,9	Superficie con vaste scheggiature e abrasioni.
1.3	1496	Astragalo	Osso	2,4 x 1,5 x 2	Oggetto consunto e conservato parzialmente.
1.4	1497	Dado cavo	Osso	2 x 2 x 1,8	Lati 3 e 4 cavi. Superficie con scheggiature, abrasioni e fessurazioni.
1.5	1507	'Pedina alessandrina'	Osso		Scheggiature e fessurazioni. Superficie con bruniture e parzialmente virata al verde. Sul *recto*: protome di cinghiale. Sul *verso*: XIV – IΔ.
1.6	1498B	Semisfera	Vetro	ø: 1,6	Sezione piano-convessa. Colore verdastro.
1.7	1498C	Semisfera	Vetro	ø: 1,4	Sezione piano-convessa. Colore verdastro.
1.8	1498D	Semisfera	Vetro	ø: 1,6	Sezione piano-convessa. Colore blu.
1.9	/	Ciottolo	Pietra	/	Non reperibile.
1.10	/	Ciottolo	Pietra	/	Non reperibile.
1.11	/	Ciottolo	Pietra	/	Non reperibile.
1.12	/	Ciottolo	Pietra	/	Non reperibile.
1.13	/	Ciottolo	Pietra	/	Non reperibile.
1.14	/	Ciottolo	Pietra	/	Non reperibile.
1.15	/	Ciottolo	Pietra	/	Non reperibile.
1.16	/	Ciottolo	Pietra	/	Non reperibile.
1.17	/	Ciottolo	Pietra	/	Non reperibile.
1.18	/	Ciottolo	Pietra	/	Non reperibile.
1.19	/	Ciottolo	Pietra	/	Non reperibile.
1.20	/	Ciottolo	Pietra	/	Non reperibile.
1.21	/	Ciottolo	Pietra	/	Non reperibile.
1.22	/	Ciottolo	Pietra	/	Non reperibile.
1.23	/	Ciottolo	Pietra	/	Non reperibile.
1.24	/	Ciottolo	Pietra	/	Non reperibile.
1.25	/	Ciottolo	Pietra	/	Non reperibile.
1.26	/	Ciottolo	Pietra	/	Non reperibile.
1.27	/	Ciottolo	Pietra	/	Non reperibile.
1.28	/	Ciottolo	Pietra	/	Non reperibile.
1.29	/	Ciottolo	Pietra	/	Non reperibile.
1.30	/	Ciottolo	Pietra	/	Non reperibile.
1.31	/	Ciottolo	Pietra	/	Non reperibile.
1.32	/	Ciottolo	Pietra	/	Non reperibile.
1.33	/	Ciottolo	Pietra	/	Non reperibile.
1.34	/	Ciottolo	Pietra	/	Non reperibile.

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[107] Sulle *tabulae lusoriae* inscritte si veda Ferrua 2001; sul *ludus duodecim scripta*, Schädler 1995; Purcell 2007; Schädler 2013; Torre 2015, 19; Lambrugo 2015, 26-27.

[108] Schädler 2019b, 128-129.

[109] Tassinari 2018, 254.

Continuazione Tabella 1. Set ludico dalla fullonica *di* Stephanus *(I 6, 7).*

CAT.	INV.	TIPOLOGIA	MATERIALE	DIMENSIONI	DESCRIZIONE
1.35	/	Ciottolo	Pietra	/	Non reperibile.
1.36	/	Ciottolo	Pietra	/	Non reperibile.
1.37	/	Ciottolo	Pietra	/	Non reperibile.
1.38	/	Ciottolo	Pietra	/	Non reperibile.
1.39	/	Ciottolo	Pietra	/	Non reperibile.
1.40	/	Ciottolo	Pietra	/	Non reperibile.
1.41	/	Ciottolo	Pietra	/	Non reperibile.
1.42	/	Ciottolo	Pietra	/	Non reperibile.
1.43	/	Ciottolo	Pietra	/	Non reperibile.
1.44	/	Ciottolo	Pietra	/	Non reperibile.
1.45	/	Ciottolo	Pietra	/	Non reperibile.
1.46	/	Ciottolo	Pietra	/	Non reperibile.
1.47	/	Ciottolo	Pietra	/	Non reperibile.
1.48	/	Ciottolo	Pietra	/	Non reperibile.
1.49	/	Ciottolo	Pietra	/	Non reperibile.
1.50	/	Ciottolo	Pietra	/	Non reperibile.
1.51	/	Ritaglio ceramico	Ceramica	/	Non reperibile.
1.52	/	Ritaglio ceramico	Ceramica	/	Non reperibile.
1.53	/	Ritaglio ceramico	Ceramica	/	Non reperibile.
1.54	/	Ritaglio ceramico	Ceramica	/	Non reperibile.
1.55	/	Ritaglio ceramico	Ceramica	/	Non reperibile.
1.56	/	Ritaglio ceramico	Ceramica	/	Non reperibile.
1.57	/	Ritaglio ceramico	Ceramica	/	Non reperibile.

Tabella 2. Set ludico dalla casa con bottega (I 9, 8).

CAT.	INV.	TIPOLOGIA	MATERIALE	DIMENSIONI	DESCRIZIONE
2.1	9313A	Vasetto acromo cilindrico	Ceramica	h: 7,2; ø bocca: 5,9; ø piede: 3	Orlo assottigliato; labbro esoverso. Corpo cilindrico, rastremato verso il basso; piede distinto profilato a disco. Abrasioni e scheggiature diffuse. Corpo ceramico: 10R 6/8 (light red). Inclusi nerastri.
2.2	9313B	Vasetto acromo cilindrico	Ceramica	h: 6,1; ø bocca: 5,2; ø piede: 3,1	Orlo assottigliato; labbro esoverso. Corpo cilindrico, rastremato verso il basso; piede appena distinto a disco. Abrasioni e scheggiature diffuse. Corpo ceramico: 2.5YR 6/8 (light red). Inclusi nerastri.
2.3	9313C	Vasetto acromo cilindrico	Ceramica	h: 6,4; ø bocca: 4,2; ø piede: 2,8	Orlo inclinato; labbro esoverso. Corpo cilindrico, rastremato verso il basso; fondo piano. Abrasioni e scheggiature diffuse. Corpo ceramico: 10R 6/8 (light red). Inclusi nerastri.
2.4	9313D	Vasetto acromo cilindrico	Ceramica	h: 6; ø bocca: 5,3; ø piede: 3	Orlo inclinato; labbro esoverso. Corpo cilindrico, rastremato verso il basso; fondo piano. Abrasioni e scheggiature diffuse. Corpo ceramico: 10R 6/8 (light red). Inclusi nerastri.

Continuazione Tabella 2. Set ludico dalla casa con bottega (I 9, 8).

CAT.	INV.	TIPOLOGIA	MATERIALE	DIMENSIONI	DESCRIZIONE
2.5	9315A	Vasetto acromo	Ceramica	h: 8,6; ø bocca: 4,5; ø piede: 2	Bocchello a calice; spalla sfuggente; corpo troncoconico. Fondo piano.
2.6	9350	Pedina	Osso	ø: 2,2	Incisi sulle facce opposte: II – Β
2.7	9346	Pedina	Osso	ø: 2,2	Incisi sulle facce opposte: III – Γ
2.8	9345	Pedina	Osso	ø: 2,3	Incisi sulle facce opposte: IIII – Δ
2.9	9349	Pedina	Osso	ø: 2,3	Incisi sulle facce opposte: VIII – Η
2.10	9348	Pedina	Osso	ø: 2,2	Incisi sulle facce opposte: XIII – ΙΓ
2.11	9360A	Semisfera	Vetro	ø: 1,8	Sezione piano-convessa. Colore giallastro.
2.12	9360A	Semisfera	Vetro	ø: 1,8	Sezione piano-convessa. Colore giallastro.
2.13	9360A	Semisfera	Vetro	ø: 0,9	Sezione piano-convessa. Colore biancastro.
2.14	9360A	Semisfera	Vetro	ø: 1,7	Sezione piano-convessa. Colore biancastro.
2.15	9360A	Semisfera	Vetro	ø: 1,6	Sezione piano-convessa. Colore azzurrastro.
2.16	9360A	Semisfera	Vetro	ø: 1,3	Sezione piano-convessa. Colore blu e giallastro.
2.17	9360A	Semisfera	Vetro	ø: 1,1	Sezione piano-convessa. Colore azzurrastro.
2.18	9315B	Semisfera	Vetro	ø: 1,5	Sezione piano-convessa. Colore azzurrastro.
2.19	9315B	Semisfera	Vetro	ø: 1,5	Sezione piano-convessa. Colore azzurrastro.
2.20	9315B	Semisfera	Vetro	ø: 1,3	Sezione piano-convessa. Colore azzurrastro.
2.21	9315B	Semisfera	Vetro	ø: 0,9	Sezione piano-convessa. Colore grigiastro.
2.22	9315B	Semisfera	Vetro	ø: 1,1	Sezione piano-convessa. Colore bianco.
2.23	9315B	Semisfera	Vetro	ø: 1	Sezione piano-convessa. Colore bianco.

Tabella 3. Set ludico dalla casa con bottega (I 9, 9).

CAT.	INV.	TIPOLOGIA	MATERIALE	DIMENSIONI	DESCRIZIONE
3.1	9500	Vasetto acromo piriforme	Ceramica	h: 8,9; ø bocca: 4,2; ø piede: 1,6	Orlo arrotondato. Corto collo. Corpo piriforme; alto peduccio cilindrico. Integro; abrasioni e concrezioni diffuse. Corpo ceramico: 2.5YR 7/6 (light reddish brown).
3.2	9495	Dado	Osso	1,3 x 1,3 x 1,1	Abrasioni e scheggiature diffuse.
3.3	9497	Ciottolo	Pietra	ø: 2,2	Forma lenticolare. Colore grigiastro
3.4	9497	Ciottolo	Pietra	ø: 2	Forma lenticolare; bordo dentellato. Colore biancastro.
3.5	9497	Ciottolo	Pietra	ø: 2	Forma lenticolare; bordo dentellato. Concrezioni brune. Colore biancastro.
3.6	9497	Ciottolo	Pietra	ø: 2	Forma lenticolare. Colore biancastro.
3.7	9497	Ciottolo	Pietra	ø: 2	Forma lenticolare. Colore biancastro.
3.8	9497	Ciottolo	Pietra	ø: 2	Forma lenticolare. Colore biancastro con inclusi verdastri.
3.9	9497	Ciottolo	Pietra	ø: 1,8	Forma lenticolare; bordo dentellato. Colore grigiastro.
3.10	9497	Ciottolo	Pietra	ø: 1,7	Forma lenticolare; bordo dentellato. Colore grigiastro.
3.11	9497	Ciottolo	Pietra	ø: 1,8	Forma lenticolare; bordo dentellato. Colore grigiastro.
3.12	9497	Ciottolo	Pietra	ø: 1,8	Forma lenticolare. Colore biancastro con inclusi verdastri.
3.13	9497	Ciottolo	Pietra	ø: 1,7	Forma lenticolare. Colore nerastro.
3.14	9497	Ciottolo	Pietra	ø: 1,8	Forma lenticolare. Colore biancastro con inclusi verdastri.
3.15	9497	Ciottolo	Pietra	ø: 1,9	Forma lenticolare. Colore biancastro con inclusi verdastri.
3.16	9497	Ciottolo	Pietra	ø: 1,7	Forma lenticolare. Colore biancastro con inclusi verdastri.
3.17	9497	Ciottolo	Pietra	ø: 1,7	Forma lenticolare. Colore biancastro con inclusi verdastri.
3.18	9497	Ciottolo	Pietra	/	Non reperibile.
3.19	9497	Ciottolo	Pietra	/	Non reperibile.
3.20	9497	Ciottolo	Pietra	/	Non reperibile.
3.21	9497	Ciottolo	Pietra	/	Non reperibile.
3.22	9497	Ciottolo	Pietra	/	Non reperibile.

Tabella 4. Set ludico dalla M. Fabius Secundus *e* Optata *o Casa delle origini di Roma (V 4, 13).*

CAT.	INV.	TIPOLOGIA	MATERIALE	DIMENSIONI	DESCRIZIONE
4.1	55382	Vasetto acromo cilindrico	Ceramica	h: 7,1; ø bocca: 5,7; ø piede: 3	Orlo inclinato; labbro esoverso. Corpo ovoide rastremato verso il basso; fondo piano. Integro; abrasioni e concrezioni diffuse. Ingubbiatura: 7.5RY 8/2 (pinkish white); corpo ceramico: 7.5YR 8/3 (pink).
4.2	/	'Tazzina' acroma	Vetro	ø bocca: 8	Non reperibile.
4.3	55386	Dado	Osso	1,4 x 1,4 x 1,3	Superficie fortemente abrasa; scheggiature e fessurazioni. Oggetto quasi completamente brunito. Lati 2, 3, 4 illeggibili.
4.4	55387	Dado	Osso	1,2 x 1,3 x 1,1	Abrasioni, scheggiature. Superficie in parte brunita per esposizione diretta al calore.
4.5	55388	Dado	Osso	1,3 x 1,3 x 1,2	Abrasioni e scheggiature. Superficie parzialmente virata al verde e in parte brunita. Fessurazione sul lato 2.
4.6	55389	Dado	Osso	1,3 x 1,4 x 1,3 (conservata)	Oggetto consunto; fessurazioni; ampie aree distaccate. Nessun lato leggibile.
4.7	55390	Dado	Osso	1,4 x 1,4 x 1,4	Abrasioni e scheggiature.
4.9	/	Pedina	Osso	/	Non reperibile.
4.10	/	Pedina	Osso	/	Non reperibile.
4.11	/	Pedina	Osso	/	Non reperibile.
4.12	/	Pedina	Osso	/	Non reperibile.
4.13	/	Pedina	Osso	/	Non reperibile.
4.14	/	Semisfera	Vetro	/	Sezione piano-convessa. Non reperibile.
4.15	/	Semisfera	Vetro	/	Sezione piano-convessa. Non reperibile.
4.16	/	Semisfera	Vetro	/	Sezione piano-convessa. Non reperibile.
4.17	/	Semisfera	Vetro	/	Sezione piano-convessa. Non reperibile.
4.18	/	Semisfera	Vetro	/	Sezione piano-convessa. Non reperibile.
4.19	/	Semisfera	Vetro	/	Sezione piano-convessa. Non reperibile.
4.20	/	Semisfera	Vetro	/	Sezione piano-convessa. Non reperibile.
4.21	/	Semisfera	Vetro	/	Sezione piano-convessa. Non reperibile.
4.22	/	Semisfera	Vetro	/	Sezione piano-convessa. Non reperibile.
4.23	/	Semisfera	Vetro	/	Sezione piano-convessa. Non reperibile.
4.24	/	Semisfera	Vetro	/	Sezione piano-convessa. Non reperibile.
4.25	/	Semisfera	Vetro	/	Sezione piano-convessa. Non reperibile.
4.26	/	Semisfera	Vetro	/	Sezione piano-convessa. Non reperibile.
4.27	/	Semisfera	Vetro	/	Sezione piano-convessa. Non reperibile.
4.28	/	Semisfera	Vetro	/	Sezione piano-convessa. Non reperibile.
4.29	/	Semisfera	Vetro	/	Sezione piano-convessa. Non reperibile.
4.30	/	Semisfera	Vetro	/	Sezione piano-convessa. Non reperibile.
4.31	/	Semisfera	Vetro	/	Sezione piano-convessa. Non reperibile.

Tabella 5. Set ludico dalla casa di Iulius Polybius *(IX 13, 3).*

CAT.	INV.	TIPOLOGIA	MATERIALE	DIMENSIONI	DESCRIZIONE
5.1	/	Vasetto acromo cilindrico	Ceramica	h: 7; ø bocca: 4	Orlo inclinato; labbro esoverso. Corpo cilindrico, rastremato verso il basso; fondo piano. Non reperibile.
5.2	229 – P22416	Dado	Osso	2 x 1,8 x 1,8	Abrasioni e scheggiature. Fessurazioni. Bruniture diffuse.
5.3	229 – P22416	Dado	Osso	1,7 x 1,5 x 1,8	Abrasioni e scheggiature. Fessurazioni. Bruniture diffuse.
5.4	229 – P22416	Dado	Osso	1,2 x 1,5 x 1,8	Abrasioni e scheggiature. Fessurazioni. Bruniture diffuse.

Continuazione Tabella 5. Set ludico dalla casa di Iulius Polybius *(IX 13, 3).*

CAT.	INV.	TIPOLOGIA	MATERIALE	DIMENSIONI	DESCRIZIONE
5.5	229 – P22416	Dado	Osso	1,2 x 1,5 x 1,8	Abrasioni e scheggiature. Fessurazioni. Bruniture diffuse.
5.6	229 – P22416	Dado	Osso	1,2 x 1,5 x 1,8	Abrasioni e scheggiature. Fessurazioni. Bruniture diffuse.
5.7	229 – P22416	Dado	Osso	1,2 x 1,5 x 1,8	Abrasioni e scheggiature. Fessurazioni. Bruniture diffuse.
5.8	229 – P22416	Dado	Osso	1,2 x 1,5 x 1,8	Abrasioni e scheggiature. Fessurazioni. Bruniture diffuse.
5.9	229 – P22416	Dado	Osso	1,2 x 1,5 x 1,8	Abrasioni e scheggiature. Fessurazioni. Bruniture diffuse.
5.10	229 – P22416	Dado	Osso	1 x 1,3 x 1,4	Abrasioni e scheggiature. Fessurazioni. Bruniture diffuse.

Tabella 6. Set ludico dalla Villa dei Misteri.

CAT.	INV.	TIPOLOGIA	MATERIALE	DIMENSIONI	DESCRIZIONE
6.1	4481A	Vasetto acromo piriforme	Ceramica	h: 10,1; ø bocca: 4,8	Orlo arrotondato. Corto collo. Corpo piriforme; alto peduccio cilindrico. Integro; abrasioni e concrezioni diffuse. Corpo ceramico: 2.5YR 7/6 (light reddish brown).
6.2	4481B	Vasetto acromo piriforme	Ceramica	h: 10,1; ø bocca: 5,3	Orlo arrotondato. Corto collo. Corpo ovoido/piriforme; alto peduccio cilindrico. Integro; abrasioni e concrezioni diffuse. Corpo ceramico: 2.5YR 7/6 (light reddish brown).
6.3	4460	Dado	Osso	1,3 x 1,3 x 1,3	Abrasioni e scheggiature. Fessurazione sui lati 2, 5 e 6.
6.4	4460	Dado	Osso	1,3 x 1,3 x 1,3	Abrasioni e scheggiature. Lato 4 parzialmente abraso.
6.5	4461A	Semisfera	Vetro	ø: 1,9	Sezione piano-convessa. Colore: nero.
6.6	4461A	Semisfera	Vetro	ø: 1,8	Sezione piano-convessa. Colore: nero.
6.7	4461A	Semisfera	Vetro	ø: 1,8	Sezione piano-convessa. Colore: nero.
6.8	4461A	Semisfera	Vetro	ø: 1,8	Sezione piano-convessa. Colore: nero.
6.9	4461A	Semisfera	Vetro	ø: 1,8	Sezione piano-convessa. Colore: nero.
6.10	4461A	Semisfera	Vetro	ø: 1,6	Sezione piano-convessa. Colore: nero.
6.11	4461A	Semisfera	Vetro	ø: 1,5	Sezione piano-convessa. Colore: nero.
6.12	4461A	Semisfera	Vetro	ø: 1,5	Sezione piano-convessa. Colore: nero. Ampia zona di distacco.
6.13	4461A	Semisfera	Vetro	ø: 1,5	Sezione piano-convessa. Colore: nero. Spezzata in due.
6.14	4461A	Semisfera	Vetro	ø: 1,4	Sezione piano-convessa. Colore: nero.
6.15	4461A	Semisfera	Vetro	ø: 1,4	Sezione piano-convessa. Colore: nero.
6.16	4461A	Semisfera	Vetro	ø: 1,4	Sezione piano-convessa. Colore: nero.
6.17	4461A	Semisfera	Vetro	ø: 1,4	Sezione piano-convessa. Colore: nero.
6.18	4461A	Semisfera	Vetro	ø: 1,4	Sezione piano-convessa. Colore: nero.
6.19	4461B	Semisfera	Vetro	ø: 1,8	Sezione piano-convessa. Colore: bianco.
6.20	4461B	Semisfera	Vetro	ø: 1,8	Sezione piano-convessa. Colore: bianco.
6.21	4461B	Semisfera	Vetro	ø: 1,8	Sezione piano-convessa. Colore: bianco.
6.22	4461B	Semisfera	Vetro	ø: 1,8	Sezione piano-convessa. Colore: bianco.
6.23	4461B	Semisfera	Vetro	ø: 1,8	Sezione piano-convessa. Colore: bianco.
6.24	4461B	Semisfera	Vetro	ø: 1,8	Sezione piano-convessa. Colore: bianco.
6.25	4461B	Semisfera	Vetro	ø: 1,7	Sezione piano-convessa. Colore: bianco.
6.26	4461B	Semisfera	Vetro	ø: 1,7	Sezione piano-convessa. Colore: bianco.
6.27	4461B	Semisfera	Vetro	ø: 1,7	Sezione piano-convessa. Colore: bianco.
6.28	4461B	Semisfera	Vetro	ø: 1,6	Sezione piano-convessa. Colore: bianco.

Continuazione Tabella 6. Set ludico dalla Villa dei Misteri.

CAT.	INV.	TIPOLOGIA	MATERIALE	DIMENSIONI	DESCRIZIONE
6.29	4461B	Semisfera	Vetro	ø: 1,5	Sezione piano-convessa. Colore: bianco.
6.30	4461B	Semisfera	Vetro	ø: 1,5	Sezione piano-convessa. Colore: bianco.
6.31	4461B	Semisfera	Vetro	ø: 1,5	Sezione piano-convessa. Colore: bianco.
6.32	4461B	Semisfera	Vetro	ø: 1,4	Sezione piano-convessa. Colore: bianco.
6.33	4461B	Semisfera	Vetro	ø: 1,3	Sezione piano-convessa. Colore: bianco.
6.34	4461B	Semisfera	Vetro	ø: 1,3	Sezione piano-convessa. Colore: bianco.
6.35	4461B	Semisfera	Vetro	ø: 0,9	Sezione piano-convessa. Colore: bianco.
6.36	4461B	Semisfera	Vetro	ø: 0,8	Sezione piano-convessa. Colore: bianco.
6.37	4461C	Semisfera	Vetro	ø: 1,9	Sezione piano-convessa. Colore: blu.
6.38	4461C	Semisfera	Vetro	ø: 1,8	Sezione piano-convessa. Colore: blu. Rotta.
6.39	4461C	Semisfera	Vetro	ø: 1,6	Sezione piano-convessa. Colore: blu.
6.40	4461C	Semisfera	Vetro	ø: 1,6	Sezione piano-convessa. Colore: blu.
6.41	4461D	Semisfera	Vetro	ø: 2,2	Sezione piano-convessa. Colore: verde.
6.42	4461D	Semisfera	Vetro	ø: 1,5	Sezione piano-convessa. Colore: verde.
6.43	4461D	Semisfera	Vetro	ø: 2	Sezione piano-convessa. Colore: azzurro.
6.44	4461	Semisfera	Vetro	ø: /	Non conservata.

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BABESCH 97 (2022), 113-132. doi: 10.2143/BAB.97.0.3290536

Seeing the Colosseum Valley as a Flavian district

Urban space as a demonstration of imperial ideology in the Flavian period (69-96 CE)

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Winner of the BABESCH BYVANCK AWARD 2021

Abstract

As an area that was fundamentally transformed twice within two decades, the Colosseum Valley provides a well-suited case study for understanding the complexity of imperial ideology and architecture in first century CE Rome. Imperial architecture was a crucial element in expressing issues of power and legitimacy, but studying them on their own is not enough. This article studies the interrelatedness and interdependence of monumental architecture, ideology, imperial power and urban experience in the Colosseum Valley during the Flavian period by taking a sensory approach, arguing that contemporaries' experiences are equally as important for ideological communication as the buildings themselves.[*]

> All labour yields to Caesar's amphitheatre:
> Fame will tell of one work instead of them all.
>
> Mart., *Lib. Spect.* 7-8[1]

That the Colosseum, or simply *Amphitheatrum*, belongs to the architectural wonders of the Roman Empire, was already evident when it was built in the first century CE. That the amphitheatre was the architectural vengeance of the Flavian dynasty on the late emperor Nero, was also made abundantly clear. Replacing the giant artificial lake of Nero's Domus Aurea, the Colosseum was an ideological vehicle *par excellence*, promoting Flavian munificence. However, the Flavian emperors did not only build the Colosseum in this part of the city but lastingly transformed the entire surrounding area.

As a case study for imperial ideology in the city, the Flavian period is particularly interesting. When Vespasian arrived in Rome as emperor in October 70 CE, he found a city in both physical and mental ruin. In 64 CE, only six years earlier, the Great Fire had destroyed more than half of Rome, which had left a major impact in the urban fabric and in people's minds.[2] During the final days of the civil war, parts of Rome had burnt again when the war reached the city itself, destroying the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus on the Capitoline Hill, the centre of Roman religion and the *pax deorum*.[3] Vespasian thus stood for an arduous task in bringing back peace and tranquillity to the city and the empire. On the other hand, the contemporary condition of the city and his rule provided him with an opportunity to leave his mark upon the physical and ideological layout of the city.[4]

Munificence through the commission of (public) architecture was, after all, a powerful vehicle for expressing imperial ideology in ancient Rome. Through the act of building itself, but also through the display of the emperor's virtues in buildings and the commemoration of certain events, an emperor's ideology could be anchored in the urban structure.[5] To build, then, was to infiltrate Rome's collective memory.[6] Diane Favro showed that Augustus, for example, was able not only to put his mark on the city of Rome in specific places, but created a network of interacting and communicating buildings throughout the city, thereby making Rome's urban image explicitly "Augustan". The first Roman emperor was well aware of the powerful influence that the experience of a city could have on the conveyance of ideology and the construction and maintenance of power.[7] Architecture, especially monuments, do not stand in isolation but are related to each other and to the urban fabric as they guide movement and societal practices.[8]

Yet, as Martial had foreseen, the Colosseum has mostly been studied on its own and not in relation with the transformation of the entire area.[9] This article will treat the "Colosseum Valley" as a unitary, but distinct, district. It will study the extent to which the Flavian arrangement of the Colosseum Valley can be considered a demonstration of the ideologies of the Flavian emperors in order to illustrate the interrelatedness and interdependence of architecture, ideology and urban space in the Colosseum Valley from the Great Fire of 64 CE to the assassination of Domitian in 96 CE.[10] Given the unique influence of a single dynasty on this area of the city, one expects a unitary outlook full of ideological messages similar to the Augustan Campus Martius (see below).[11] To this end, the Colosseum Valley may be approached with Kevin Lynch's idea of mental maps in mind, which described how people make sense of the city through the structuring of urban elements. The categorisation of paths, nodes, landmarks, edges and districts then leads to the creation of 'mental maps' which allow to navigate the city, but also give meaning to it. This article asks if the Colosseum Valley in 96 CE can be considered a district, that is, a homogenous area with a common function and appearance which are expressed, for example, via shared architectural features.[12] Furthermore, mental maps are 'communicable', according to Lynch, meaning that they are based on shared social or cultural features and understandable for many, if not most, people in that particular society.[13] When an urban area is seen as a coherent whole, the featured messages will be conveyed in a stronger fashion and are received with a heightened impact.

This aim requires an approach that is sensitive to the influences that different sensory inputs have on the urban experience and therefore on the communication of ideology and power. Eleanor Betts has argued for an approach to urban experience that does not only feature sight, but also olfactory, kinetic, kinaesthetic and auditory sensations. The urban environment is not just an assemblage of built-up and open areas, but a complex whole of structures and open spaces that are experienced through peoples' usage and used through people's experiences of sensory inputs.[14] Following Yannis Hamilakis, this article will use the term 'sensorial assemblage', meaning 'not only the pairing of a body with a thing (the hand holding a jar) but, furthermore, the contingent co-presence of heterogenous elements such as bodies, things, substances, affects, memories, information, and ideas'.[15] Although not identical, memories and experiences of a specific place, especially public spaces, in a specific time are largely overlapping or similar since people are subject to, interacting with and responding to the same extrabodily elements and give meaning to largely communicable, if not overlapping, cultural frames.

For an area such as the Flavian Colosseum Valley, which was meant to impress, to evoke associations which potentially contrasted those of the Neronian area, and which was due to its relatively central location in the city and central function in entertainment events a very busy area, this approach is beneficial in understanding the interplay of the performance of imperial power and ideology on the one hand and the urban environment and its sensory input, associations and usage on the other.[16] Flavia Marcello has already argued for the conscious ideological urban planning in Colosseum Valley using Lynch's theories, but this did not feature a sensory approach which adds new dimensions to our understanding of the Flavian Colosseum Valley.[17] Other publications have focussed on Flavian architecture isolated from its surroundings or on individual buildings.[18]

In order to understand the ideological statements of Flavian urban planning, this article will first assess the urban history of the Colosseum Valley prior to the Flavian period, paying special attention to the valley's functions and the accessibility of the Domus Aurea, as the Flavian transformation also had important consequences for the sensory experience of the area. Then the article will compare the 'sensorial assemblage' of the Colosseum Valley and surroundings at the end of the Neronian period, during the reigns of Vespasian and Titus, and during the reign of Domitian. Subsequently, the ideology of the new Flavian arrangement of the valley will be discussed in order to be able to synthesize the analysis of the area in the last section, where the Flavian Colosseum Valley will be compared with historical urban planning in Augustan Rome.[19] By analysing the way in which the use of the Colosseum Valley altered during the Flavian period, we can better understand the ways in which urban planning was used as an ideological instrument and how urban planning could anchor imperial ideology in the urban fabric.[20]

An urban history of the Colosseum Valley

Aided by the surrounding hills as natural boundaries (or 'edges'), the urban district of the Colosseum Valley was a result of the urban planning of Nero and the Flavian emperors.[21] Excavations in the western part of the Colosseum Valley have shown that the location of the Meta Sudans had been an important intersection as far back as the eighth century BCE.[22] The two main axial roads, one from the valley of the Circus Maximus to the Esquiline Hill and one from the Colosseum to the Forum, determined the basic layout of the valley throughout the entire Republican period.[23] These roads, intersecting northwest of the Palatine Hill, probably had an important function in the urban network as they avoided the slopes of the surrounding hills and served as connections between

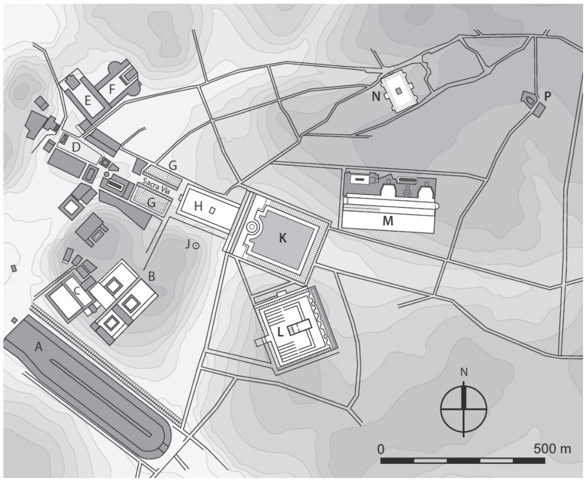

Fig. 1. Plan of the Palatine, Domus Aurea, and the Gardens of Maecenas during the time of Nero (Yegül/Favro 2019, 230, fig. 4.38 with addition by author). G: Neronian Portico; H: Vestibule with Colossus of Nero; J: Cenatio Rotunda; K: Stagnum Neronis; L: Temple of Divine Claudius; M: Domus Aurea Esquiline Wing; N: Nymphaeum.

different hubs of habitation and areas with important political, religious and societal functions, such as the Forum Romanum and the Palatine, Esquiline and Caelian Hills.[24]

The valley itself, on the other hand, probably did not have many central public functions during the Republic. The most important religious building were the sanctuaries of the Curiae Veteres and Jupiter at the bottom of the north-eastern slope of the Palatine Hill and a small sanctuary at the crossroads, on the location of the future Augustan Meta Sudans.[25] Before the Great Fire of 64 CE and the construction of the Domus Aurea, the valley was possibly a commercial and residential district.[26]

In 68 CE, the still unfinished Domus Aurea of Nero occupied the entire valley, connecting the emperor's complex on the Palatine Hill with the Horti Maecenatis on both sides of the so-called Servian Wall on the Esquiline Hill (*fig. 1*).[27] The Palatine complex was linked through the Clivus Palatinus to the *vestibulum* housing the giant Colossus statue in the middle of the *quadriporticus*. To the west of the *vestibulum*, the Via Sacra continued its course towards the Forum Romanum flanked by porticoes.[28] The *vestibulum* led east to the porticoed *stagnum*, or artificial lake, from which both the *nymphaeum* as part of the Temple of Divus Claudius on the Caelian Hill in the south and the so-called luxurious Esquiline Wing of the complex in the north could be reached. The *nymphaeum* (*fig. 2*) itself was constructed for the garden complex of his Domus Aurea. The monumental façade must have startled viewers because of the extant luxurious design, featuring columns, probably two stories high, with rectangular and semi-circular niches and the marble coating all over the place. The playful use of different forms corresponded with the Esquiline Wing on the other side of the garden complex across the valley.[29] In between the *vestibulum* and the *stagnum* was a *via tecta* (covered road) with *tabernae* or storage rooms on both sides.[30] Behind the Esquiline wing lay the remainder of the Horti Maecenatis. East of the *stagnum* lay another *nymphaeum* and a rather pastoral landscape, much like the estates and *horti* of the aristocracy around Rome and around the Bay of Naples.[31] In short, already under Nero had the valley between the Oppian, Caelian and Palatine Hills changed in much of its character and purpose.

A TYRANT'S PLAN? POLITICAL PURPOSES AND CONTROVERSIES OF URBAN TRANSFORMATION

Martial and Tacitus mentioned that the Domus Aurea was built on land that before the Great Fire belonged to the poor, but this seems to be contradicted by the available archaeological evidence.[32] The Oppian Hill mainly held the dwellings of the elite and houses of Republican aristocrats have been found underneath the future Ludus Magnus and Basilica di San Clemente.[33]

Furthermore, already before the Great Fire of 64 CE, Nero had started the construction of a new residence, the so-called Domus Transitoria. There is little known about this Domus Transitoria and

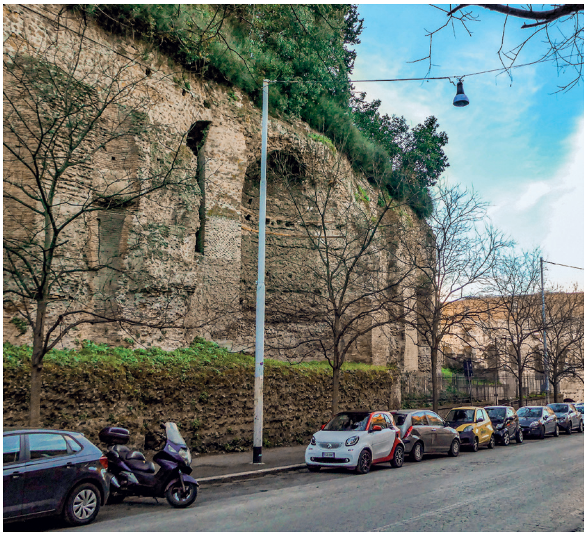

Fig. 2. View of the Neronian Nymphaeum against the Temple of the Deified Claudius and the Flavian Amphitheatre (photo author).

the available literary evidence is confusing. The archaeological evidence shows two remaining sections, one adjacent to the Palatine and one underneath the Hadrianic Temple of Venus and Roma.[34] It is commonly, although not universally, believed that the Domus Transitoria already connected the imperial properties on the Palatine with those on the Esquiline (i.a. Horti Maecenatis), thereby following Tacitus' account and taking the adjective *transitoria* as connecting between the different hills.[35]

Thus, the area of the Domus Aurea, as it has been reconstructed, included mostly properties that had already somehow come in the possession of the previous emperors.[36] Moreover, the Domus Aurea can be seen as the conclusion of a process of gradual acquisition of properties enclosing three of Rome's hills and as such as turning the Colosseum Valley into a perceptible urban district à la Lynch.

Despite what the Flavian dynasty and ancient authors propagated, the Domus Aurea was not a closed-off private property.[37] Nero's Domus Aurea was meant to be looked at, to be experienced and to impress, as I will argue below. The new imperial residence occupied vital parts of the urban street network, especially the five roads formerly intersecting near the Augustan Meta Sudans. Yet, it did not entirely obstruct the connectivity between the Esquiline and the Circus Maximus as the *via tecta* between the *vestibulum* and the *stagnum* served as the crossroads of two main arteries leading from the Circus Maximus to the Esquiline Hill and the Velia. There was the possibility to go west to the Forum Romanum along the straightened Via Sacra.[38] To what extent this was connected to the important Via Labicana east of the *stagnum* is not clear.[39] Pliny also mentions a Temple of Fortuna rebuilt by Nero on the grounds of the Domus Aurea, and there were multiple markets (*macella*) located nearby, some built by Nero himself, implying that the area was publicly accessible.[40]

The foundational remains of the *via tecta*, excavated between 1996 and 2000, suggest that the rooms on both sides of the *via tecta* were either used as *tabernae* or as storage rooms.[41] The traversable *via tecta* would also have granted a passageway between the Subura and the Circus Maximus. When the Circus was completely filled, it could host between 80,000 and 220,000 spectators.[42] If only half of this crowd would have come from north of the Forum Romanum and the Domus Aurea and took either the Forum itself or the *via tecta* as itinerary to the Circus, this would still likely have caused enormous congestion in the city's street network. Filling the Circus on racing days without a passage through the *via tecta* probably would have been logistically impossible. On an average day, imagining the hustling city without a traversable Domus Aurea would be impossible as well. Furthermore, there is no evidence, literary or archaeological, for any walls or other forms or fencing off of the Domus Aurea complex.[43]

Finally, it is inconceivable why Nero would have wanted to alienate the people by dividing the city logistically and locking himself up with all of the world's luxuries for no-one to admire them. Edward Champlin has advocated for seeing Nero's equation of Sol and gold as central to Nero's Golden Age, which was announced after the Great Fire of 64 CE.[44] It would have been central in the construction of the Domus Aurea. The Golden Age was supposed to be for the Roman people and not just for Nero himself. If the Domus Aurea would have been inaccessible to the public, they would not be part of this Golden Age. Nero's ideology of the Sun, therefore, is the key to understanding the nature of the Domus Aurea, and so is the nature of the district in the people's eyes in 69 CE when the complex was not yet dismantled.

The (partial) accessibility of the Domus Aurea would have aligned with Nero's other beneficious actions, such arranging public banquets and opening up his gardens as a shelter for people whose houses had burnt down in the Great Fire of 64 CE.[45] In fact, Nero very much wanted the people of Rome to see him: the Domus Aurea was meant as a place to show himself to the people, as has been argued by Harriet Fertik.[46] By placing his impressive estate in the very heart of the city, Nero emphasised his central role in society and as part of the Roman community.[47] At the same time, the gesture of opening up an incredibly sizeable imperial complex to the public was a sign of his absolute power as it showed that the most luxurious pleasures were the emperor's to share. Nero had centralised his *otium* (leisure) in Roman society, also topographically.[48]

For the construction of the *vestibulum* of the Domus Aurea, Nero had adjusted the course of the Via Sacra.[49] Since the traditional route of the triumphal procession went from the Circus Maximus through the Via Sacra and the Forum Romanum to the Capitoline Hill, it is likely that Nero would have wanted the spectacle to pass through his new palatial complex.[50] Cassius Dio's description of the triumph of 66 CE and the coronation of the Armenian king Tiridates does not mention the procession going through the Circus Maximus or the Via Sacra. Instead, the ceremony seems to have been centred on the *rostra* on the

Forum Romanum.[51] This might be an indication that, in 66 CE, Rome had not been sufficiently rebuilt to host such an event, or at least that part of the valley where the triumphal route traversed the Domus Aurea had not been (re)built sufficiently yet.

Cassius Dio's account of Nero's triumphal procession two years later in 68 CE, celebrating his cultural victories in Greece, opens the possibility of the procession following a more traditional route around the Palatine and along the Via Sacra and, thus, through the area of the Domus Aurea.[52] From this, a careful conclusion can be drawn that Nero indeed wanted to host the triumphal procession in his backyard, implicating that the imperial complex was at least opened to the public at set times. All in all, fencing-off the Domus Aurea would thus not have been likely. A more 'populist' reading of the complex à la Champlin and Fertik is therefore more appropriate.[53]

A sensory approach to the Vespasianic transformation of the Colosseum Valley

Then, how did Vespasian manage to turn the legacy of Nero and the Domus Aurea into the story of a tyrant and his private project? Vespasian's demolition of the Domus Aurea and the myth of turning a private villa complex in a public area should, among other things, be seen in the light of the increasing tensions between Nero and the senatorial elite in the 60s CE.[54] The elite of Rome must have seen Nero's autocratic tendencies and his populist flirtations with the *plebs* as a threat to their own positions. This was only made worse by the emperor's oppressive actions against members of the elite, for example following the Pisonian conspiracy. Moreover, the vastness of the complex placed him above the elite instead of as the first among equals, the *princeps*. It denied the elite's opportunity to show themselves and stage their visibility since the Domus Aurea outshone every other *domus*.[55] Fertik has rightly argued that

> If Augustus' performance of domestic modesty was directed at an elite audience, sensitive to excessive self-aggrandizement on the part of the princeps, Nero's extravagant hospitality to the people of Rome would be abrasive and objectionable to his fellow aristocrats. Visitors to the Domus Aurea, to be sure, would not think of themselves as the emperor's equals: the enormous statue of the emperor at the vestibule of the complex would remind anyone in doubt of who was master of the estate.[56]

Furthermore, the fact that before the Great Fire of 64 CE the Colosseum Valley and the Esquiline contained aristocratic *domus*, may point to Nero preventing the owners to rebuild their houses in their original location.[57] The *miseris* ('poor') that Nero had robbed from their dwellings (*tecta*) for the construction of his Domus Aurea may thus not have been that poor after all.[58] The *plebs* probably did not have a similar negative view of the complex like Otho's decision to complete the Domus Aurea and the Neronian impersonators in the following decades indicate.[59]

Conversely, Vespasian's demolition of the Domus Aurea may be seen partially as a successful attempt to win the lasting support of the surviving Roman aristocratic elite.[60] Although they had played no significant role in the civil war, they were vital in guaranteeing the stability of the empire and the position of the emperor.[61] At the same time, Vespasian had to prevent the alienation of the *plebs urbana*, who now lost the enjoyment of imperial pleasures.

One part of the solution was the building of porticoes, which had become a popular form of beneficial architecture during the Republic.[62] As the streets of the city were crowded, full of noise, filled with shops of craftsmen, smelly of the stench of waste, dirty with mud, uneven in pavement compared to our modern-day asphalt and cobblestoned streets, and hot in the summer, the porticoes formed the setting of important legal and administrative dealings, for example, but also provided a setting for leisured walking.[63] Especially the *quadriporticus*, connecting four colonnades and thereby creating an open space in the middle, formed calm and quiet enclaves in the busy city, isolated from the hustling streets.[64] Often, the open space between the colonnades were filled with greeneries and gave the space a rustic and garden-like character.[65] Many porticoes were adorned with statues and painted decorations.[66] All in all, they served a social use as the perfect environment for men and women to wander around, meet acquaintances and friends, receive dinner invitations and talk politics.[67] Walking had a cultural significance, too, as there was a supposed connection with philosophy and the accumulation of knowledge.[68] Porticoes and public gardens in Rome thus formed a pivotal element in the city's walking experience.[69]

Given the likely (partial) public accessibility of the Domus Aurea porticoes, the city lost a significant amount of space for leisure walking due to the demolition of the *stagnum*. If we assume that the Domus Aurea was at least partially publicly accessible, the *quadriporticus* of the *vestibulum* and of the *stagnum*, and the single porticoes on either side of the Vicus Curiarum could have provided these spaces.[70] The Flavian disentangle-

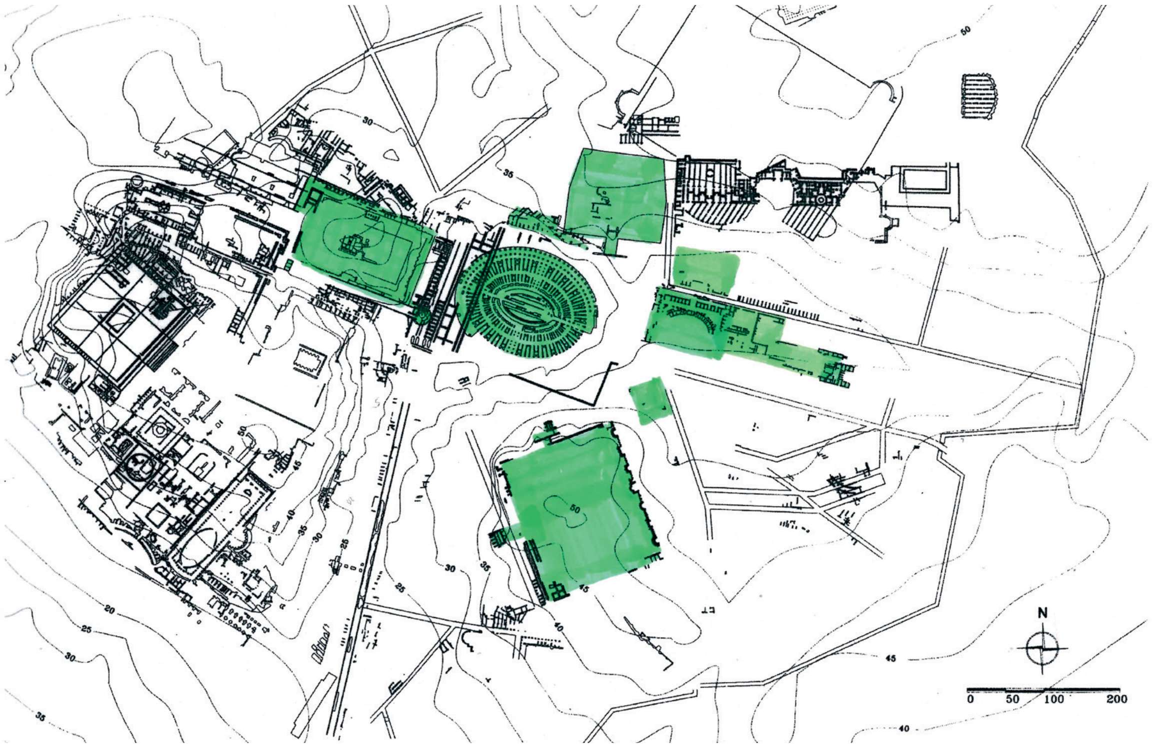

Fig. 3. Map of Roman architectural remains in the Colosseum Valley and surrounding hills. In green the Flavian structures in the Colosseum Valley, overlapping Neronian foundations (Steinby 1993, 397, fig. 18 reworked by author; Carandini 2012).

ment of the Domus Aurea removed those spaces, but Vespasian did recognise their significance in the urban experience. At least the colonnades along the Vicus Curiarum were definitely maintained by the Flavians.[71] Although the form and function of the *vestibulum* during the Flavian period is not known, it is not entirely inconceivable that it may have maintained its function as space of leisured walking.

Moreover, the Temple of the Deified Claudius was enclosed by a *quadriporticus* and greeneries.[72] Similarly the Templum Pacis featured six water basins flanked by vegetation.[73] Although officially sanctuaries, Elizabeth Macaulay-Lewis has argued that this type of public buildings can be seen as temple-porticoes, combining two building types.[74] The different terminology used under Vespasian for these spaces, however, may reflect a particular emphasis in his ideology and building programme; the creation of public spaces for leisured walking flourished during the Flavian period.[75] As public buildings, the Vespasianic Templum Pacis and the Temple of the Deified Claudius were tokens of imperial *liberalitas* and *munificentia*.[76] Conversely, despite their likely partial accessibility, the porticoes of the Domus Aurea had been Nero's private property.

The two new temple-porticoes can thus be considered a response to the porticoes of the Domus Aurea as spaces of leisured walking. The Temple of the Deified Claudius in particular, being directly connected to the Colosseum Valley via a monumental staircase, may have been meant and used to take a stroll in the break of the games at the beginning of the afternoon. It would thus have had a similar function as the spacious *quadriporticus* of the amphitheatre of Pompeii and the Theatre of Pompey in the Campus Martius. Another example of such porticus is the *quadriporticus* adjoining the theatre in Ostia, which was an important centre for commercial activity in the town and served as a venue for shops, *tabernae* and short-term storage.[77] The porticoes next to the Baths of Titus may have served a similar function, replacing the possible commercial function of the *via tecta* of the Domus Aurea.[78]

The rustic spaces of the porticoes would have contrasted with the hustle of the valley itself as an important node in the city. On game days, the Colosseum Valley would be crowded with people entering the amphitheatre to watch the spectacles in the arena. They would flock to the valley looking for their entrance number inscribed above the lower vaults that their tickets granted access to.[79]

Numerous stands and vendors selling food and drinks would be standing around the amphitheatre, the smells tempting the spectators to buy a snack, as can be seen on the famous fresco of the amphitheatre riots of 59 CE in Pompeii.[80] In Rome, the porticoes next to the Baths of Titus may have fulfilled this purpose, as depicted on the Colosseum *sestertii* from the reigns of Titus and Domitian (*fig. 4*).[81] Because the games often started in the morning, it would not be too warm when the spectators arrived at the amphitheatre and looked for their seats. During lunch break, on the other hand, those spectators leaving and returning to the amphitheatre would be largely unprotected from the sun's heat, as the space around the building was relatively open. The running water of the Meta Sudans fountain would provide spectators with hints of cooler air and the opportunity to wash off dust from their hands, for example.[82]

The open space was partially created by the demolition of the *via tecta* and the resizing of the *vestibulum*.[83] The *cippi*-like stone blocks surrounding the amphitheatre obstructed wheeled traffic and caused a piazza-like pedestrian zone of some 17.5 metres wide around the building, paved

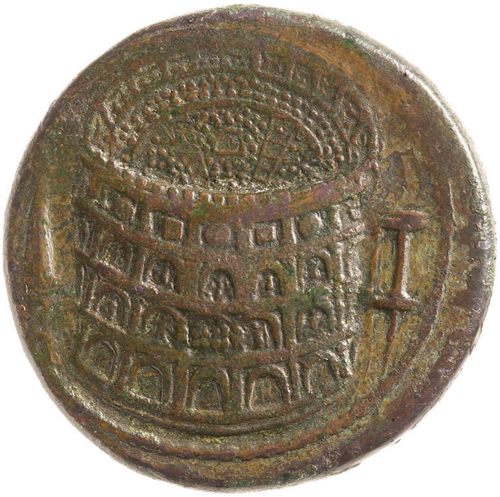

Fig. 4. Sestertius obverse from 81-82 CE showing the Colosseum with the Meta Sudans on the left and a porticus on the right, RIC II2 Dom. 131. New York City, American Numismatic Society, 1954.203.170, http://numismatics.org/collection/1954.203.170?lang=nl). Photo courtesy of the American Numismatic Society.

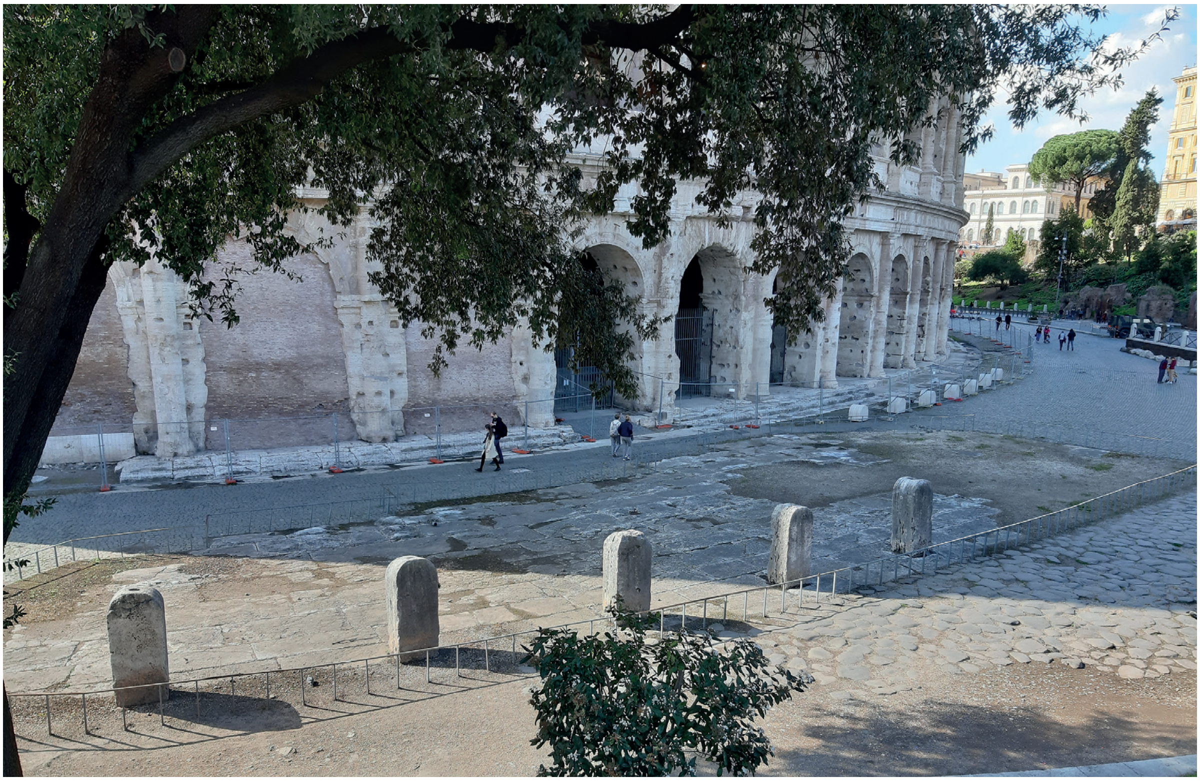

Fig. 5. Five remaining cippi-like blocks around the Colosseum found in situ, delineating the pedestrian zone around the amphitheatre (photo author).

with travertine (*fig. 5*).[84] Peter Rose has argued that the pedestrian zone around the Colosseum was fenced off with chains between the *cippi*, judging from the holes in the stone blocks. This would mean that the pedestrian zone was specifically meant for spectators to find the entrance corresponding to their ticket without decreasing the confusion often experienced in large crowds.[85] As the stairs, passageways and galleries inside the building were designed to ensure spectators to easily find their way to their seats, there must have been relatively little congestion in the pedestrian zone outside, despite the large crowd that could fit in the amphitheatre.[86]

The demarcation of a pedestrian zone around the amphitheatre was not only a practical measure for managing the flow of pedestrians and cart traffic, it also changed the kinaesthetic and olfactory experience of the area. The streets of Rome were often muddy, dirty and smelly. Juvenal even compared them to the 'muddy torrent' of the river Styx.[87] Some parts of the city were notorious for their smell or crowdedness, such as the *Transtiberim* for the stench of its many tanneries.[88]

Different streets had different functions and these depended partially upon the width of the streets.[89] Cart traffic, for example, was often excluded from smaller streets, because they would have caused even more congestion on top of the pedestrian crowd.[90] Other activities, such as spontaneous social encounters, trade, processions and building activities would have impeded the flow of movement further. This is not to speak of (semi-permanent) physical obstructions, such as temporary market stalls in porticoes. That the most crowded streets were probably also the broadest streets, apparently did little to effectively solve the over-crowdedness, although the focal points of crowds would have varied markedly on different times of the day and between the different days themselves.[91] They would have depended for example on the businesses located at that point, for example bakeries which would be visited mostly in the morning.

The travertine pavement around the Colosseum, on the other hand, different from the surrounding pavement, might have caused relatively clean street surface. It was also better walkable as it was carefully paved with quality material and it visually emphasised the transition into the spectacle building. The pavement thus would have distinguished the Colosseum Valley from the numerous parts of the city without such pavements.

The Colosseum Valley as a whole, with little residential buildings in the late first century CE, would be less troubled with the waste and smells of the average Roman household which dominated the city's so-called smellscape.[92] The district was very likely free from more odorous business activities like tanneries, which were typically located in the margins of the urban area.[93] Ann Olga Koloski-Ostrow has argued that the lack of residential smells would have been amply compensated on game days by the smell of the blood, rotten bodies and cadavers, and buzzing flies in the tunnels underneath the *arena* where they were disposed after the animals' deaths, at least for a while.[94] For example, during the opening games of the Colosseum in 80 CE, 9,000 animals were killed over a span of a hundred days.[95] Given the large number of animals and the limited amount of space available for disposal in or around the amphitheatre, however, it seems likely that the bodies and cadavers had to be taken elsewhere to be cremated to make room for a new day of games.[96] The building of the *spoliarium* where dead gladiators would be stripped of their armour and clothes suggests that dead remains would not have been left to rot.[97] Instead, the dead people and animals were cremated, fed to other animals in the arena or thrown in the river Tiber. Part of the animals were most likely sold or distributed to be eaten.[98] Given the long-time human memory for smells, it is highly unlikely that the Colosseum Valley would have gone down in history with the positive notion that it carried in Roman times, if the odour of rotting carcasses would have been dominating.[99] In the end, the "smells of death" were probably less tenacious in the valley than Koloski-Ostrow argued.

When no construction works or events were organised, other buildings would have been functionally more important. The Baths of Titus must have been a busy place during the Flavian period, since it was the only imperial bathing complex south or east of the Forum Romanum until the construction of the Baths of Trajan. The Temple of the Deified Claudius, an important public space for leisured walking, could be entered from the Valley and thus functioned as a sort of *porticus post scaenam* for the Colosseum Valley. The *quadriporticus* of the *vestibulum*, on the other hand, was only accessible from the side of the Via Sacra.

Due to many commercial, religious, residential and political buildings being located elsewhere in the city, however, people would only have crossed the Colosseum district on these days. Apart from possible rituals in the Curiae Veteres, there were also no important religious rituals or recurring political events in the area. Rather, the Colosseum Valley formed a node between various parts of the city, located between four of Rome's hills at a place where many arterial roads met.

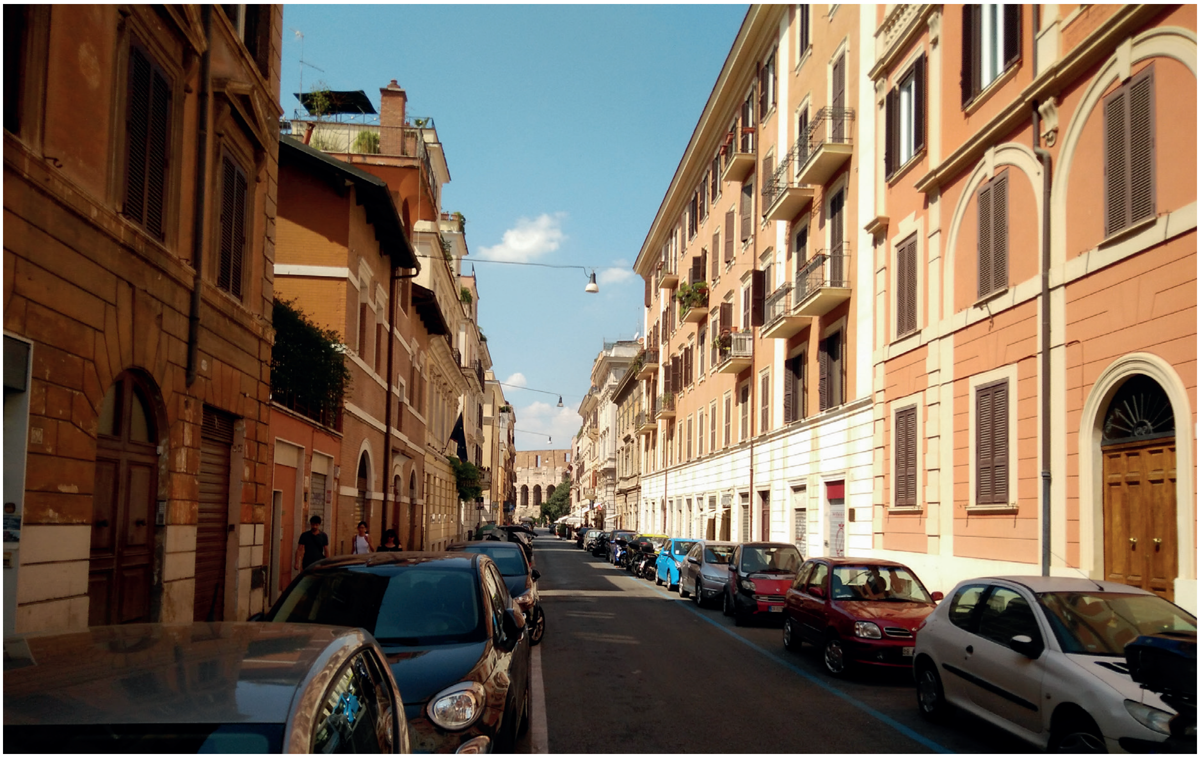

Fig. 6. View of the Colosseum from modern-day Via dei SS. Quattro (photo Simon Schall).

The Flavian Colosseum Valley was an area filled with monumental public buildings, giving the area a unitary monumental appearance distinct from the surrounding districts. The marble façades of the Baths of Titus and the Temple of the Deified Claudius on the Oppian and Caelian Hills would sparkle in the sunlight, as would the travertine coated façade of the Colosseum itself. The ensemble of different public buildings on the surrounding hills would have connected with the newly built amphitheatre. Between the Palatine and Caelian Hills, one could see residential buildings beyond the Colosseum Valley, bleak compared to the shining monuments surrounding them.

Outside the valley, the monumentalised buildings would only have been partially visible from afar. The surrounding hills, each around 25 metres above the street level of the amphitheatre, would have obstructed views from many angles. Coming from the Forum Romanum, much of the view would have been obstructed by the many other marble-clad basilicas and temples, but some glimpses of the amphitheatre could probably be caught.[100] It would have been seen mostly in a way as it can be seen today lurking in between the buildings when standing in the Via dei Santi Quattro (*fig. 6*).

This would have heightened the anticipation for someone who had only seen a hint of the Colosseum due to these obstructions. The prospect of seeing the marvel of the Colosseum, or even the surprise of those unfamiliar with the city, would add to the experience of moving to and through the valley. Finally taking in the building in all its glory upon reaching the district would only enhance its impressive appearance. The dominance of the amphitheatre would have made the surrounding monuments somewhat less spectacular. However, a person familiar with the district might also have looked around at the other wonderful buildings and structures, such as the Meta Sudans and the Temple of the Deified Claudius. The Colossus in the *vestibulum* would have shone in the sunlight and the radiating crown on its head would have protruded above the surrounding buildings. The public nature of the Flavian Colosseum Valley was thus not only made clear by the nature of its buildings, but very much so by the entirety of sensory experiences created by the use of materials, the kinaesthetic and olfactory experiences and the visual aspects of the district.

All in all, the Flavian Colosseum Valley formed a distinct area in the ancient Roman city by function, design and outline. Administratively, how-

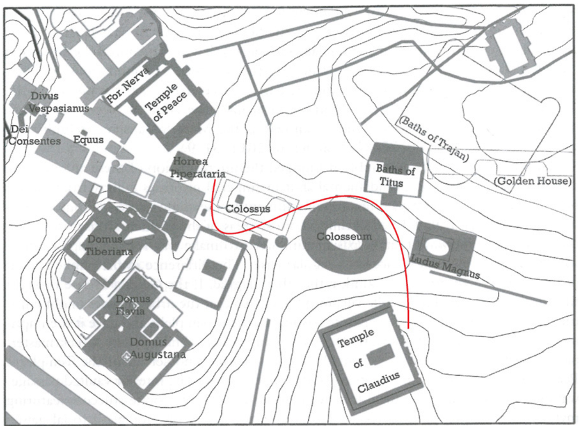

Fig. 7. Map showing the 'route' Martial takes in Lib. Spect. *2 (map base from Gallia 2016, 156)*

ever, the Colosseum Valley was divided over four Augustan regions.[101] The boundaries of the regions were most probably following the layout of five major roads that came together at the place of the Augustan Meta Sudans, although this situation had ceased to exist in practice with the construction of the Domus Aurea. Penelope Goodman has convincingly argued that the Augustan *regiones* were more than administrative units, and were known, understood and used by the inhabitants of Rome in their daily lives, for example for identifying places and potentially in determining their identities.[102]

Yet, this would not have prevented the perception of the Flavian Colosseum Valley as an urban district for the inhabitants of Rome. Following Kevin Lynch's approach to the urban environment, an exception to Goodman's argument has to be made for the Flavian Colosseum Valley, as is shown in Martial's following epigram:

> Here, where the starry colossus sees the constellations close at hand and a lofty scaffolding rises in the middle of the road, the hated halls of a cruel king used to gleam and in the whole city there was only one house standing. Here, where the awesome bulk of the amphitheatre soars before our eyes, once lay Nero's pools. Here, where we marvel at the speedy gift of the baths, an arrogant estate had robbed the poor of their dwellings. Where the Claudian portico weaves its spreading shade marks the point at which the palace finally stopped. Rome had been restored to herself, and with you watching over us, Caesar, what used to be the pleasure of a master is now the pleasure of the people.[103]

In describing the area as having the same history and being turned from private use into public, Martial depicted the Colosseum Valley as a distinct district in a Lynchian sense.[104] Because all buildings would have been built or renovated within a span of a decade, they would have showed architectural unity. More importantly, they would also have formed a unity by common use.[105] Martial's description of the area draws a path that could be walked by the listener of the epigram (*fig. 7*). It follows the layout of the Domus Aurea with the *vestibulum* or atrium, the entrance room of a Roman house, as the starting point. He then moves to *media pegmata celsa uia* (l. 2), of which the exact identification has been debated ferociously, referring either (or both) to the scaffolding for construction of the Arch of Titus or to the *pegmata* carried along in the triumph of 71 CE, which were also depicted on the arch's relief.[106] After this Martial moves to the central point of this district, a worthy landmark for the Flavian city, the new amphitheatre on the location of Nero's artificial lake. Then, he mentions Titus' Baths and ends his description with the Temple of the Deified Claudius. This unity in the perception of the area as public buildings built by the Flavian emperors on the location of the former Domus Aurea laid the groundwork for the successful expression and conveyance of imperial ideology in the area.

IDEOLOGY IN THE FLAVIAN COLOSSEUM VALLEY

As Martial, Pliny the Elder, Tacitus and Suetonius have all stated, the Flavians were arguably seen, or at least framed, as the restorers of peace and order in Roman society after Nero's rule.[107] In recent decades, the scholarship on Neronian and Flavian Rome has added considerable nuance to this image and instead argued for discussing Nero in his own capacity, also considering his achievements, as I have also tried to do in the section above.[108] For our purpose, however, the ways in which the Flavians shaped the Colosseum Valley and their connected image is more important. Since constructing public buildings had become an endeavour almost only reserved for the emperor and his family, the very act of building was an ideological message in itself.[109] The presence of the Flavian emperors must have been felt already in the arrangement of the valley and presented all Flavian emperors with the opportunity to insert important ideological messages into the district, its buildings and its urban, social and political functions. The Flavian emperors were celebrated in their capacities as military leaders, *pater patriae*, and rightful and worthy successors of the "good" Julio-Claudian emperors Augustus and Claudius.

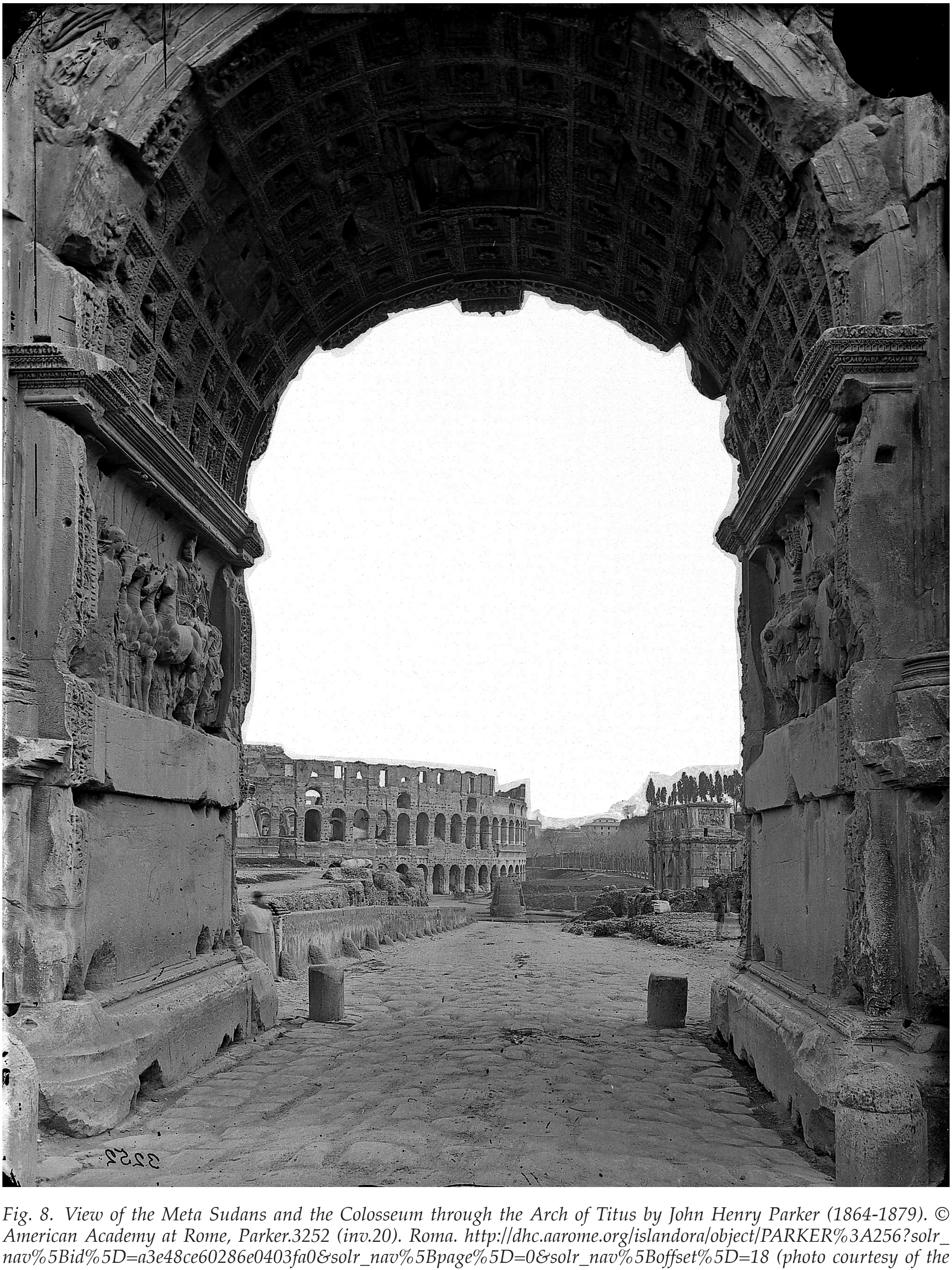

Fig. 8. View of the Meta Sudans and the Colosseum through the Arch of Titus by John Henry Parker (1864-1879). © American Academy at Rome, Parker.3252 (inv.20). Roma. http://dhc.aarome.org/islandora/object/PARKER%3A256?solr_nav%5Bid%5D=a3e48ce60286e0403fa0&solr_nav%5Bpage%5D=0&solr_nav%5Boffset%5D=18 (photo courtesy of the American Academy at Rome).

THE EMPEROR AS MILITARY LEADER

The building inscription of the Flavian Amphitheatre states that the construction of the amphitheatre was funded with *manubiae* referring to the treasures that were obtained in the pillage of Jerusalem in 70 CE.[110] This enhanced the connection of the amphitheatre with Vespasian's capacity and capability as military leader. The simple *Nomenklaturform I[mp(erator)] Caes(ar) Vespasi[anus Aug(ustus)]* must have been a sign that emperor Vespasian had built the amphitheatre in his capacity as imperator - and heir to the titles and possessions of Caesar and Augstus and their successors.[111] By adding the letter T, Titus portrayed himself as the builder of the amphitheatre, or at least as its dedicator. Completing the building *ad clypea*, by adding round shields to the attic, Domitian, too, connected himself with the triumph and his supposed military achievements.[112]

It also referred back to the practice of Republican generals to employ spoils of war for the construction of a public building.[113] The inscription evoked the memory of the spectacular triumphal procession of 71 CE in which the *manubiae* were carried along and shown to the public. Some of these items were subsequently put on display in the newly-built Templum Pacis. Mary Beard has rightfully called this 'the key dynastic moment' for the Flavians and one of the central events on which the Flavian story of power depended.[114] It can therefore not be a surprise that the new amphitheatre was built along one of the more or less fixed points of the triumphal route.[115] Military victory had been an essential element in imperial ideology since the reign of Augustus and Vespasian's largest building was almost inclined to be reminiscing this message. Vespasian thus placed himself in the tradition of Rome's already glorious past.[116]

The Arch of Titus at the end of the Vicus Curiarum was probably only built after Titus' death in 81 CE, as the phrase *divi Tito* on the dedicatory inscription at the Colosseum side indicates.[117] As the new emperor with little previous experiences and responsibilities, Domitian used both his deified brother and father to enhance his own prestige and status as the new *princeps*. The arch did not only connect Titus (and Vespasian) to the triumphal route and Rome's history, but also included Domitian, as their respective son and brother. By dedicating an arch both triumphal and commemorative in nature, Domitian also confirmed the extent of the Flavian district as argued above by erecting a monument for his deceased and deified brother. Moreover, it anchored the connection between the Flavian dynasty and military triumph in the urban landscape and experience as another Arch of Titus had been dedicated at the east entrance of the Circus Maximus, which was an almost fixed point of the triumphal route.[118]

The location of the new Meta Sudans on top of the foundations of the vestibulum of the Domus Aurea showed the Flavian departure from Nero's reign and project. Hence, similar to its Augustan predecessor, Domitian's monument was aimed at showing the return to order, peace and prosperity. After Nero's reign and the civil war of 68-69 CE, their Meta Sudans symbolised the return to the *pax Augusta*.[119] More directly, Domitian's fountain communicated visually with the amphitheatre and the Arch of Titus, as it was located in between them and would have been visible looking from one monument to the other. (*fig. 8*) This would have connected them with each other in the experience of the onlooker and thereby also programmatically, enhancing the featured messages in these structures.

A PLACE OF PERFORMING POWER

The games organised by the emperor served as an important form of munificence to the public.[120] The amphitheatre became a symbolic representation of the Roman empire and of imperial power. First, the strict hierarchical seating arrangements of the spectator crowd confirmed and enhanced the establishment of the societal order.[121] During his censorship in 73-74 CE, Vespasian elevated a large number of commoners to the rank of *equites*, and *equites* and other members of the elite to a higher rank, who were henceforth allowed to sit closer to the *arena*.[122] As the elite became substantially "Flavian" in its composition under Vespasian, the visibility of the elite's Flavianness was a showpiece of the new Flavian society.[123] The emperor himself, standing at the top of the hierarchical pyramid, had his own box on the northern and long side of the *cavea*, from where he was best visible to the entire arena.[124] As such, he was the visual and symbolic focal point of the event.

Apart from enhancing typically Roman virtues of courage, fearlessness and strength, the event of the gladiatorial games demonstrated Roman power, especially the emperor's.[125] Preceding the actual games, a *pompa amphitheatralis* was sometimes hosted, revolving around escorting the gods, represented by their statues, to the games (*pompa deorum*).[126] From the Augustan period onwards, statues of deified ancestors of the imperial family would also be included in the procession. In the Colosseum, they would be seated in a special section where they were visible from all angles and served an important ideological reminder of the dynastic ties the emperor wanted to stress.[127] *Exuviae* (attributes of the gods) would be taken in the procession, too, such as a curule chair with a wreath on top referring to Vespasian, and remembered on coins afterwards.[128] It has even been argued, quite convincingly so, that the opening games in 80 CE were organised as a way to celebrate the deification of Vespasian.[129] As Titus and Domitian were the first emperors to organise such procession in Rome itself, preceding the opening games of the new amphitheatre, they stressed the Flavianness of the amphitheatre and its surroundings and depicted the imperial family as benefactors to the Roman people, alluding to the organisation of games in the Circus as well.[130]

On a typical day of games, if there was any such day, the animal hunts (*venationes*) represented the extent of Roman *imperium*, as beasts from all parts of the empire were captured and transported to the capital.[131] They also emphasised the Romans' ability to subdue and control nature.[132] Executions of captured enemies, asserted the power of the emperor over the people in the Roman empire and abroad.[133] The execution of criminals in mythical role playing enhanced the image of the emperor as enforcing Roman law in general, analogous to Jupiter as enforcer of law and order.[134] As such, through the organisation of the games in a structure financed by spoils of war, the emperor evoked the association of bringing law and order, but also *pax* as a result of military victory.[135]

By arranging a lavish spectacle, the 'imperial cornucopia was emptied in the arena. The emperor was expected to provide the impossible, the fantastic – myth on demand.'[136] The games such as those organised at the dedication of the Flavian amphitheatre were not forgotten quickly, but remained subject of talk for years to come, both in Rome itself and in the provinces.[137] The rhinoceros that Domitian had introduced in the *venationes* of his own games was even displayed as an obverse type on *quadrantes* from 84-85 CE.[138] By deliberately displaying this on coinage of a low denomination, Domitian guaranteed its circulation in daily use, thus enhancing the spread of his message through a large part of the *plebs urbana*.[139]

Erik Gunderson has considered the Colosseum and the imperially sponsored games as an ideological state apparatus, providing the emperor with a means to display his power and stage his ability as most powerful man in the emperor.[140] Although I do not want repudiate the powerful symbolic effect of games and the imperial power it could display, Gunderson underestimates the agency of the crowd and its individuals in accepting the emperor's power. He assumes a large top-down functioning of ideology, while in reality, the emperor also had to live up to the expectations of the spectators. The visibility of the emperor during the games enforced his power as he was seated in the imperial box, but simultaneously put him in a potentially vulnerable position. By *acclamatio* the crowd could voice its approval or dissent on any possible issue.[141] Emperors who were considered "bad" often had ignored or infringed this form of free speech.[142] The amphitheatre as political rendezvous point for the emperor and the people could thus turn out both as a confirmation of the emperor's power and legitimacy and as the loss of the emperor's popular support and legitimacy.[143]

Forging the Augustan connection

Vespasian alluded to Augustan and Claudian themes to propagate a particular image of himself and his rule. The Julio-Claudian and especially Augustan phrases and virtues had become a template for emperors to use; emperors had to be capable military leaders and embody important Roman ideals such as *virtus* and *pietas* without being despotic. At the same time, it was completely clear that the *princeps* was the most powerful individual in the empire. Not coincidentally, Vespasian (and later his sons) took Augustus as an *exemplum* for their own rule and ideological iconography.[144]

The buildings in the valley evoked the association with the Augustan age in two ways. First, the buildings in the Colosseum Valley had important symbolical ties with Augustus. According to Suetonius, Augustus had wanted to build a permanent, stone amphitheatre in the Colosseum Valley itself, but had not managed to start the construction before his death in 14 CE.[145] By building a stone amphitheatre at this location, also significantly bigger than the perished Augustan venue of Statilius Taurus, Vespasian made an important statement about his allusions to Augustus.[146]

The Meta Sudans, too, fostered the connection between Augustus and the Flavians in the Colosseum Valley, in this case to Titus and Domitian who planned and constructed it. The conical fountain was closely associated with a smaller Augustan Meta Sudans, built on the same location, at the crossroads of four Augustan *regiones* at the bottom of the north-eastern slope of the Palatine Hill. This small section of the city was loaded with symbolical meanings; it was adjacent to the Curiae Veteres, an ancient sanctuary associated with Romulus, Rome's founding father[147]; it was close to the original Romulean *pomerium*, which was associated with the foundation of the city[148]; furthermore, it was located close to Augustus' birthplace – and thereby the birth of Rome – and the Augustan temple of Apollo on the Palatine[149]; the fountain was conically shaped like a *baetyl*, an object associated with the Augustan Apollo and displayed numerous times in Augustan iconography[150]; a number of reliefs with nautical themes of nymphs and marine monsters were depicted on the sides, compared to ships with apotropaic eyes on the Augustan Meta Sudans.[151] In sum, the Augustan Meta Sudans comprised a significant part of Augustan ideology, linking the victory at Actium in 31 BCE with Apollo, to whom the victory was attributed, the Palatine Hill, Romulus as the founder of Rome and Augustus himself as the second founder of the city to one another. Finally, being located on a fixed point of the triumphal route, it evoked the association of Augustus as a victorious general.[152]

The repetition of Augustan iconography and design on the Flavian Meta Sudans shows that the Augustan monument was not forgotten at all after the Great Fire of 64 CE, but that it had stayed in the memory of the Roman people.[153] Moreover, the *baetyl* disappeared from Julio-Claudian iconography after Augustus, so that the Flavian's use of the *baetyl*, also on a relief of the close-by located Arch of Titus, could only refer to Augustus.[154] By building a monument imitating the Augustan Meta Sudans, Vespasian – and by extension his sons – was represented as the third founder of Rome, after Romulus and Augustus.[155]

Finally, being somewhat squatter than its Augustan predecessor, the Flavian Meta Sudans would have evoked the association of the *omphalos* stone in Delphi as the *umbilicus* of the world.[156] As the fountain was located at the administrative centre of Rome, at the crossing of five Augustan regions, the Flavian Meta Sudans also became the symbolical centre of the Roman world. Only metres away, the Flavian amphitheatre would have evoked the same connotations. Together, they formed the centre of Flavian ideology.

Less known, but not less important was the transfer of the imperial mint to the Colosseum Valley. Although not universally accepted, Filippo Coarelli has shown that the imperial building underneath the current Basilica di San Clemente, east of the Colosseum, must be identified with the mint that was certainly located in *regio III* during the reign of Trajan.[157] The building likely combined the mint with the function of the Aerarium close to the temple of Juno Moneta.[158] Coarelli suggested that the mint was already moved from the Capitoline by Domitian after the fire of 80 CE and was combined with a large-scale reform of the monetary system.[159] Moving the mint to the Flavian district would have enhanced the significance of the Colosseum district in Rome's imperial landscape due to the implementation of an important administrative function in the district.

Second, apart from enhancing symbolical ties with the Augustan Colosseum Valley, the Flavian Colosseum Valley evoked the association of Augustus by rivalling the Augustan ordering of the city. To fully grasp the nature and significance of the Flavian Colosseum Valley, a comparison of the Colosseum district with the Augustan Campus Martius is necessary. As Favro has brilliantly shown, the Campus Martius provided the first emperor almost with a *tabula rasa* to create, through 'the clustering of new structures […] an entire district associated with Augustan largess'.[160] The Augustan buildings and monuments 'held together visually and programmatically' through the use of 'similar materials, style and propaganda content. Equally significant, the majority of Augustan projects had a recreational use.'[161] The Augustan iconographical programme affirmed 'the connection between Augustus, the city, and the condition of the empire' in a way that would remain for much of the imperial period.[162]

Simon Wood has argued that Nero's Domus Aurea should be seen as an attempt to outshine Augustus' achievement of transforming the Campus Martius into a district for the people. The addition of the Baths of Agrippa, the Stagnum Agrippae and the Amphitheatre of Statilius Taurus to an area which already occupied the Theatre of Pompey in the middle and an amphitheatre and two theatres in the south had a centralising effect on the Campus Martius, and the Horti Caesaris, Luculiani and Sallustiani which surrounded it.[163] The Domus Aurea supposedly challenged Augustus' urban legacy by transferring *rus in urbe*, but this time in the heart of Rome, with an imperial villa complex in which the emperor shared his luxuries and pleasures with his people.[164] As its immediate and programmatic successor, the Flavian district of the Colosseum Valley took over this ambition.

At the end of the dynasty's rule, the Flavians had reorganised the Colosseum Valley not only physically, but kinetically and functionally as well. Since the reign of Augustus, the main district for (imperially sponsored) gladiatorial games had been Campus Martius, where they were held in the Saepta Iulia and the Diribitorium.[165] With the new Flavian Amphitheatre the main venue for *ludi amphitheatrales* definitively moved to the Colosseum Valley. During Domitian's rule, the district became increasingly devoted to the gladiatorial games as a weaponry (*armamentarium*), a clinic for wounded gladiators (*saniarium*), a space where dead gladiators were stripped of their attributes (*spoliarium*), a building for the preparation of stage sets and four training schools (*ludi*) were built.[166] Through the accumulation of functions the Flavian Colosseum Valley was not only homogenous in design and appearance, but also in functionality, resulting in a clearly shaped and distinct urban district, rivalling the Augustan Campus Martius.[167]

CONCLUSION

This article has tried to show the significance and relevance of studying the urban experience of contemporary Romans in combination with imperially commissioned public architecture and ideology. Their meaning did not lay exclusively in the iconography of their reliefs, nor in the use of architectural forms or relative location in the urban environment, but in a complex sensorial assemblage in which the experience of contemporaries was equally as important. This means that focusing solely on the visual sense (e.g. iconography, visual topographical connection) is not enough to be able to fully grasp the relationship between architecture, ideology and the urban environment and the impact architectural projects had on the way contemporaries perceived their environment and on the extent to which they were able to conduct their daily business.

The discrepancies that a one-sided approach to this theme can cause is already shown by the interpretations of the Domus Aurea. Nero had not been able to fully grasp the resistance against his project, which was, contrary to most Augustan projects, a private project. This did not make him a tyrant in the eyes of all Romans, however, but rather mostly among the elite. By allowing for a (limited) accessibility in our reconstruction of the Domus Aurea scholars are able to add the necessary nuance to our interpretations. Moreover, it is able to solve the discrepancies between Nero's negative image among the Roman elite and his remaining popularity among other groups.

Vespasian acknowledged the resistance to the Domus Aurea and did not make the same mistake as Nero. The combined efforts of the Flavian emperors resulted in a public district which was not only programmatically, but also visually, kinetically and functionally connected. The public nature and location in Rome's topography confirmed the connection between the Flavians, the city and the condition of the empire, similar to the Augustan Campus Martius.

The unique assemblage of buildings and functions in the Colosseum Valley would have resulted in a heightened frequency of movement to and through this area, enhancing the significance and centrality of the district within the city as a whole and anchoring Flavian rule into the urban fabric. The function of providing amphitheatrical spectacles was definitively taken from the Augustan district and moved to the Flavian district at the other side of the city. As a stone building, the Flavian amphitheatre would not be taken down after the games as wooden amphitheatres had been, but remained operative for centuries to come. The imperial games themselves held in the Flavian Amphitheatre would have lost their immediate connection to the Flavians after Domitian's rule and would have become a spectacle tied to the emperor of that moment. The dedicatory inscription, however, would have reminded the viewer of the Flavian dynasty and the transformation of valley by Vespasian and his sons long after the end of the dynasty in 96 CE. Paraphrasing Martial, the fame of the Flavian amphitheatre would be talking for eternity.

NOTES

[*] I would like to sincerely thank Dr Saskia Stevens of Utrecht University and Professor Eric Moormann of Radboud University Nijmegen for their challenging feedback and inspiring encouragement during the composition of my Research MA thesis, on which this paper is based. I also want to thank the Koninklijk Nederlands Instituut Rome (KNIR) for their generous scholarschip including a five-week stay in Rome, which was unfortunately cut short because of the COVID-19 pandemic.

[1] Transl. Coleman 2006, 1.

[2] On the date of Vespasian's arrival in Rome, see: Jos. *BJ* 7.21-2, 63-74; Tucci 2017, n. 2; on the extent of the Great Fire, see: Tac. *Ann*. 15.40.

[3] Tac. *Hist*. 3.71-2.

[4] Levick 2017, 2.

[5] Zanker 1997, 37; Wallace-Hadrill 2003; Zanker 2010; Closs 2016, 113, who used the phrase 'leadership narrative in the landscape to describe the Domitianic Altars of the Neronian Fire; for 'anchoring', see Sluiter 2017.

[6] On the concept of collective memory, see Assmann/Czaplicka 1995; in Rome, e.g. Hölscher 2006; Galinsky/Lapatin 2016.

[7] Favro 1996.

[8] Laurence 2011, 393.

[9] This does not mean that the interrelatedness of Flavian monuments in Rome has not been studied. See especially Darwall-Smith 1996; Elkins 2019.

[10] Ideology is a difficult term. I will not discuss the ambivalences and debates related to the concept, only that I will treat ideology as those communicated messages of power concerning virtues, values and deeds that try to establish or strengthen relations of power or remind the receiver of these virtues, values or deeds

and their (implicated) significance, often as a self-reinforcing effect, following Wallace-Hadrill 2003, 194; Lobur 2008, 241; Noreña 2016; Rantala 2017; contra Gunderson 2003, 640.

[11] Favro 1996, 264.

[12] Lynch 1960, 103-104; for the application on the ancient (Roman) city, see: Favro 1996; Malmberg 2009; Macaulay-Lewis 2011; Marcello 2017.

[13] Lynch 1960, 4-6, 9; this should not lead to ignoring the complexity of society and social stratification, however: cf. Malmberg 2009, 39.

[14] Tschumi 1996, 39; Betts 2017.

[15] Hamilakis 2014, 126-128.

[16] This approach is also subject to temporal shifts, since the places, the people and their ways of thinking change and thereby also the way they perceive and respond to their environment. It is therefore rather suited for relatively concise spaces and delineated periods of time.

[17] Marcello 2017.

[18] E.g. Darwall-Smith 1996; Noreña 2003.

[19] Without denying the importance of Claudius' reign and image for the Flavians, the comparison will only include Augustan urban planning, since Claudius' impact on the urban environment of Rome was not as significant as Augustus' and Vespasian's.

[20] For the term 'anchoring', see: Sluiter 2017.

[21] Lynch 1960, 62-66.

[22] Panella et al. 2011, 6.

[23] Panella et al. 2011, 6.

[24] See also Mandich 2019, 9-10.

[25] Pardini 2016, 113-129.

[26] Suet. *Ner*. 38.1; Welch 2007, 152-153.

[27] On the unfinished parts, see e.g. Ferrandes 2011, 133; Meyboom/Moormann 2013, figs 0.11-0.12; Moormann 2020.

[28] Panella 2013, 103.

[29] Longfellow 2011, 29-30.

[30] Beste/Hesberg 2013.

[31] Suet. *Ner*. 31.1; Tac. *Ann*. 15.42; Marzano 2007.

[32] Mart. *Spect*. 2.8; Tac. *Ann*. 15.39.1.

[33] Colini/Cozza 1962; Welch 2007, 152-153; Longfellow 2011, 38; Heikonen 2017, 30.

[34] Conlin 2013.

[35] E.g. Champlin 2003, 202-203; Moormann 2003, 382-383; Beste/Hesberg 2013, 322; Pollini 2017, n. 6; La Rocca 2017, 203; Yves Perrin argued for locating the Domus Transitoria solely on the Palatine Hill, connecting the buildings on the north-western and sout-eastern sides of the Palatine Hill, at the location of the Baths of Livia: Perrin 2003, 366-367.

[36] Tac. *Ann*. 43; Mart. *Spect*. 2.8; Moormann 2003, 385.

[37] Tac. *Ann*. 15.42; Suet. *Ner*. 31; Mart. *Spect*. 2; for the negative retorical discussions of the Domus Aurea in Flavian literature, see: Elsner 1994, esp 119-120.

[38] Panella et al. 2011, 6.

[39] Panella 2013, 102.

[40] Plin. *HN* 36.163; Griffin 1985, 139-140; Darwall-Smith 1996, 38; Panella 2013, 99; In 59 CE, Nero opened a newly built macellum on the Caelian Hill: Cass. Dio 61.18; Regionary Catalogues, both the Curiosum and the Notitia, Regio II Caele(o)montium, in Valentini/Zucchetti 1940.

[41] Beste/Hesberg 2013, 327.

[42] Rose 2005, tab. 6.

[43] Griffin 1985, 140.

[44] Sen. *Ep*. 115.12-3; Champlin 1998, 338.

[45] Tac. *Ann*. 15.36-7, 15.39; Champlin 1998, 340; Welch 2007, 155-157.

[46] Fertik 2019, 74.

[47] Fertik 2014, 40; Wood 2015, 82-83.

[48] Fertik 2019, 74.

[49] Griffin 1985, 140; Cante et al. 1999, 126-127, fig. 1; Wood 2015, 83.

[50] Favro 1994, 156.

[51] Cass. Dio 62.4.1-3.

[52] Cass. Dio 63.20.4.

[53] Fertik 2019, 73.

[54] Cf. Wood 2015, 75; Moormann 2021, 43, who argues that Nero 'displayed - at least in the eyes of elite - an extreme penchant for luxuria (luxury)'.

[55] Fertik 2019, 63; even though the Domus Aurea can be seen as the conclusion of a process of gradual acquisition of properties started under Augustus, Nero did not present himself as 'one figure in a larger ruling elite', contrary to Augustus.

[56] Fertik 2019, 73.

[57] See n. 34.

[58] Mart. Spect. 2.8; cf. Coleman 2006, 34.

[59] Suet. *Oth*. 7; Suet. *Ner*. 57.1; Tac. *Hist*. 2.8.

[60] On the differences in court atmosphere under Nero and Vespasian, see: Acton 2011a, 106-108.

[61] Nicols 2016, 67.

[62] For a discussion of porticoes as an expression of imperial *liberalitas* and *munificentia*, see: Zanker 2010, 48-60.

[63] Claridge 1998, 304; Hartnett 2017, 39.

[64] Zanker 2010, 59; Macaulay-Lewis 2011, 276; Tucci 2017, 62.

[65] Vitr. *De arch*. 5.9.5.

[66] Tucci 2017, 217-218.

[67] Macaulay-Lewis 2011, 272-273; on lovers in porticoes, see e.g. Ov. *Am*. 2.2.3-4; Prop. 2.32.7; Ov. *Rem. am*. 627-628.

[68] O'Sullivan 2011, 98; Aulus Gellius mentions, for example, that there was a library in the Templum Pacis: Gell. *NA* 5.21.9-13; see also: Tucci 2017, 126-173.

[69] Macaulay-Lewis 2011, n. 3.

[70] On the porticus around the *stagnum*, see Panella 1995; 2013, 23-25, 77-85, 99-113, figs. 25, 83-100, 120-136; Moormann 2020, 24, n. 23.

[71] Ferrandes 2011, 133-134.

[72] Macaulay-Lewis 2011, 278.

[73] Anderson 1982, 105; Tucci 2017, 58-61; cf. Pollard 2009, 321.

[74] Macaulay-Lewis 2011, 273-274.

[75] See also Tucci 2017, 62.

[76] Zanker 2010, 59.

[77] Van der Meer 2009, 163-164.

[78] Beste/Hesberg 2013; similarly, there were tabernae attached to the Circus Maximus: Tac. *Ann*. 15.38.2.

[79] Bomgardner 2002, 6.

[80] Elkins 2019, 94-95.

[81] *RIC* II2 *Tit*. 184-186; *Dom*. 131.

[82] Elkins 2019, 69.

[83] Beste/Hesberg 2013, 327; Asciutti 2015, 5.

[84] Bomgardner 2002, 5, n. 5; Rose 2005, 103-104; D'Anna/Molari 2020, 15.

[85] Rose 2005, 104, fig. 3.

[86] Rose 2005, 106-114.

[87] Juv. 3.266: *caenosi gurgitis*.

[88] Mart. 6.93.4; Juv. 14.202-204.

[89] MacDonald 1986, 5-73, esp. 32-51.

[90] For a discussion of the 'nuisances' and obstacles in Roman urban experience, see Hartnett 2011.

[91] Kaiser 2011, 21; Hartnett 2017, 32, 36.

[92] Porteous 1985, 359-360.

[93] Morley 2014, 113-114.

[94] Koloski-Ostrow 2014, 103-104.

[95] Cass. Dio 66.25.1.

[96] It has been suggested that they were taken to the puticuli on the Esquiline Hill and buried among the poor, but the burying pits had already been closed by the Flavian period: Kyle 1998, 168; Graham 2005, 79-80; the theory has also been invalidated by Emmerson 2020, 92-98.

[97] Cf. Elkins 2019, 79.

[98] Kyle 1998, 163, 187, 213; Graham 2005, 80; Mackinnon 2006, 155-156; Elkins 2019, 94.

[99] Laska 2011, 146-147.

[100] Bomgardner 2002, 5.

[101] Regionary Catalogues as published in Valentini/Zucchetti 1940; Panella/Zeggio 2004, 80-81; Pardini 2013, 74-75, also for a summary of the debate on the extent of *regio* I.

[102] Goodman 2020, 11-16.

[103] Mart. *Spect*. 2; Combined translation from: Coleman 2006, 14; Chomse 2018, 395.

[104] Cf. Favro 1996, 206.

[105] Even though the *Liber Spectaculorum* was composed before the construction of (most of) Domitian's additions to the Colosseum Valley, the poem can be used for the area as well, since Domitian's additions resembled and complemented the works of his late father and brother.

[106] Cf. Coleman 2006, 22-27; the rare spectacle of the triumph had probably made an impact on the Romans and their memory of Vespasian's reign for years to come and the *pegmata*, as part of the procession, would thus have been part of the triumph's memory. Furthermore, it connected the arch to the amphitheatre, which was financed *ex manubiis*; Jos. *BJ* 7.133; Alföldy 1995, 222.

[107] Elsner 1994, 123.

[108] E.g. Elsner 1994, 123; Moormann 2003; Bartsch et al. 2017.

[109] Acton 2011b, 65.

[110] *CIL* VI 32089; Jos. *BJ* 7.132-157; Alföldy 1995, 210; for a discussion on the exact meaning of manubiae, see: Orlin 2002, 117-122.

[111] Alföldy 1995, 210; Kienast 1996, 108, 111.

[112] Jones 2002, 81; Elkins 2006, 212.

[113] Popkin 2016, 52; Tac. *Hist.* 2.5.1: *antiquis ducibus par*.

[114] Beard 2003, 558.

[115] *CIL* VI 944 = *ILS* 264; Coletta/Pergola 2017, 201; for the route of the triumphal procession, see: Favro 1994, 156.

[116] For Victory as a central feature in Julio-Claudian imperial ideology, see Ando 2000, 283-294.

[117] *CIL* VI 945; cf. Bach Hove 2014, 10; this is further enhanced by the "apotheosis relief": Davies 2000, 23.

[118] Favro 1994, 156; Parisi Presicce 2021.

[119] Longfellow 2011, 39.

[120] For a summary of the most important political and ideological implications, see Elkins 2019, especially 112-116.

[121] Fagan 2011, 101-115.

[122] Millar 1992, 293-294; Mellor 2003; Nicols 2016, 61, 74.

[123] Fagan 2011, 90-92.

[124] Elkins 2004, 151-155.

[125] Carter 1999; Leppin 2011, 667; High-Steskal, 153-156.

[126] Elkins 2014, 103-105; Games were originally organised as part of religious festivals and never lost their connection with the religious aspect: Coleman 2011, 337.

[127] Latham 2016, 174.

[128] *RIC* II2 Tit. 108-9; *Dom*. 47-48; Latham 2016, 172.

[129] Elkins 2019, 84, n. 40.

[130] Latham 2016, 174.

[131] Cass. Dio 73.19.1-2; Lucian, *Tox*. 59; Fagan 2011, 5-6, n. 12.

[132] Epplett 2014a, 578-579; Elkins 2019, 112.

[133] Wiedemann 1992, 46; Carter 1999, 40; High-Steskal, 50.

[134] Mart. *Spect*. 9-10, 24-5; Epplett 2014b, 594-599.

[135] Woolf 1993, 189; Cornwell 2017, 19.

[136] Zanker 2010, 82.

[137] See also Claudius' Fucine Games, which were told and remembered up until the Flavian period: Mart. *Spect*. 34.11; cf. Tac. *Ann*. 12.56.1; Suet. *Claud*. 21.6; Fr. *Princ. hist*. 17.

[138] *RIC* II2 *Dom*. 248-250; Buttrow 2007.

[139] Hekster 2003, 23.

[140] Gunderson 1996; 2003, 640.

[141] For example, Augustus was demanded the abolition of his marriage laws by an eques (Suet. *Aug*. 34.2); Tiberius was asked to put the removed Apoxyomenos statue of Lysippus back in the Baths of Agrippa (Plin. *HN* 34.62); Galba was demanded to punish Tigellinus, Nero's Praetorian prefect (Plut. *Galb*. 17.4).

[142] Coleman 2011, 350.

[143] This does not mean that all public requests were granted: *nullo responso dignatus tacere tantum modo iussit voce praeconis*: Suet., *Dom*. 13.1.

[144] Cf. Marcello 2017, 123.

[145] Suet. *Vesp*. 9.1.

[146] Cass. Dio 62.18.2.

[147] Panella/Zeggio 2004, 71-72.

[148] Tac. *Ann*. 12.24; Panella/Zeggio 2004, 70-72.

[149] Panella 1990, 53; Longfellow 2010, 282.

[150] Moormann 2018, 166.

[151] Longfellow 2010, 277; Pardini 2013, 64.

[152] Favro 1994, 156; cf. Panella/Zeggio 2004, 75.

[153] Pardini 2013, 60.

[154] Longfellow 2010, 281-282.

[155] Elkins 2019, 70.

[156] Longfellow 2011, 43.

[157] *CIL* VI 42, 43 (*ILS* 1634), 44 (*ILS* 1635), 298 (*ILS* 1636), 791 (*ILS* 1633), 1647; cf. Regionary Catalogues as published in: Valentini/Zucchetti 1940; Coarelli 1994; 2019, 97-108.

[158] Melville-Jones 2015, 142.

[159] Coarelli 1994, 25-26; Torres 2008, 94; Woytek 2012, 102; On Domitian's monetary reform, see: Jones 2002, 75-77.

[160] Favro 1996, 181.

[161] Favro 1996, 207.

[162] Favro 1996, 264.

[163] Wood 2015, 78-79; Purcell 2007, 368; for this definition of centrality, see: Newsome 2009, 34.

[164] Wood 2015, 83.

[165] Under Augustus: Suet. *Aug*. 43.1, 4; Cass. Dio 55.8.5; 59.7.8; under Caligula: Cass. Dio 59.10.5; Suet. *Calig*. 18.1; under Claudius: Suet. *Claud*. 21.4; Edmondson 2020, 156, 157-158.

[166] Edmondson 2020, 163, n. 38.

[167] Cf. Edmondson 2020, 163.

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BABESCH 97 (2022), 133-152. doi: 10.2143/BAB.97.0.3290537

Wasser und seine Nutzung in der Zivilstadt von Carnuntum
Überlegungen zur Aussagekraft geophysikalischer Prospektionsdaten

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Abstract

*The present paper focuses on hydraulic engineering, fresh water and wastewater management in the civil town of Carnuntum (Pannonia). The state of research based on excavations is summarised and discussed alongside with recent geophysical prospection data. Anomalies, which can be observed in the data, may be interpreted as buildings for the provision of fresh water and the management of wastewater. Further anomalies may indicate bath complexes (thermae) and a fuller´s workshop (fullonica). The hydraulic infrastructure of Carnuntum is compared to other towns in the Northern Provinces and in Italy.**

Einleitung

In den Jahren 2012-2015 wurde ein großflächiges Forschungsprojekt zur archäologischen Landschaft rund um das antike Carnuntum durchgeführt. Ziel des ‘ArchPro Carnuntum‘ Projekts[1] war es, durch einen integrierten Einsatz von zerstörungsfreien, nicht in den Boden eingreifenden, archäologischen Prospektionsmethoden die Grundlagen für ein nachhaltiges, wissensbasiertes Management der archäologischen Landschaft von Petronell-Carnuntum bis Bad Deutsch-Altenburg zu erarbeiten. Hierzu war eine systematische Erkundung im Sinne einer Gesamtprospektion des römischen Stadtgebietes erforderlich.[2] Das Projekt wurde vom Ludwig Boltzmann Institut für Archäologische Prospektion und Virtuelle Archäologie (LBI ArchPro), der Zentralanstalt für Meteorologie und Geodynamik (ZAMG) und dem Vienna Institute for Archaeological Science (VIAS) mit Förderungsmitteln des Landes Niederösterreich ausgeführt.

Anlagen des Wasserbaus wie etwa Brunnen, Wasserleitungen und Abwasserkanäle zählten zu den zentralen infrastrukturellen Einrichtungen und Errungenschaften der antiken Stadtkultur. Die Umsetzung entsprechender Infrastrukturprojekte erforderte eine sachkundige, detaillierte Planung und die Nutzung umfangreicher gemeinschaftlicher Ressourcen. Die Verfügbarkeit von sauberem Trink- und Brauchwasser und die Beseitigung von Abwasser dienten der Befriedigung menschlicher Grundbedürfnisse. Neben Straßen, Kultbauten und öffentlichen Gebäuden sind somit Bauten der hydrotechnischen Infrastruktur essentielle Elemente einer antiken Stadt.[3] Die Bedeutung der wissenschaftlichen Erforschung des historischen Wasserbaus (mit einem Schwerpunkt auf der Antike) lässt sich beispielsweise an der Existenz einer eigenen internationalen Gesellschaft zu dieser Thematik ersehen.[4]

Der vorliegende Beitrag ist der Verwendung von Wasser, speziell Fragen der Gewinnung, Zuleitung, Nutzung und Ableitung in der Zivilstadt von Carnuntum gewidmet.[5] Während sich bisherige Überlegungen zur Wasserversorgung Carnuntums weitgehend auf den außerstädtischen Verlauf von Wasserleitungen,[6] die Militärlager,[7] die *canabae*[8] und Grabungsbefunde in der ‘Römerstadt Carnuntum‘ (einst Archäologischer Park Carnuntum) und seinem Umfeld konzentrierten,[9] steht das zentrale Areal der Zivilstadt auf der Flur ‘Tiergartenbreite‘ im Zentrum des vorgestellten Projekts. Zu diesem Bereich bezogen sich bisherige Fragen zur Wasserzu- und Ableitung lediglich auf das Forum und die umliegenden Straßen[10] sowie die Großen Thermen (sog. Palastruine).[11] Daten zum hier behandelten Untersuchungsgebiet stammen von Altgrabungen, im Zuge derer ein Teil des Stadtquartiers südlich des Forums auf einer Fläche von ungefähr 7600 m² im späten 19. Jahrhundert sowie in den Jahren 1931 und 1938 freigelegt worden war und vornehmlich von geophysikalischen Prospektionen, die in den Jahren 2012-2015 im Zuge des ‘ArchPro Carnuntum‘ Projekts durchgeführt wurden.[12]

Wasserversorgung und Brauchwasserableitung in römischen Städten

Der Forschungsstand – allgemeine Überlegungen

Der Zugang zu Trink- und Brauchwasser guter Qualität stellte stets einen wichtigen Standortfaktor für die Wahl von Siedlungsplätzen dar. Der Wasserbedarf konnte in der Gründungsphase einer Siedlung aus Bächen oder Flüssen gedeckt werden. Probleme für die Wasserqualität ergaben sich jedoch gerade bei rasch wachsenden Orten aus der Verunreinigung durch die Einleitung von Abwasser.[13] Weitere Optionen zur Wassergewinnung bestanden im Graben von Brunnen und in der Sammlung von Regenwasser, etwa in Wassertonnen oder Zisternen.

Brunnen eigneten sich vor allem, wenn der Grundwasserspiegel nicht all zu tief lag und Grabungen ohne großen Kraftaufwand durchgeführt werden konnten. Zisternen finden sich beispielsweise in Gebieten, die von saisonalen Starkniederschlägen im Wechsel mit Trockenperioden gekennzeichnet waren. Ein hoher Grundwasserspiegel sprach gegen die Anlage von Zisternen, so etwa in Ostia, wo aus demselben Grund auch keine Senkgruben angelegt werden konnten.[14]

Eine komplexere Form der Wasserversorgung bestand in der Anlage von Sickerstollen zur Fassung von Grundwasser und von Leitungssystemen, die sauberes Wasser direkt von der Quelle in die Stadt leiteten. Das Wasser wurde in entsprechenden Aquädukten geführt, die als Kanäle im Boden, Aquäduktbrücken, sog. Freispiegelleitungen (unter Nutzung des Gefälles) oder Druckrohrleitungen ausgeführt sein konnten.[15] Die Wasserführung über weite Strecken erfolgte meist in aus Stein oder Ziegeln gemauerten und mit wasserfestem Putz verkleideten Kanälen. Reichsweit betrachtet wurden Aquädukte besonders häufig ab der frühen Kaiserzeit errichtet. Eine aufwendige Wasserversorgung und die Zurschaustellung des Wasserreichtums in aufwendigen Brunnenanlagen mussten nicht nur praktischen Zwecken dienen, sondern konnten darüber hinaus als Mittel der repräsentativen Selbstdarstellung einer Stadt oder eines Stifters verstanden werden.[16] Dieser Aspekt ist im Hinblick auf die Wertvorstellungen und Verhaltensnormen einer kompetitiv agierenden aristokratischen Elite nicht zu unterschätzen. Belegbar ist dies beispielsweise durch die Benennung zahlreicher stadtrömischer Aquädukte nach ihren Erbauern, durch Bauinschriften auf Aquädukten und Brunnen und die Darstellung von Aquädukten auf Münzen.[17] Eine Sensibilität für die Qualität von Wasser lässt sich nicht nur in den Schriften des Frontinus, sondern beispielsweise auch an der Präsenz eines Wasserhändlers in dem durch Grundwasser und ein Aquädukt an sich gut versorgten Ostia erkennen.[18]

Für die Wasserverteilung in Städten oder einzelnen Gebäuden konnten zahlreiche unterschiedliche Materialien benutzt werden. Silberrohre, die ab dem 1. Jh. n. Chr. als Hausinstallationen belegt sind, wurden sehr selten benutzt.[19] Häufige Verwendung fanden hingegen Ton- und Bleirohre. Blei ließ sich leicht verarbeiten. Gesundheitsrisiken wurden in der Antike nur vereinzelt angemerkt[20] und taten der allgemeinen Beliebtheit der Bleirohre keinen Abbruch.[21]

Darüber hinaus sind hölzerne Leitungen bekannt.[22] Diese fanden sich an einigen Orten nördlich der Alpen, an denen geeignete Baumarten in ausreichender Menge als Rohstoff verfügbar waren, so etwa in Aachen,[23] in Mainz, wo Eichenholz[24] verwendet wurde sowie bei ländlichen *villae rusticae* in Heitersheim, Bondorf, Güglingen-Frauenzimmern und Hechingen-Stein.[25] Aus Carnuntum sind Holzleitungen aus Tanne und Kiefer bekannt.[26]

Wenn Regen- und Abwasser nicht über die Wege abgeleitet oder Sickergruben nicht das einzige Mittel der Fäkalienentsorgung darstellen sollten, war die Anlage von Kanälen erforderlich. Diese konnten mit vergleichsweise geringem Aufwand an den Rändern der Straßen offen oder abgedeckt geführt oder mit beträchtlichem Arbeitsaufwand unter dem zentralen Straßenkörper als gemauerter Kanal ausgeführt werden. Die Abwasserkanäle mündeten nach Möglichkeit in einem nahegelegenen Fluss oder andernfalls beispielsweise im Stadtgraben. Neben dem Brauchwasser der Haushalte musste Wasser in großen Mengen von Nutzbauten wie Thermen und öffentlichen Latrinen (*latrinae, foricae*) sowie von Gewerbebetrieben wie *fullonicae*, Tuchwalkereien und Gerbereien abgeleitet werden. Sofern die Wasserversorgung über Aquädukte erfolgte, musste ebenfalls ein kontinuierlicher Wasserablauf garantiert sein.

Öffentliche Bedürfnisanstalten befanden sich häufig in der Nähe von Foren sowie in oder bei öffentlichen Bädern, bisweilen auch in oder bei Theatern, Amphitheatern, Palästren oder nahe den Straßen.[27] Ebenso wie bei Wasserleitungen und Brunnen ist neben der praktischen Funktion laut Ann Olga Koloski-Ostrow auch ein gesellschaftlicher Aspekt über den funktionalen Aspekt hinaus zu berücksichtigen, da große Gemeinschaftslatrinen auch einer politischen Funktion gedient haben könnten.[28] Zahlreiche Toiletten in Privathäusern (*secessus*) waren allerdings nicht an

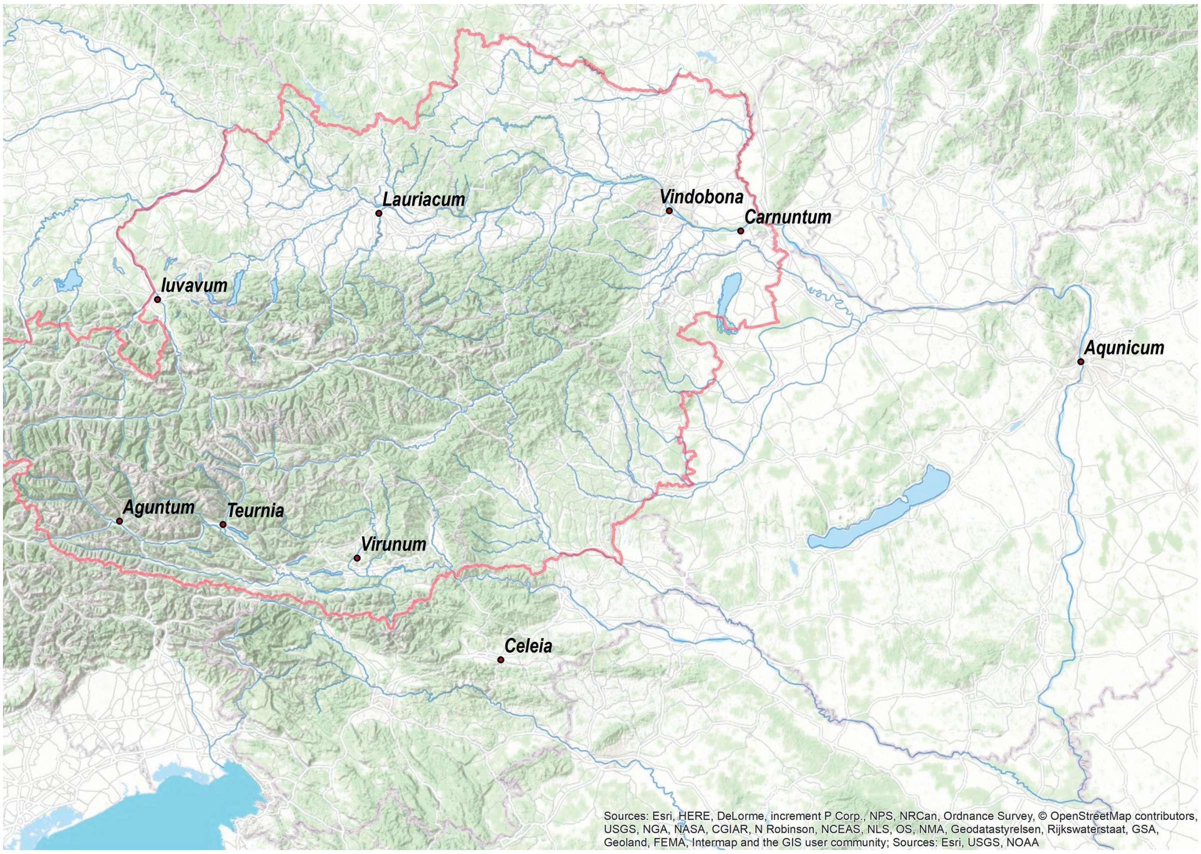

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Abb. 1. Karte der behandelten römischen Siedlungen. Die rote Linie markiert die heutige Staatsgrenze von Österreich und dient der Orientierung (Abbildung: M. Wallner).

das Kanalnetz angeschlossen und besaßen Senkgruben, die regelmäßig gelehrt werden mussten.[29]

Ausgewählte Beispiele für den Wasserbau in Pannonien und Noricum

Wasserversorgung

Die Quellenlage zur Wasserversorgung und -ableitung in den Städten Pannoniens und Noricums (*Abb. 1*) – somit der Provinz, in der Carnuntum lag sowie eines benachbarten Gebiets – die hier aufgrund der räumlichen und kulturellen Nähe zu Carnuntum als Vergleichsbeispiele betrachtet werden, ist häufig aufgrund des Forschungsstandes und der Quellenlage fragmentarisch.

Für Salzburg, das antike *municipium Claudium Iuvavum*, sprechen Indizien für die Annahme eines römischen Bergstollens mithilfe dessen der Riedenburgbach von der Weingartenquelle in die Stadt geführt werden konnte.[30] Diese Annahme basiert weitgehend auf typologischen Vergleichen eines erhaltenen Kanals mit Steinplattenabdeckung sowie auf den hydrologischen und geologischen Gegebenheiten. Etwaige antike Werkzeugspuren sind aufgrund jüngerer Eingriffe nicht nachweisbar.[31]

Eine Wasserleitung zur Versorgung von Soldaten und Zivilisten in Wien (*Vindobona*), konnte an zehn Stellen ergraben werden.[32] Ein Graben wurde auf beiden Seiten mit 25 - 40 cm breiten Seitenwangen aus vermörtelten Bruchsteinen ausgekleidet. Auf dem mit Steinen ausgelegten Boden wurden Flusskiesel und Ziegelbrocken vermengt mit Mörtel eingebracht und ebenso wie die Seitenwände mit *opus signinum* verputzt. Absetzbecken sammelten das Geschiebe und trugen zur Klärung des Wassers bei.

Für die Wasserversorgung der zivilen Siedlungsbereiche von Enns (*Lauriacum*) wird vermutet, dass die direkte Wasserversorgung eine große Rolle spielte, da mindestens 38 Brunnen identifiziert wurden.[33] Darüber hinaus vermutet Klaus Freytag, dass aus dem oberen Siedlungsbereich, somit vor der Einleitung von Abwasser, Trinkwasser und Nutzwasser für die Thermen aus dem Bach entnommen worden sei.[34] Lediglich ein Kanal innerhalb der Stadt wird der Frischwasserversorgung – möglicherweise von einer Quelle beim Eichberg gespeist – zugeschrieben.[35]

Die Wasserversorgung der Provinzhauptstadt *Virunum* erfolgte durch Grundwasserbrunnen sowie aus dem Quellgebiet im Westhang des Töltschacher Bergs.[36] Das schüttungsstarke Quellgebiet oberhalb des Stadtzentrums erlaubte es, die Talsiedlung ohne großen baulichen Aufwand mit Quellwasser aus Sammel- und Verteilerbecken zu versorgen.[37] Antike hölzerne Quellfassungen sind beim Nordtor des Amphitheaters archäologisch belegt, Bleirohrleitungen, Wasserhähne, ein Privatbad sowie ein peristyles Wasserbecken sind aus der Insula I bekannt. Ein teilweise aus Spolien gefertigter Straßenbrunnen stand am *cardo maximus*, eine Brunnenschale aus Marmor wurde am Forum gefunden und dürfte von einem repräsentativen Brunnen stammen.[38] Heimo Dolenz folgert, dass die Präsenz von derart ergiebigen Wasserquellen vermuten lässt, dass im Hanggelände östlich des Stadtzentrums auch die Wasserverteilungsbecken und die großen Thermen der Stadt zu lokalisieren sind.[39]

In der Zivilstadt von Budapest (*Aquincum*) gab es Brunnen und zwei Wasserleitungen. In der Region 2 der Stadt sind fünf, in der Region 4 zwei Brunnen bekannt, von denen einer im Hof eines *collegium*-Baus im Handwerksviertel, ein weiterer im Keller eines antiken Wohnhauses gelegen war.[40] Zwei der Brunnen setzen sich aus Fassdauben zusammen. Ein auf Pfeilern gestütztes Aquädukt, das zum Legionslager führte, querte die Zivilstadt von *Aquincum* mittig in Nord-Süd-Richtung, wobei es eine Straße in zwei Hälften teilte.[41] Die Wasserleitung war ein bestimmendes Element der urbanen Struktur. Auch die Verteilung der Thermengebäude lässt eine bewusste Stadtplanung erkennen.[42] Im 4. Jh. wurde der Stadt eine größere Wassermenge durch den Bau neuer, auf Mauerwerk an der Oberfläche geführter Leitungen parallel zu dem Aquädukt zugeführt.[43]

Wasserentsorgung

Im Zuge der Untersuchung von Straßen in Städten Noricums und angrenzenden Gebieten ist Julia Reuckl auf Straßengräben und Kanäle eingegangen:[44] In Wels (*Ovilava)* wurde ein Großteil der Wege von offenen Straßengräben begleitet, in die Abwasser geleitet wurde. Darüber hinaus wurden zwei Teilstücke eines gemauerten Kanals aus dem 2. bis 3. Jh. ausgegraben.[45] In St. Pölten (*Aelium Cetium*) besaß ein an zwei Stellen freigelegter *decumanus* Straßengräben an beiden Seiten.[46] Somit wurde Abwasser in offenen Gräben an den Straßenseiten entsorgt. Lediglich für eine Straße ist die Anlage eines gemauerten Kanals im 3. Jh. belegt.[47] Ähnlich war die Situation in Wagna/Leibnitz (*Flavia Solva*), wo vereinzelt Gräben an den Straßenrändern beobachtet wurden, während Befunde gänzlich fehlen, die auf ein gemauertes Kanalnetz hinweisen.[48]

Noch schlechter war die Situation in Salzburg (*Iuvavum*), wo ein organisiertes öffentliches Abwassersystem gänzlich zu fehlen scheint und nur ein einziger Entwässerungsgraben entlang einer potenziellen Hauptstraße beobachtet wurde, so dass von einer Abwasserentsorgung in Senkgruben auszugehen ist.[49]

Am anderen Ende des Spektrums sind Dölsach (*Aguntum*), St. Peter in Holz (*Teurnia*), *Virunum* (am Zollfeld bei Maria Saal), Celje (*Celeia*) und Budapest (*Aquincum*) zu nennen, die über gute oder sehr gute Kanalsysteme verfügten.

In *Aguntum* verliefen an den Seiten von mindestens drei Straßen Kanäle. Der Abwasserkanal des *decumanus maximus* wies eine Breite von 0,4 m mit einem Gefälle von 1,3 % auf. Er war mit Schieferplatten abgedeckt, die Kanalwangen waren aus unbehauenen Bachschottersteinen ohne Einsatz von Mörtel ausgeführt. Am Westrand einer anderen Straße verlief ein Kanal mit einer Breite von 0,35 m und einer Höhe von 0,25 m. Der letzte bekannte Abwasserkanal verlief neben einem *cardo*.[50]

In *Teurnia* sind drei Kanäle bekannt. Ein mittig unter einer Straße gelegener gemauerter Kanal besaß Wangen aus Rollsteinen, die mit Mörtel verbunden waren, die lichte Weite betrug etwa 0,2 m. Die Kanalsohle war mit Schieferplatten ausgelegt. In einem Fall war die Sohle mit Lehm verkleidet. Der Kanal war mit Schieferplatten gedeckt. Die lichte Weite dieses Kanals lag bei 0,6 m - 0,7 m, die Höhe bei etwa 0,9 m. Das Gefälle betrug auf den ersten ergrabenen 5,5 m nur 1,8 % auf den 17 m nach der Biegung nach Nordosten bereits 9,6 %. Die Wangen des Kanals waren aus Bruchstein errichtet, die Sohlen wie auch die Abdeckung bestanden aus Steinplatten. In einer 2. Bauphase wurden am Nordende des Hauptkanals Umbauarbeiten vorgenommen. Auf die breiten Kanalwangen wurden ca. 0,35 m breite Bruchsteinmauern aufgesetzt. Möglicherweise handelte es sich dabei um einen weiteren Nebenkanal. Zum dritten Kanal fehlen genauere Informationen.[51]

Virunum besaß ein ausgezeichnetes Abwasserentsorgungssystem mit gemauerten Kanalsträngen, von denen zehn Abschnitte entdeckt wurden. Die Kanäle verliefen mittig unter den Straßen und waren teilweise von Tonnengewölben überspannt, teilweise mit Steinplatten abgedeckt. Die Sohle war bei mehreren Kanälen mit

Schieferplatten ausgelegt. Der Großteil der Stränge war zumindest über 1,5 m hoch (abgesehen von einem lediglich 0,75 m hohen Kanal). Ein Kanal erreichte sogar eine Höhe von knapp 2,4 m. Die durchschnittliche Breite lag bei knapp 1,0 m. Die bekannten Kanalabschnitte verliefen ausschließlich in ost-westlicher Richtung und somit nur entlang der *cardines*, nicht aber der *decumani*.[52] Arbeiten der Jahre 2017 führten zur Entdeckung eines quellwasserführenden Kanals östlich der *area sacra*: Vom Vorhandensein eines parallel zur Osthalle des Kapitolbezirks angelegten Kanals war bereits vor den Grabungen ausgegangen worden, da Hang-, Dach- und Straßenwässer nur auf diese Weise von einer in den Hang gesetzten Osthallen-*Cryptoporticus* abzuhalten waren.[53] Der Kanalbefund weist erneut auf den großen Quellwasserreichtum des Töltschacher Hanges hin, der es notwendig machte, die zentrale *area sacra* an drei Seiten mit ableitenden Wasserbauten zu schützen.[54]

Celeias Kanalsystem bestand aus zwei Netzen, von denen eines den West- und Südteil, das andere den Nordostteil abdeckte. Hauptkanäle besaßen eine lichte Weite von etwa 0,6 m bis 1,0 m und eine innere Höhe von 1,4 m bis 2,5 m. Ihre Böden waren mit Steinplatten belegt, ihre Wände aus Bruchsteinen gemauert, verbunden mit Kalk und Flusssandmörtel. Steinerne Gewölbe überspannten die Hauptkanäle, in die aus Stein gemauerte, jedoch von Ziegelgewölben überspannte Seitenstränge mündeten. Sie waren etwa 0,9 m hoch und 0,75 m breit. Die Gewölbe saßen unterhalb der oberen Abschlüsse der Kanalmauern, die zusätzlich mit Steinplatten abgedeckt waren. Einige der Seitenkanäle waren aus *tegulae* gearbeitet worden. Die Kanäle waren meist unter, bisweilen aber auch neben den Straßen geführt, konnten aber auch vom Straßennetz abweichen. Außer den gemauerten Kanälen gab es Abwassergräben entlang der Straßen, die an drei Wegen nachgewiesen werden konnten.[55]

Die Zivilstadt von *Aquincum* verfügte über ein gut ausgebautes Kanalisationsnetz:[56] Es gab drei verschiedene Kanaltypen: Die beiden 6,0 m breiten Hauptstraßen wurden auf beiden Seiten von mit Steinplatten abgedeckten Kanälen flankiert, bei den engeren, ca. 3 m breiten Wegen verlief ein Hauptkanal mittig unter der Straße, in den schmaleren Nebenstraßen fanden sich beidseitig flache, bedeckte Kanäle.[57] Die wichtigen Sammelkanäle lagen in einer Tiefe von 1,5 m - 2 m" unter dem Gehniveau. Diese Kanäle waren durchschnittlich 1,2 m hoch und 0,8 m breit. Die Anschlüsse der Nebenleitungen mündeten von einer höheren Ebene und in einem spitzen Winkel zur Haupt-Strömungsebene in die Hauptkanäle.[58] Das Abwasser wurde zur Donau hin abgeleitet.[59] Jede *insula* hatte ihren eigenen Zufluss zum Sammelkanal, allerdings wurde die Kanalisation in der beschriebenen Form erst etwa 50 Jahre nach der Errichtung des ersten Aquädukts angelegt.[60]

Julia Reuckl kommt zu dem Schluss:[61] "So gibt es erstens Städte, die ein gemauertes Kanalsystem – auch unter zusätzlicher Verwendung straßenseitiger Abwassergräben – besaßen, zweitens solche, die ihre Abwässer in erster Linie in offene Gräben leiteten, aber auch vereinzelt mit gemauerten Kanälen ausgestattet waren, und drittens jene Problemfälle, die anscheinend über keinerlei öffentliche Abwasserentsorgung verfügten."

Hydrotechnik und Wassernutzung in der Zivilstadt von Carnuntum – Die Aussagen der Grabungsbefunde

Nach der Überblicksdarstellung der Befundlage zum Wasserbau in Städten, in der (weiteren) Umgebung Carnuntums, wird nun der Forschungsstand zum Wasserbau der Zivilstadt zusammengefasst. Da die Entwicklung der Wasserversorgung und Brauchwasserentsorgung in engem Zusammenhang mit der Entwicklung der Siedlung steht, wird primär ein diachroner Ansatz gewählt.

Zur hydrologischen Situation der Zivilstadt führt Andreas Konecny aus:[62] "Die Anlage der Brunnen wurde durch die lokale Geologie bedeutend erleichtert: Der Untergrund der Zivilstadt besteht allgemein aus eiszeitlichem Löss über alluvialem Donauschotter, der wiederum auf flächig vorhandenen und in den Grabungen durchgehend in Tiefen von 1 m – 2 m anzutreffenden Lehm- und Tegelpackungen liegt. Über dem Lehm drängt saisonal oberflächennahes Grundwasser an, und unter der obersten Lehm-/Tegelschicht stehen, abhängig von der lokalen Topografie, teils ganzjährig ergiebige Grundwasserhorizonte an. Diese oberflächennahe Grundwasserführung des Terrains ermöglichte es, dass die antiken Brunnenbauer schon durch wenige Meter tiefe Ausschachtungen eine ganzjährige Wasserversorgung sicherstellen konnten."

Älteste Baustrukturen eines *vicus*, an der Stelle der späteren Stadt reichen in domitianische Zeit zurück[63]. In dieser frühen Phase wurde Trink- und Brauchwasser aus Brunnen gewonnen: Aus dem Bereich des Archäologischen Parks, etwa den Parzellen der späteren Häuser IV b-c, V, Va und Vb, dem westlichen Bereich des späteren sog. Peristylhauses und vom Standort des neuen Besucherzentrums sind Ziehbrunnen bekannt, die teils mit rechteckigen Brunnenkästen mit Holzverschalung, teils als mit Holzfässern ausgekleidete Schächte ausgeführt waren.[64] Ein weiterer Brunnen befand sich auf dem Bauplatz der in severischer Zeit errichteten 'Großen Thermen' und wurde im Zuge der Baumaßnahmen aufgegeben.[65]

Holzrohrleitungen aus dem späten 1. Jh. (eine Leitung wies ein Dendrodatum von 95 n. Chr. auf) und dem frühen 2. Jh. sind Elemente eines lokalen Wasserversorgungsnetzes, das einzelne Parzellen aus dem reichen Grundwasserdargebot versorgte.[66] Vor einem Rohr lag südlich in einem Graben eine 1,2 m lange Drainage, in die Grundwasser einsickerte, um die Leitung zu speisen.[67] Eine hölzerne, die Leitungen überdeckende Halbschale sollte die darunter liegenden Rohre gegen Druck von oben schützen.[68]

Die Bedeutung, die der Präsenz des Wassers im Südostbereich der Zivilstadt und seinem Umfeld zukam, lässt sich übrigens nicht nur in Form von Brunnen und Leitungen, sondern auch durch die Verehrung von Quellgottheiten und Nymphen in Carnuntum belegen[69].

In spöthadrianische Zeit weisen ein Brunnen und eine Brunnenstube, die zur Versorgung der Thermen im heutigen Archäologischen Park angelegt wurden.[70] Die Wahl dieser Stelle für die Anlage der Thermen wird bisweilen mit hydrologischen Vorzügen des Standorts begründet.[71] Mehrfach wurde der Brunnen bis ins späte 2. Jh. ausgebessert und kurz danach aufgegeben und zugeschüttet.[72] Der Brunnen maß 4 x 2,5 m und war an drei Seiten von einer Sickergalerie eingefasst. Zusätzlich zur umfassenden Sickergalerie der Brunnenstube wurde eine unterirdische Drainageleitung angelegt, die oberflächennahes Grundwasser sammelte.[73] Für die Drainage wurde 1,5 m bis 2 m unter dem antiken Gehniveau ein etwa 1 m breiter Graben angelegt. Seine Seiten wurden mit Lehm abgedichtet und mit Bruchsteinen im Trockenversatz gefasst. Ein in der Mitte verlaufendes Gerinne war mit Sandsteinplatten ausgelegt, die von Bruchsteinen abgedeckt waren. Der Hohlraum zwischen den Steinen wurde mit Rollschotter verfüllt. Während die Zuleitung auf den östlichen 8 m ein Gefälle von etwa 6 % aufwies, betrug das Gefälle auf den letzten 7 m 10 %, so dass die Drainage in die Brunnenkammer eine ausreichende Wasserversorgung der Therme zu sichern vermochte.[74] Ein Graben in der Flucht der Brunnenkammer könnte als Fortsetzung der Drainage gedacht gewesen sein, wurde aber wohl nicht fertiggestellt, da die für eine Drainage typischen Einbauten nicht ausgeführt wurden.[75]

Ebenfalls in fortgeschrittener hadrianischer Zeit erhielt die sog. Südstraße eine neue Schotterung, in der eine neue Leitung in einem etwa 0,4 m tiefen Graben entlang des südlichen Straßenrandes gelegt wurde, die zumindest bis nach der Mitte des 2. Jahrhunderts verwendet worden sein dürfte.[76]

Nach den Brunnen und Holzleitungen folgte eine zweite Generation innerstädtischer, in Stein ausgeführter Wasserleitungen: Entlang der Weststraße wurde ein Wasserleitungsstrang des hadrianischen Straßenhorizonts ergraben. Von einem in den Boden gesetzten Becken an der Kreuzung mit der Südstraße ging eine nach Norden entlang der Westseite der Straße in den Straßenhorizont gesetzte Freispiegelleitung ab. Diese bestand aus einem Kanal mit gemauerten Wangen und einer Sohle aus aneinander gelegten Ziegeln. Das Gerinne war mit hydraulischem Mörtel ausgekleidet und mit von Querhölzern getragenen Holzplanken abgedeckt.[77]

In frühseverischer Zeit wurde die Infrastruktur der Zivilstadt von Carnuntum – wohl im Zusammenhang mit der Erhebung der Stadt zur *colonia Antoniniana Carnuntum* – weitgehend modernisiert: Sandsteinplatten wurden erstmalig als Straßenpflaster verlegt, ein Abwasserentsorgungsnetz aus breiten, tiefen Kanälen wurde mittig unter Straßen der Siedlung geschaffen.[78] Unter der Südstraße wurde ein breiter, gemauerter Abwasserkanal konstruiert. Ein Strang der ebenfalls kanalisierten Oststraße war jedoch nicht mit dem Mittelkanal der Südstraße verbunden: Lediglich ein schmales Gerinne begleitete die westliche Straßenbegrenzung von der nördlichen Straßenschulter der Südstraße an. Zusätzlich wurde eine Schüttung vorgenommen, um das Straßenniveau anzuheben.[79] Drei Vorrichtungen zur Versorgung mit Frischwasser sind der frühseverischen Ausbauphase mit Sicherheit, drei weitere wahrscheinlich zuzuweisen.[80]

Die Wasserversorgung der Häuser im (heutigen) Archäologischen Park wurde durch die Anlage einer Frischwasserzuleitung tiefgreifend verändert: Diese wurde nördlich der Stadtbefestigung von einem ergiebigen lokalen Grundwasserhorizont gespeist. Auch die Therme wurde in derselben Zeit erstmalig an ein von Westen kommendes Leitungssystem angebunden und mit fließendem Frischwasser versorgt.[81]

Eine teilweise bekannte Leitung aus dem Westen der Flur 'Gstettenbreite' führte zu einem Fischteich im Tiergarten von Schloss Petronell, wo sie sich mit einem Bach vereinigte, der wahrscheinlich dem Verlauf einer römischen Leitung aus dem Süden folgte. Die Leitung aus dem Westen wurde in der historischen "topographischen Aufnahme der Herrschaft Petronell" von E. von Sacken als gemauerter Kanal beschrieben und zu Recht als römische Wasserleitung erkannt.[82] Diese Wasserleitung wurde vermutlich zur Versorgung der in frühseverischer Zeit errichteten ‘Großen Thermen‘ angelegt.[83]

Andreas Konecny beschreibt eine Wasserleitung am westlichen Rand seines Untersuchungsgebietes.[84] Bei dieser wurde das einen Fuß breite Gerinne beidseitig von Wangen aus vermörteltem Bruchstein gefasst. Der Boden der Leitung war mit hydraulischem Mörtel verstrichen und der Kanal mit teilweise wiederverwendeten Sandsteinplatten abgedeckt worden.

Einige Befunde geben Aufschluss über die Ableitung von Regen- und Brauchwasser: Als an der Wende vom 2. zum 3. Jh. der Bereich von Haus V in zwei Streifenparzellen geteilt und somit Haus Va und Haus Vb geschaffen wurden, trennte ein schmaler *ambitus* beide Areale. Im *ambitus* wurde ein mit Holzplanken ausgelegter und eingefasster Kanal installiert, der zur Ableitung von Regenwasser diente.[85]

Der Kanal im *ambitus* wurde im späten 3. oder frühen 4. Jh. erneuert. Die Holzplanken zur Einfassung des Gerinnes wichen nun Bruchsteinmauern. Die neue Abdeckung bestand aus Sandsteinplatten als Teil des Pflasters.[86] Etwa zur selben Zeit wurde der Seitenkanal der Oststraße aufgegeben und zugeschüttet. Stattdessen wurde nun ein 0,8 m breiter Mittelkanal, der mit dem Kanal der Südstraße verbunden war, errichtet. Der südliche Ast der Oststraße (zwischen den Häusern IV und V) wurde nun ebenfalls durch einen Mittelkanal mit einer Gerinnebreite von 0,5 m modernisiert, der ebenfalls an den Mittelkanal der Südstraße angebunden war.[87]

Zur Entwässerung der ‘Großen Thermen‘ merkte Helga Sedlmayer an:[88] “Die Entwässerung der Zivilstadt und damit auch der Thermen erfolgte dem natürlichen Gefälle folgend Richtung Norden zur Donau. Für den Stadtteil nördlich des Forums waren zwei Hauptkanäle entlang der westlichen und östlichen Begrenzung des ‘Macellum-Thermen-Komplexes‘ nachzuweisen. […] Der Nord-Süd-Sammelkanal an der Westflanke wurde auf einer Länge von 158 m ab dem Decumanus maximus, der Straße, im Süden und bis über die nördliche Umfriedung der Insula hinweg Richtung Donau dokumentiert, mit einem Gefälle nach Norden. […] In den Sammelkanal mündeten kleinere, durchschnittlich 0,4 m im Quadrat messende Seitenkanäle aus dem westlich angrenzenden Stadtquartier sowie die Ableitung, die durch RVI zwischen Macellum und Schola führte. Die lichte Höhe des Kanals betrug 1,25 m, die Weite 0,77 m – 0,8 m, die Gesamtbreite 2,1 m. Den Boden bildeten maximal 0,77 m breite Steinplatten mit einer 0,01 m – 0,02 m starken Mörtellage. Die Kanalwangen bestanden im untersten Abschnitt aus einem rund 0,6 m hohen Kalksandstein-Quadermauerwerk. […] Dieses wurde durch eine Ziegelausgleichsschicht von der darüber befindlichen Bruchsteinmauer getrennt, die wiederum die Decke trug. Letztere bildete ein aus Stein- und Ziegelplatten gefügtes Gewölbe. Überlagert wurde das südliche Mauerhaupt des Kanals auf 0,27 m Länge durch die Pflastersteine des Decumanus Maximus.”

Zahlreiche Indizien weisen auf ein schweres Erdbeben um die Mitte des 4. Jhs. hin, das großen Schaden in Carnuntum anrichtete.[89] Als Folge des Erdbebens wurden sowohl der Mittelkanal der Südstraße als auch der Südabschnitt des Kanals in der Oststraße ausgerissen. In der Südstraße wurde Schutt des Bebens in die Ausrissgrube gefüllt und das Pflaster neu verlegt. Ein seichtes Gerinne sollte von nun an als Abfluss dienen.[90]

Eine Aufgabe des Kanalsystems in der Spätantike ist in zahlreichen antiken Städten zu beobachten. Als Faktoren hierfür werden beispielsweise der Niedergang städtischer Autorität in Bezug auf Infrastrukturaufgaben und mangelnde Wartung, eine Einschränkung der Wasserversorgung durch geringere Wasserzuleitung und damit eine unzureichende Spülung sowie eine Veränderung der Badekultur als Folge christlicher Moralvorstellungen angeführt.[91]

Julia Reuckl fasst Beobachtungen zur Kanalisation von Carnuntum wie folgt zusammen:[92] “Carnuntum besaß ein gemauertes Kanalsystem, die Kanalwangen waren aus Bruchsteinen errichtet worden, die Sohlen großteils mit Ziegeln ausgelegt. Als Kanalabdeckungen fungierten Steinplatten. Die Kanäle waren im Schnitt 1,2 m hoch und 0,8 m breit, eine Ausnahme bildet der Kanal unter S3, der ebenso breit wie hoch war. Sie verliefen zumeist mittig unter den Straßen. Die Nutzungsphasen der einzelnen Kanäle waren sehr unterschiedlich. Die ältesten Nachweise liefern die beiden Kanäle an der Ost- und der Westseite von S5, diese wurden bereits ab Beginn des 2. Jhs. genutzt, danach folgte der mittig unter S3 verlaufende Kanal, der ab hadrianischer Zeit in Benutzung war. Am jüngsten ist der unter der Südstraße S4 verlaufende Kanal, der erst Anfang des 3. Jhs. instandgesetzt wurde.

Die Straßen der Zivilstadt wurden in der 2. Hälfte bzw. gegen Ende des 1. Jhs. errichtet, ein Zeitpunkt, der mit den frühesten Nachweisen römischer Siedlungstätigkeit im Stadtgebiet zusammenfällt.”

DAS ‘ARCHPRO CARNUNTUM‘ PROJEKT

Das ‘ArchPro Carnuntum‘ Projekt schuf einen einzigartigen Datensatz, der aus unterschiedlichsten zerstörungsfreien Prospektionsdatensätzen besteht und eine perfekte Grundlage für die Untersuchung einer großflächigen archäologischen Landschaft bietet. Ziel des Projekts war es, eine möglichst lückenlose Aufnahme des antiken Siedlungsgebiets zu generieren und weitere Informationen zu Infrastruktur und Erhaltungszustand zu gewinnen.[93]

Um dieses Ziel zu erreichen, wurde vor allem auf zwei in der Archäologie bestens bewährte Erkundungsmethoden (Geomagnetik und Bodenradar) zurückgegriffen. Jede dieser Methoden kann als Bildquelle visualisiert werden und wandelt die gemessenen Werte physikalischer Bodenbeschaffenheiten in Rasterbilder um. Innerhalb des auf drei Jahre angesetzten Projekts konnte eine Fläche von ca. 830 ha beinahe lückenlos mit Geomagnetik und eine Fläche von etwas mehr als 240 ha mittels Bodenradar hochauflösend erkundet werden. Speziell auf der hier vorgestellten Flur 'Tiergartenbreite', die mehr als die Hälfte der ehemaligen Zivilstadt einnimmt, konnten die hervorragenden Erhaltungsbedingungen der antiken Bausubstanz auf einer Fläche von annähernd 14 ha bis in eine Tiefe von 2,5 m zerstörungsfrei erforscht werden. Für die zerstörungsfreie Erkundung der verborgenen archäologischen Strukturen im näheren Umfeld der römischen Stadt von Carnuntum haben sich in den vergangenen Jahren unterschiedlichste Prospektionsmethoden bestens bewährt.[94] Im Falle des hier vorgestellten Bereiches, inmitten der ehemaligen Zivilstadt, wurden die beiden bereits angeführten und besonders aussagekräftigen Prospektionsverfahren (Geomagnetik und Bodenradar) angewandt. Für die Analyse der hierbei generierten Bildquellen hat es sich als äußerst hilfreich erwiesen, neben einer rein textlichen Beschreibung auch eine vereinfachte Umzeichnung der archäologisch relevanten Strukturen anzufertigen.[95]

Um die unterschiedlichen Bildquellen miteinander vergleichen und ihre Interpretationsergebnisse in Verbindung bringen zu können, ist neben einer annähernd ähnlichen Aufnahmeauflösung auch die Lagegenauigkeit der Visualisierungen entscheidend. Für die Positionierung der motorisierten geophysikalischen Messungen wurde eine Satellitennavigation (RTK GNNS) verwendet, welche eine durchgängige Genauigkeit von 5 cm gewährleistet. Durch die Einbindung in ein GIS-programm (ArcGIS esri) können sämtliche Bildquellen übereinandergelegt und direkt miteinander verglichen, kombiniert und räumlich analysiert werden.

Bodenradar

Die Aufnahmen des Bodenradars wurden mit einem motorisierten Mehrkanalsystem durchgeführt, welches eine Messauflösung von 8 cm sowohl in Fahrtrichtung als auch senkrecht dazu aufweist. Diese hohe Messgenauigkeit ermöglichte es, detaillierte tiefenabhängige Informationen über die noch im Boden verborgenen archäologischen Strukturen zu gewinnen. Hierzu wurde eine elektromagnetische Welle mit 400 MHz in den Boden injiziert, welche durch die spezifischen physikalischen Eigenschaften der verschiedenen im Boden befindlichen Schichten und Objekte reflektiert wurde. Aus den gemessenen Reflexionswerten wurde in der Datenprozessierung ein 3D-Datenwürfel berechnet, welcher virtuell in horizontale Datenscheiben, sog. Tiefenscheiben, zerschnitten wurde. Diese Tiefenscheiben zeigten detaillierte Informationen über die Intensitätswerte der Reflexionen, die wiederum in Graustufenbilder umgewandelt wurden.[96] Durch dieses Prospektionsverfahren können stark reflektierende Körper wie Steinmauern, Wasserleitungen, Fußböden oder die Schüttungen von Gehwegen, Gassen und befestigten Straßenkörpern bis in eine Tiefe von ca. 2,5 m dargestellt werden. In den beiden oberen Abbildungen (*Abb. 3-6*) wurden die aufgenommenen Reflexionswerte in zwei unterschiedlichen Tiefenbereichen visualisiert, hier gilt: je dunkler der Bildpunkt, desto stärker die reflektierte Radarwelle. Bereiche, in denen die injizierten Wellen jedoch großteils absorbiert wurden, sind heller dargestellt.

Geomagnetik

Auf der ausgewählten Fläche wurde mittels motorisiertem Förster-Magnetometer, bei einem Sondenabstand von 25 cm und einem Messpunktabstand von durchschnittlich 10 cm in Fahrtrichtung, eine Gradiometeraufnahme des Erdmagnetfeldes durchgeführt. Die von den Sonden aufgenommenen magnetischen Werte wurden anschließend in ein georeferenziertes Graustufenbild umgewandelt. Für diese Abbildung wurden die Bildpunkte zwischen den tatsächlichen Messwerten linear interpoliert, um auf eine Bildauflösung von 10 cm x 10 cm pro Pixel zu gelangen. In weiterer Folge wurden aus dem Datensatz mehrere Graustufenbilder in unterschiedlichen Dynamiken (Clip-off-Bereichen) erzeugt. In den Messbildern der Geomagnetik sind detaillierte Informationen über unterschiedlich magnetisierte Strukturen wie Gruben, Gräben, Stein- oder Ziegelmauern, Steinlagen von Fußböden oder Straßenkörpern unterscheidbar. Hier gilt, dass Steine, Steinmauern und verdichtete Bodenbereiche aus Schotterlagen (z. B. Fußböden oder Straßenkörper) sich durch ihre deutlich geringere Magnetisierung gut von Strukturen wie Gruben oder Gräben unterscheiden. Dies basiert vor allem auf einen erhöhten Anteil von humoserem Oberboden, der sich in den Wiederverfüllungen von einst tief in den Untergrund gegrabenen menschlichen Hinterlassenschaften einbrachte und diese Bereiche stärker magnetisiert.

Fallbeispiele aus Carnuntum

Im Folgenden werden Beobachtungen zur Hydrotechnik in der Zivilstadt von Carnuntum vorgestellt, die sich auf die Interpretation geophysikalischer Prospektionsbefunde des '*ArchPro Carnuntum*' Projekts stützen.

Die außerstädtische Nutzwasserzuleitung in die Zivilstadt von Carnuntum erfolgte mit mehreren Wasserleitungen aus unterschiedlichen Richtungen.[97]

Eine dieser Wasserleitungen nahm ihren Ursprung im Süden aus dem Gebiet des heutigen Sportplatzes von Petronell und erreichte die Zivilstadt im Bereich des modernen Besucherzentrums.[98]

Eine weitere Wasserleitung führte zwischen der Gladiatorenschule und dem Amphitheater II nach Norden zur Stadt.[99] Sie ist im Bereich des Südwesttores, nahe dem als *mansio* interpretierten Gebäudekomplex, deutlich in den Messbildern zu erkennen und passiert im Torbereich die Stadtmauer. Allerdings lässt sich im innerstädtischen Bereich der Verlauf dieser Leitung bald nicht mehr mit Sicherheit nachvollziehen, höchstwahrscheinlich folgt sie dem Straßenverlauf nach Norden.

Die dritte Wasserzuleitung, die wahrscheinlich zur Versorgung der 'Großen Thermen' angelegt wurde, konnte außerhalb der Stadt mehrfach archäologisch erfasst werden und erreichte die Stadt von Westen aus.[100] Mehrere Sickerschächte, welche sich nahe der heutigen 'Tiergartenmauer' mit der Wasserleitung vereinen, können auf eine Länge von mehr als 800 m auf der Flur 'Gstettenbreite' erkannt werden.[101] Die außerstädtischen Nutzwasserzuleitungen sind archäologisch gut dokumentiert, da sie partiell ergraben und im Prospektionsbefund deutlich zu erkennen sind.

Im innerstädtischen Bereich sind lineare Anomalien an den Seiten einiger Straßenzüge zu erkennen, die als Wangen von Wasserleitung gedeutet werden können (s. o.). Der Verlauf der Nutzwasserleitungen entlang einer Hauptstraße erinnert durchaus an die Situation in *Aquincum*,[102] wo das Wasser oberirdisch geführt wurde sowie an die Grabungsbefunde im Archäologischen Park (s. o.).

Da die Wasserleitungen in Carnuntum erst in einem fortgeschrittenen Stadium urbaner Entwicklung angelegt wurden, war die Nutzung des Straßenraums für die Anlage einer großen Leitung innerhalb einer bestehenden, bereits dicht verbauten Stadt fast alternativlos, sollten allzu große Eingriffe in den bestehenden Baubestand vermieden werden. Aus diesem Grunde könnten die in den geophysikalischen Aufnahmen erkannten linearen Mauerstrukturen, welche den innerstädtischen Straßenzügen folgen, als Teile von Nutzwasserleitungen interpretiert werden.

Während aus den Grabungen zahlreiche Brunnen zur direkten Wasserversorgung seit der Frühphase der Siedlung bekannt sind,[103] konnten im Messbild Ziehbrunnen kaum identifiziert werden. Eine Ansprache als Ziehbrunnen könnte sich auf eine rechteckige oder runde Form mit einer bestimmten Minimal- und Maximalgröße, auf eine unter das Niveau der Umgebungsbebauung bis zum Grundwasserspiegel reichende Tiefe oder auf einen Materialkontrast der Verfüllung zum Umgebungskontext stützen. Im Messbild sind einzelne Strukturen zu erkennen, die aufgrund ihrer annähernd runden oder ovalen Form möglicherweise als Brunnen gedeutet werden können. Die Reflexionseigenschaften des Materials legen nahe, dass es sich um steinerne Strukturen handelt. Eine dieser möglichen Strukturen liegt im Südwesten der Messfläche direkt an dem *cardo maximus*, der das Forum mit dem südlichen Stadttor verbindet, so dass er von vielen potentiellen Nutzern günstig zu erreichen gewesen wäre (*Abb. 2*).

Die Lage von Brunnen an Straßenkreuzungen lässt sich beispielsweise in der Infrastruktur von Pompeji beobachten.[104] Die als möglicher Brunnen zu deutende Anomalie (*Abb. 2*) hat einen Innendurchmesser von 110 cm. Sie beginnt in einer Tiefe von 60 cm unter der modernen Geländeoberfläche und lässt sich bis in eine Tiefe von 160 cm nachweisen. Die Interpretation dieses Befundes kann jedoch nicht mit Sicherheit erfolgen, denn hölzerne Brunnen, wie sie aus den Grabungsbefunden bekannt sind, zeichnen sich weder in den magnetischen Prospektions-, noch in den Radardaten besonders deutlich ab. In Anbetracht der großen Zahl an Brunnen im ergrabenen Teil der Stadt liegt die Existenz weiterer Brunnen nahe, die sich in den Prospektionsdaten allerdings nicht eindeutig identifizieren lassen.

Bei den großflächigen magnetischen Prospektionen in Enns wurden im Messbild ebenfalls keine Brunnen identifiziert, obwohl durch Grabungen 38 Brunnen bekannt sind.[105] Mögliche Erklärungen dafür wären ein zu geringer Kontrast zum Material, das die Brunnen umgibt oder eine spätere Überbauung, die den Befund zu stark verunklärt. Eine solche Überbauungssituation ist im Bereich der 'Großen Thermen', unter dem Präfurnium R 19, durch einen Grabungsbefund belegt.[106] Zudem könnten Brunnen auf-

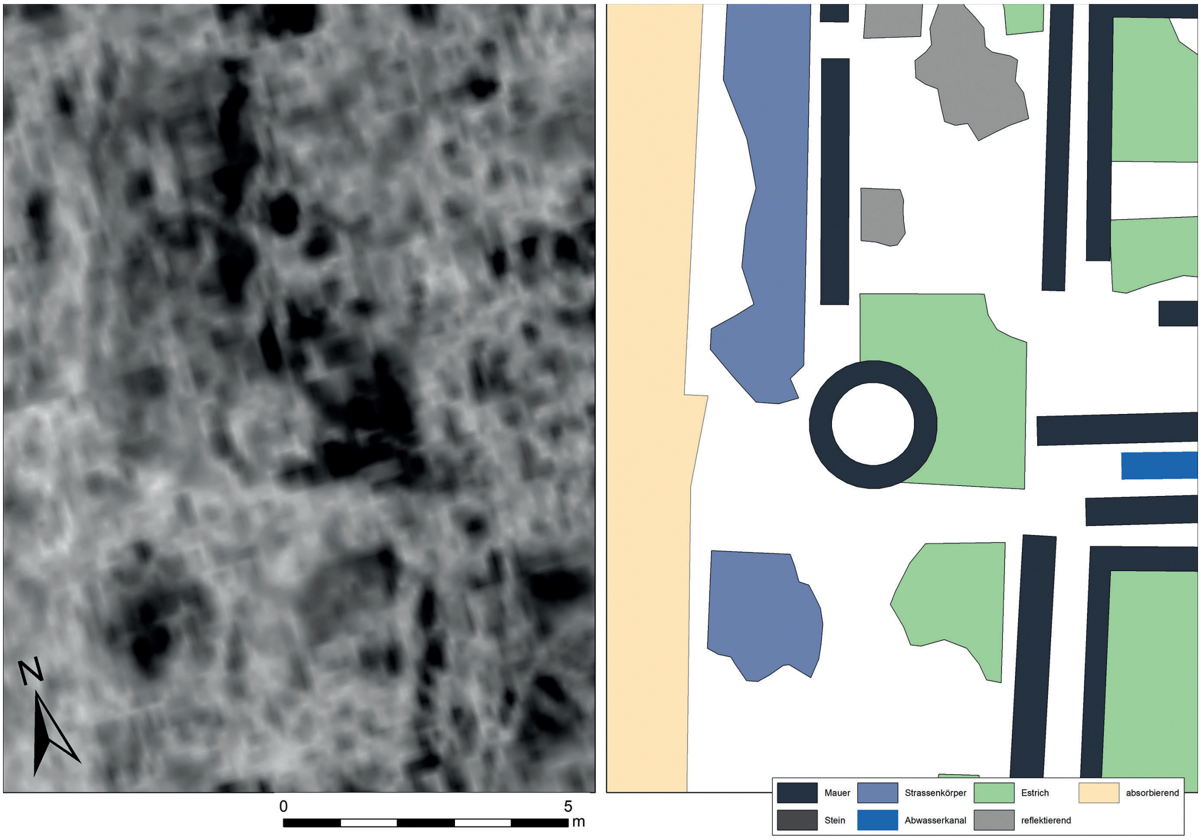


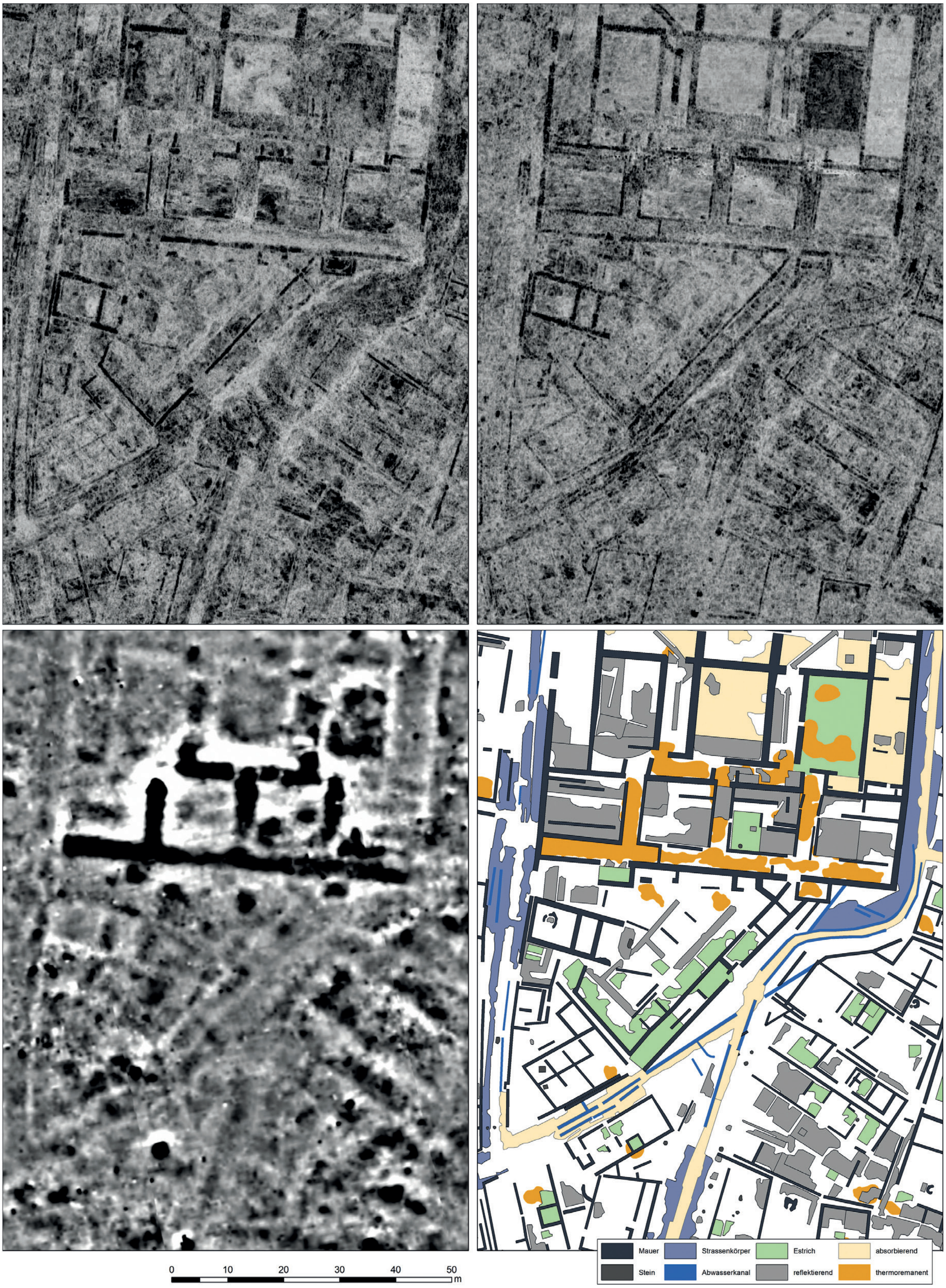
Abb. 2. Die Visualisierung der Bodenradardaten in einem Tiefenbereich von 50-100 cm (links) und die archäologische Gesamtinterpretation der geophysikalischen Messdaten (rechts) zeigt einen annähernd runden helleren Bereich welcher als Brunnen interpretiert wurde (Abbildung: M. Wallner).

grund der hydrologischen Gegebenheiten tatsächlich häufiger im Südwesten des Stadtgebiets gelegen gewesen sein. Eine Versorgung der ganzen Stadt von hier aus ist allerdings sehr unwahrscheinlich. Ferner ist zu berücksichtigen, dass Brunnen nicht nur der Versorgung mit Trink- und Brauchwasser dienten, sondern auch zur Brandbekämpfung notwendig waren, für die Wasser nicht über große Distanzen hätte herangeführt werden können.

Südlich des Forums sind im Messbild zwei parallel zueinander gelegene rechteckige Strukturen zu erkennen (*Abb. 3*), die jeweils etwa 3 x 7 m messen und besonders gut in einer Tiefe von etwa 1,10 m bis 1,60 m zu sehen sind. Die weiter westlich gelegene Struktur war an einem Tempelvorplatz, die östliche an einer Straßenkreuzung gelegen. Beide Strukturen bestehen aus zwei rechteckigen, jeweils parallel zueinander verlaufenden Einfassungen. Möglicherweise könnte es sich um repräsentative Brunnenbecken handeln. Für eine solche Interpretation spricht ihre Lage, da im Kontext ritueller Kulthandlungen im Tempel Wasser benötigt wurde und eine Kreuzung nahe dem Forum sich sowohl unter repräsentativen als auch unter praktisch-urbanistischen Aspekten als Standort eines Brunnens angeboten hätte. Einschränkend ist anzumerken, dass im Messbild keine Hinweise auf Wasserzu- oder ableitungen zu erkennen sind. Vielleicht könnte es sich bei den beiden Strukturen auch um Schreine handeln, bei denen das äußere Struktur auf eine einst vorhandene Umfriedung oder Schranke verweist.

Wolfgang Neubauer interpretierte diese rechteckigen Strukturen ursprünglich als Treppenauf-

> Abb. 3. Visualisierung der Bodenradardaten in einem Tiefenbereich von 50-100 cm (oben links) und des Tiefenbereiches von 100-150 cm (oben rechts). Abbildung der Geomagnetik (links unten) in einer Dynamik von -4 nT bis +6 nT. In der archäologischen Gesamtinterpretation (unten rechts) sind neben den beiden möglichen Brunnen auch die sich zentral im Straßenkörper befindlichen Abwasserkanäle deutlich zu erkennen (Abbildung: M. Wallner).



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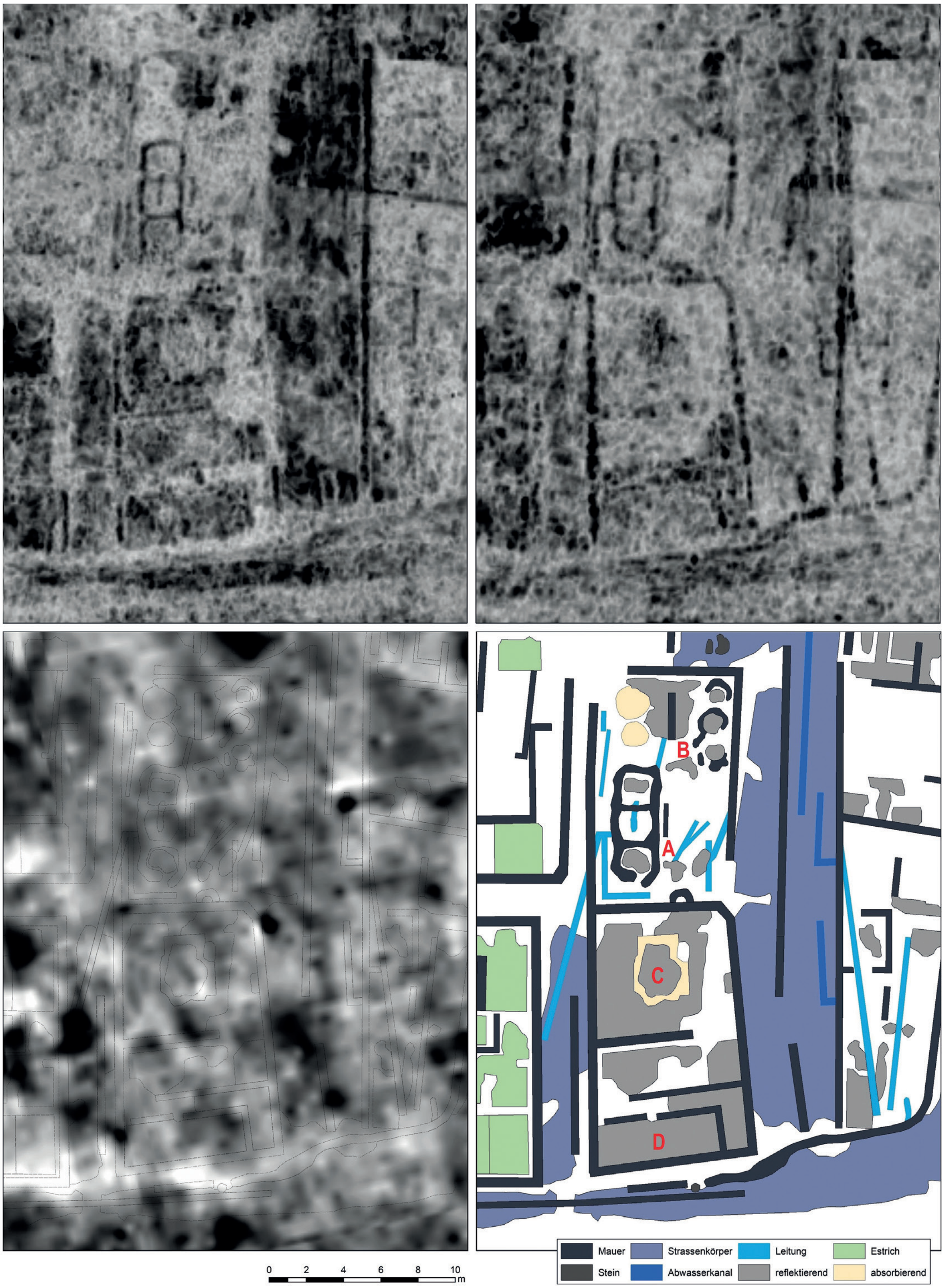
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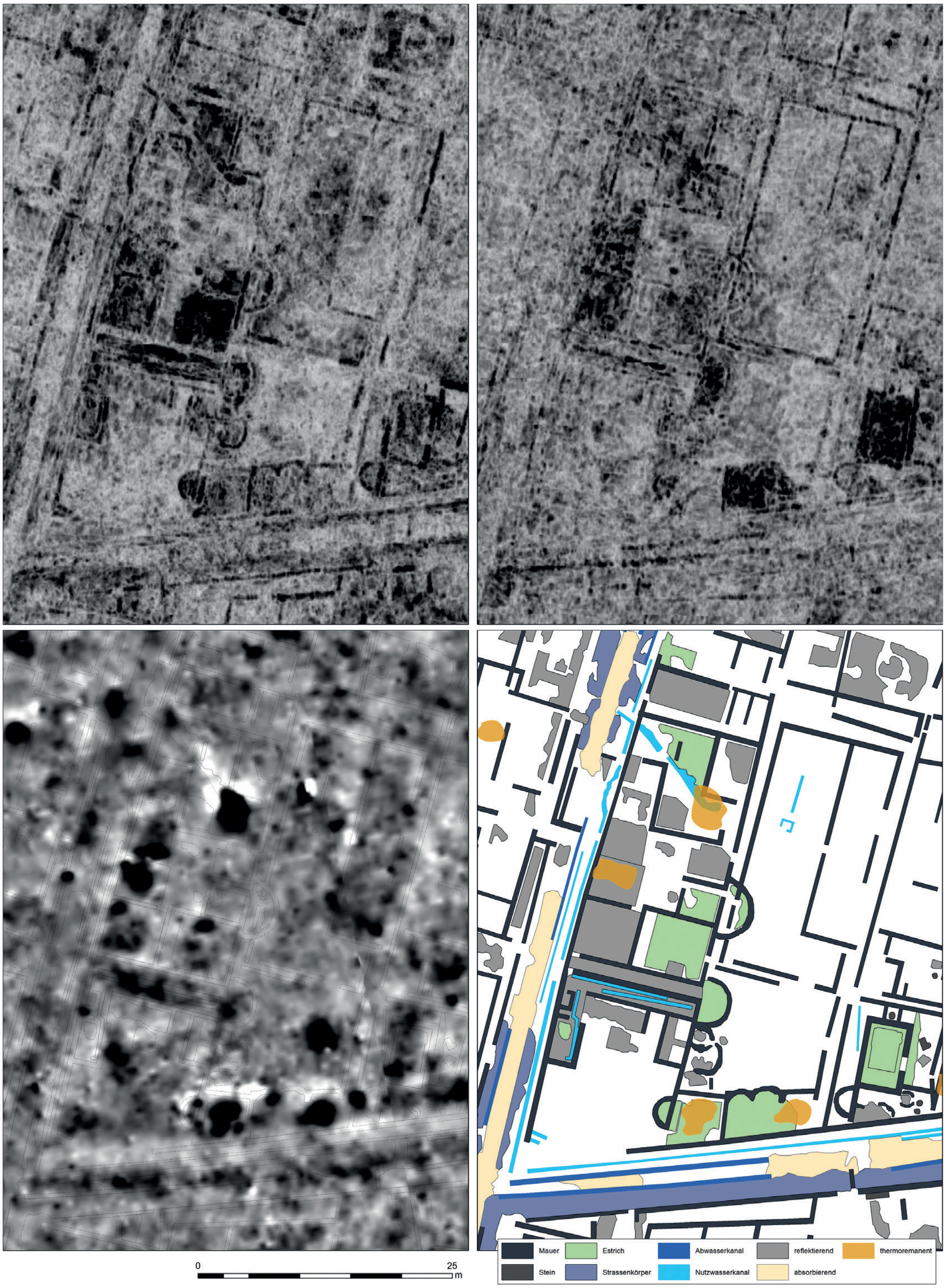
Abb. 4. Visualisierung der Bodenradardaten in einem Tiefenbereich von 50-100 cm (oben links) und des Tiefenbereiches von 100-150 cm (oben rechts). Abbildung der Geomagnetik (links unten) in einer Dynamik von -4 nT bis +6 nT. Die archäologische Gesamtinterpretation der beiden Messmethoden (unten rechts) zeigt mehrere miteinander verbundene Becken und in den Boden eingelassene Wannen einer fullonica (Abbildung: M. Wallner).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Nutzwasserkanal
absorbierend

Abb. 5. Visualisierung der Bodenradardaten in einem Tiefenbereich von 50-100 cm (oben links) und des Tiefenbereiches von 100-150 cm (oben rechts). Abbildung der Geomagnetik (links unten) in einer Dynamik von -4 nT bis +6 nT. Die archäologische Gesamtinterpretation der beiden Messmethoden (unten rechts) zeigt deutlich die sich ergänzenden Ergebnisse der angewandten Prospektionsmethoden, welche als Thermenanlage interpretiert wurde (Abbildung: M. Wallner).

gänge, die als Zugänge von Süden zu dem südlich des Forums gelegenen Kurien-Komplex gedient hätten.[107] Für diese Interpretation könnte sprechen, dass sie etwa in der Flucht von Nord-Süd-orientierten Korridoren im Gebäude liegen. Valeria Poscetti spricht sich nach einer ursprünglichen Deutung als Mauerstruktur gegen diese Interpretation aus, da eine detaillierte Datenanalyse keine Abtreppung zeige und es sich um sehr regelmäßige rechteckige Strukturen handele.[108] Sie hält eine Interpretation als Nebenräume für wahrscheinlich und als Brunnen für möglich.[109]

Im Hinblick auf Bauten mit spezifischem, funktionalen Bezug zur Wassernutzung, weisen Anomalien im Nordwesten der Zivilstadt auf Strukturen hin, die als *fullonica* gedeutet werden:[110] Das Messbild der Radardaten zeigt im Tiefenbereich von etwa 50-150 cm in einem von einer Mauer eingefassten rechteckigen Areal drei direkt aneinander gelegene fast rechteckige Anomalien, die als Becken gedeutet werden. Vom nördlichsten Becken gab es einen Ausfluss in das mittlere Becken (A in *Abb. 4*). Für einen Betrieb, in dem die Nutzung von Wasser eine große Rolle spielte, sprechen einige, bisweilen über die Grenze des Grundstücks hinausführende, als Leitungen gedeutete Anomalien.

Im Nordosten der von der Mauer eingefassten Anlage sind drei annähernd ovale bis runde nahe beieinanderliegende Anomalien (B in *Abb. 4*) zu erkennen. Diese Anomalien könnten als in den Boden eingelassene Wannen zur Reinigung der Wäsche (*fulling stalls*) gedeutet werden.[111] An der Südmauer des Areals liegt eine halbrunde Mauerstruktur, die vielleicht ebenfalls eine Wanne einfasste. Im Magnetogramm (*Abb. 2* links unten) zeichnen sich die beschriebenen Strukturen nur schwach ab. Flächen ohne Baustrukturen könnten zum Trocknen, zum Pressen und Glätten der Wäsche (C in *Abb. 4*) sowie für den Kundenkontakt bestimmt gewesen sein (D in *Abb. 4*).

Da mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit Betriebe mit mehreren miteinander kommunizierenden Becken und in den Boden eingelassenen Wannen als *fullonicae* zu interpretieren sind[112] liegt eine entsprechende Deutung für den Befund in Carnuntum nahe.[113]

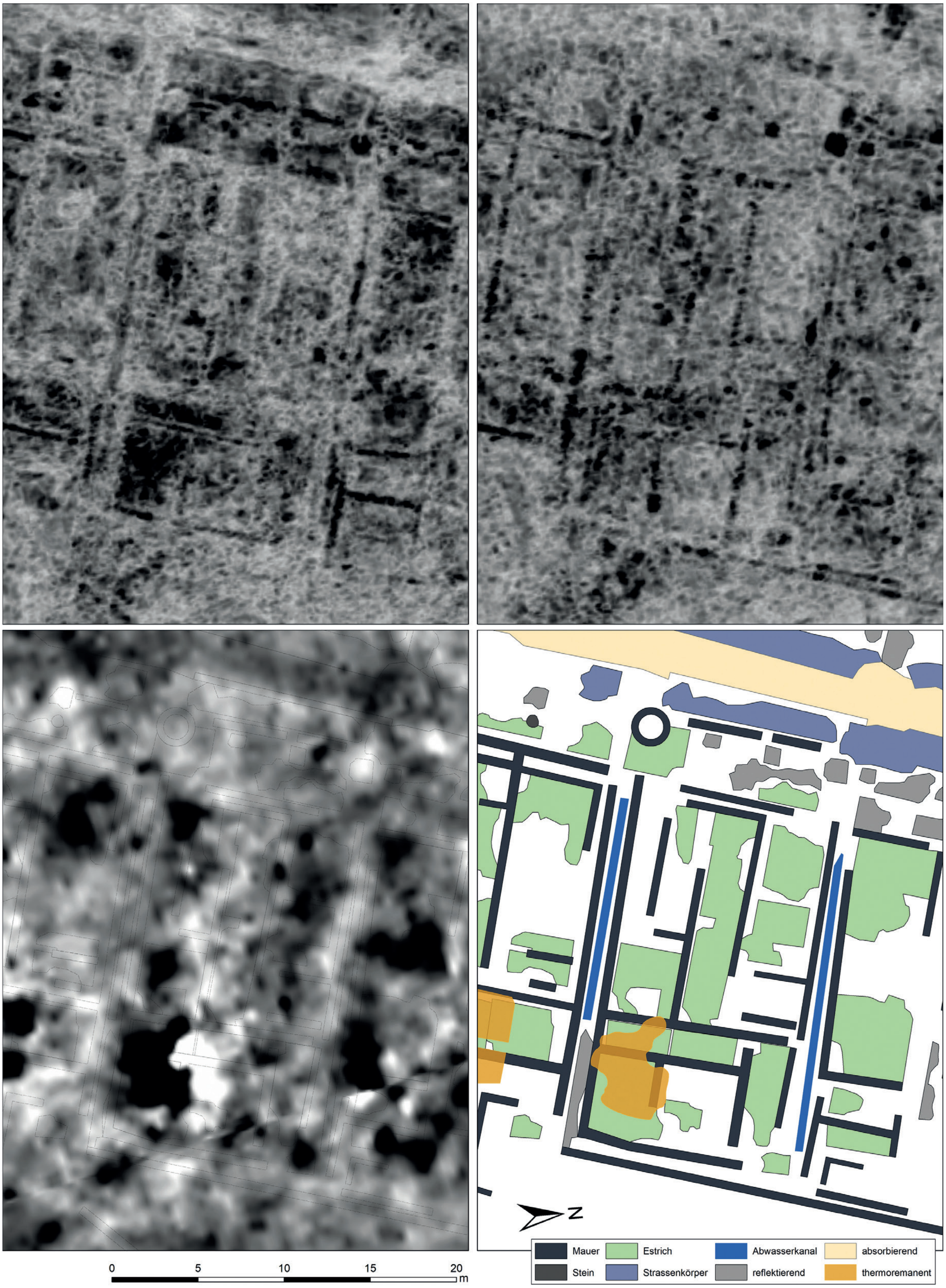
Die bei Altgrabungen in der Flur ‘Tiergartenbreite‘ dokumentierte Therme ist auf einem Plan verzeichnet,[114] doch sind zusätzliche Informationen zur Anlage rar. Die Frage nach der Existenz weiterer privater oder öffentlicher Thermenanlagen ist nicht einfach zu beantworten. Die Grundrisstypologie von Thermen wird durch den typischen Ablauf des Badens, somit durch die Notwendigkeit von Räumen für das Kaltbad, das Bad im lauwarmen und warmen Wasser sowie eines Umkleideraums bedingt. Entsprechende Räume waren im 2. und 3. Jh. n. Chr. häufig in einer Ringkonstellation angeordnet, so dass der Badende nicht durch bereits betretene Räume wieder zum Eingang zurückkehren musste.[115]

Charakteristische Elemente von Thermen sind Apsiden und beheizbare, mit Hypokausten versehene Räume (vor allem *caldarien* und *sudatorien*).[116] Im Messbild zeichnen sich mehrere Baukomplexe ab, die Apsiden und sehr wahrscheinlich auch hypokaustierte Räume aufweisen. Besonders bei zwei der entsprechenden Anlagen könnte es sich um Thermen handeln (*Abb. 5*), allerdings ist eine entsprechende Interpretation keineswegs zwingend, da sowohl beheizbare Räume als auch Apsiden nicht nur Elemente von Thermen, sondern auch der kaiserzeitlichen privaten Elite-Wohnarchitektur – vornehmlich in der Spätantike – waren, wie etwa an dem sog. Peristylhaus im Archäologischen Park zu sehen ist. Einen nahe des Forums gelegenen Komplex mit großer Apside vergleicht Valeria Poscetti mit der *Casa delle Bestie Ferite* in Aquileia.[117] In Ostia finden sich vier gesicherte spätantike Wohnbauten, in denen der Hauptraum eine begehbare Apsis besaß: Die *Domus dei Tigriniani, die Domus degli Augustali, die Domus della Fortuna Annonaria und die Domus IV, IV, 7*.[118] Generell ist für die Zivilstadt von Carnuntum sowohl von der Existenz mehrerer repräsentativer *domus*, in denen die städtische Führungsschicht lebte als auch von weiteren Thermen auszugehen. Eine differenzierte Ansprache einzelner Räume der potenziellen Thermenanlage und eine genaue Rekonstruktion der Badefolge sind auf Grundlage der Prospektionsdaten schwierig, so dass eine abschließende Klärung der Frage zum jetzigen Zeitpunkt nicht möglich ist.

Nach der Frischwasserzuleitung wird nun die Wasserableitung behandelt. Die Grabungsbefunde zeigen zwischen Häusern bisweilen einen schmalen *ambitus*, in dem ein Kanal zur Ableitung von Regen- und Dachwasser eingebaut war.[119]

Im Messbild könnten solche gedeckte Wasserablaufrinnen Mauern ähneln, da sie aus vergleichbarem Material bestehen und ebenfalls linear verlaufen. Finden sich zwei geradlinige parallel zueinander verlaufende Strukturen nahe beieinander, könnte es sich um Wasserableitungs-

>Abb. 6. Visualisierung der Bodenradardaten in einem Tiefenbereich von 50-100 cm (oben links) und des Tiefenbereiches von 100-150 cm (oben rechts). Abbildung der Geomagnetik (links unten) in einer Dynamik von -4 nT bis +6 nT (Abbildung: M. Wallner).


0
5
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m
N
Mauer
Estrich
Abwasserkanal
absorbierend
Stein
Strassenkörper
reflektierend
thermoremanent

systeme handeln (*Abb. 6*). Eine entsprechende Interpretation ist allerdings nicht zwingend, da beispielsweise auch Baustrukturen verschiedener Phasen mit unterschiedlicher Erhaltungshöhe in Frage kämen. Abwasser musste entweder in den Privathäusern in Behältern, wie etwa Schüsseln und Nachttöpfen gesammelt und vor dem Haus ausgeschüttet oder durch unter den Böden angelegten Kanälen aus dem Hausbereich geleitet werden. Bisweilen finden sich lineare oder kurvilineare Anomalien, die von der Hauptorientierung der Gebäude deutlich abweichen: Bei einigen dieser Strukturen könnte es sich um Ableitungen aus Wohnhäusern oder Handwerksbetrieben handeln (*Abb. 4*). Allerdings sind entsprechende Strukturen lediglich in eher geringer Zahl zu erkennen.

Aus den Grabungsbefunden ist bekannt, dass im Zuge des mit der Pflasterung der Straßen einhergehenden Ausbaus zentrale Abwasserkanäle unter den Hauptstraßen angelegt wurden.[120] Im Messbild sind entlang der Hauptstraßen jeweils zwei parallele Mauereinfassungen zu sehen, zwischen denen sich nur leicht reflektierendes Material befindet. Hierbei dürfte es sich um die seitlichen Einfassungen der straßenbegleitenden Abwasserkanäle handeln, deren ursprüngliche obere Abdeckung aus Pflastersteinen fehlt (*Abb. 3 und 5*). Auf diese Weise lässt sich ein urbanes Abwasserleitungssystem mithilfe der Prospektionsdaten aufzeigen. Das nördliche Ende des Systems und die Einleitung in die Donau sind nicht zu fassen, da sowohl ein Geländeabbruch als auch ein Wald die Messfläche im Norden begrenzen.

Das Forum Carnuntums wurde mit den direkt angrenzenden Bereichen bereits von Wolfgang Neubauer und Alois Hinterleitner und in der Dissertation von Valeria Poscetti untersucht.[121] Hierbei kamen geomagnetische und geoelektrische Messmethoden ebenso wie Georadar zum Einsatz. Als Kanäle gedeutete Strukturen wurden bereits von Wolfgang Neubauer und Alois Hinterleitner sowohl unter der Platzanlage selbst als auch unter dem weiter südlichen gelegenen *Capitolium* als solche identifiziert und auch von Valeria Poscetti bestätigt.[122] Diese Deutung kann bis heute Gültigkeit beanspruchen. Weitere Abflusskanäle lagen unter den *cardines* östlich und westlich des Forums.[123] Bei Berücksichtigung der Topografie wird ersichtlich, dass diese nach Norden zur Donau hin entwässerten. Archäologisch sind die beiden Kanäle auf Höhe der ‘Großen Thermen‘ nachgewiesen.[124] Eine Anomalie am Kanal westlich des Forums deutet Valeria Poscetti als mögliches Absatzbecken.[125] Die entsprechende Anomalie ist in den Daten erkennbar, eine Deutung als Absatzbecken ist allerdings bei einem Abwasserkanal nur schwer vorstellbar, da davon auszugehen ist, dass Feststoffe im Abwasser weggespült werden sollten und der Absatz des Materials nicht gewünscht war. Somit sollte die Deutung dieses spezifischen Prospektionsbefundes vorerst offenbleiben.

Vergleich mit Ergebnissen anderer Prospektionsprojekte zum Wasserbau

Der Einsatz geophysikalischer Prospektionsmethoden zur Identifikation von Wasserleitungen ist nicht auf die Antike beschränkt: So wurde Magnetometrie zur Erforschung der spätmittelalterlichen Wasserleitung der Burg Blankenheim (Deutschland) erfolgreich eingesetzt.[126] Die Leitung bestand aus hölzernen Rohren, die mit eisernen Muffen miteinander verbunden waren. Im Messbild ließen sich diese auch Deichelringe genannten Muffen – trotz relativ geringer Messpunktdichte von 0,25 x 0,5 m – gut erkennen.[127] Ähnliche eiserne Muffen sind bereits aus römischer Zeit bekannt, so u. a. von mehreren *villae rusticae* in Süddeutschland.[128]

Alba Fucens in Zentralitalien wurde durch ein etwa 10 km langes Aquädukt versorgt, für das eine Restaurierungsinschrift belegt ist. Zur Lokalisierung des extraurbanen Verlaufs der Leitung wurden Electrical Resistivity Tomography und Georadar verwendet, wobei sich das Aquädukt besonders in den Tomographie-Daten gut abzeichnete.[129]

Schlussbetrachtungen und Ausblick

Die geophysikalischen Prospektionsdaten von Carnuntum (*Abb. 7*) erlaubten es, neue Erkenntnisse zur wasserwirtschaftlichen Infrastruktur, sowohl zur Wasserversorgung, zur Wassernutzung als auch zur Brauchwasserentsorgung zu gewinnen. In den Daten sind erstaunlich wenige Brunnen zu erkennen, da diese sich aufgrund der Befundsituation schlecht identifizieren lassen. Dafür waren die Daten gut zur Identifikation unterschiedlicher Elemente der Wasserinfrastruktur geeignet. Dies gilt besonders für lineare Elemente wie Leitungen. Von Interesse ist ferner die Identifikation mehrerer potentieller Thermen, möglicher repräsentativer Brunnen in Forumsnähe sowie einer als *fullonica* gedeuteten Struktur, die aufgrund der geringen Anzahl entsprechender Bauten – gerade in den Nordprovinzen – besonders bedeutsam ist.

Der vergleichende Blick auf Einrichtungen des Wasserbaus in einigen Städten des Mittelmeerraumes zeigt ein komplexes System der Wasserzuleitung in Städten wie *Pompeji* und *Ostia*, die über

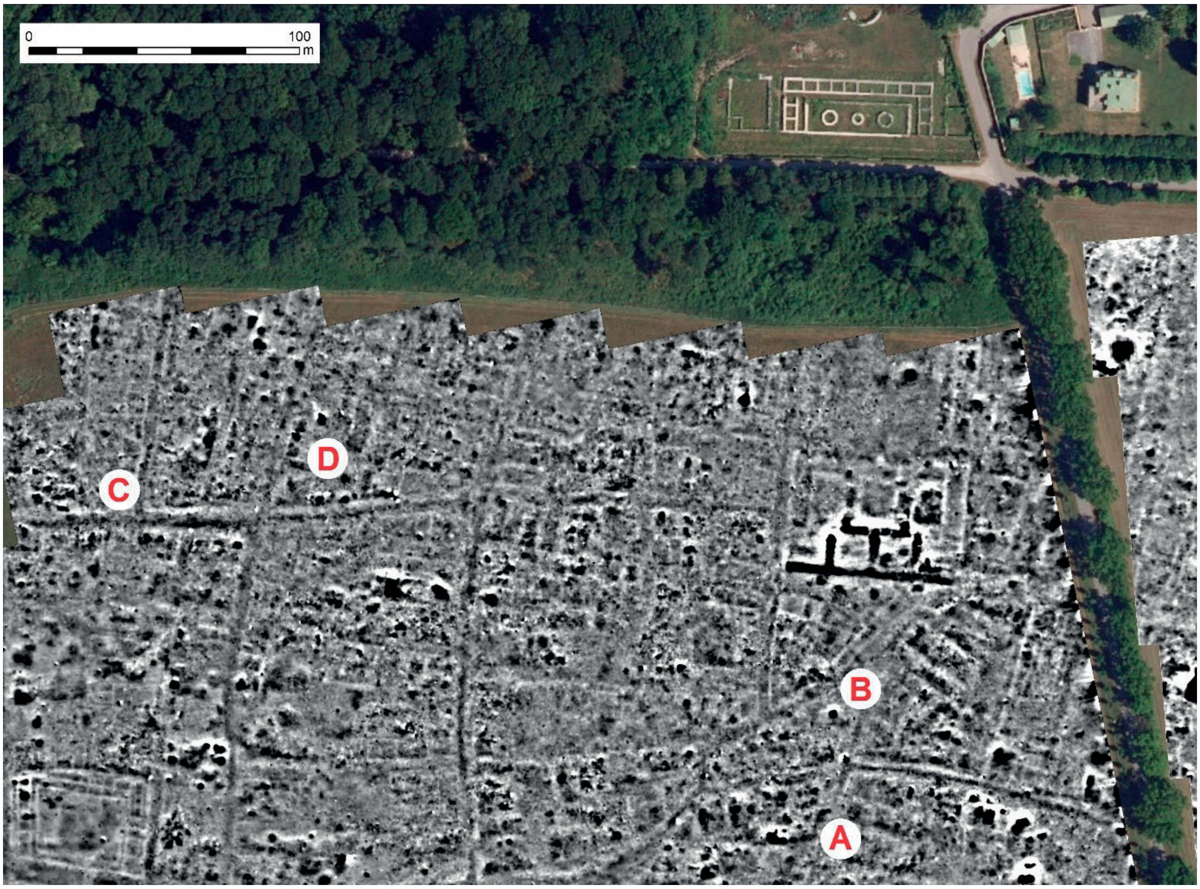

Abb. 7. Die Flur ‘Tiergartenbreite‘ mit einer Visualisierung der Geomagnetik in einer Dynamik von -4 nT bis +6 nT, die Buchstaben geben die Verortung der im Beitrag näher behandelten Bereiche wieder. A = Brunnen, B = Abwasserkanäle, C = fullonica. 4, D = Thermen) (Abbildung: M. Wallner).

aufwendige Aquädukte und ein innerstädtisches Verteilersystem verfügten. Hinweise auf ein entsprechend komplexes Wasserverteilungssystem gibt es in Carnuntum nicht. Das Wasserableitungssystem der severischen Ausbauphase war hingegen strukturierter als das von Pompeji, wobei die Unterschiede in der Zeitstellung ebenso wie Größe der Städte und die jeweiligen Klimabedingungen zu berücksichtigen sind. Im Vergleich mit anderen Stätten in der weiteren Nachbarschaft wies Carnuntum als Provinzhauptstadt – zumindest nach dem Ausbau der Infrastruktur in severischer Zeit – ein gutes Wasserversorgungs- und Abwasserentsorgungssystem auf.

Methodisch zeigt der hier vorgestellte Ansatz Perspektiven für eine flächige Erforschung infrastruktureller Fragestellungen unausgegrabener Städte auf und unterstreicht die Bedeutung hochauflösender lückenloser Prospektion für die Erforschung antiker Stadtlandschaften. Die Bearbeitung der wasserwirtschaftlichen Aspekte ist darüber hinaus als ein Einzelaspekt im Gesamtkontext der archäologischen Landschaft Carnuntums zu sehen.[130]

Anmerkungen

[*] Michael Teichmanns Forschung zu diesem Thema wurde durch ein Postdoc-Kurzstipendium des Deutschen Akademischen Austauschdienstes am Ludwig Boltzmann Institut für Archäologische Prospektion und Virtuelle Archäologie (LBI ArchPro) gefördert. Zum Zeitpunkt der Fertigstellung des Beitrags erfolgte eine Förderung des Autors durch die Fritz Thyssen Stiftung an der Freien Universität Berlin. Beiden Institutionen sei herzlich gedankt. Michael Teichmann und Mario Wallner trugen zu gleichen Teilen zu dieser Publikation bei. A. Konecny und C. Gugl ist für Diskussionen zum Thema zu danken.
Das Ludwig Boltzmann Institut für Archäologische Prospektion und Virtuelle Archäologie (archpro.lbg.ac.at) beruht auf einer internationalen Kooperation der Ludwig Boltzmann Gesellschaft (A), des Amts der Niederösterreichischen Landesregierung (A), der Universität Wien (A), der Technischen Universität Wien (A),

der ZAMG – Zentralanstalt für Meteorologie und Geodynamik (A), Airborne Technologies (A), 7reasons (A), des RGZM Mainz – Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum Mainz (D), des NIKU – Norwegian Institute for Cultural Heritage (N) und Vestfold og Telemark fylkeskommune – Kulturarv (N).

[1] Die Durchführung erfolgte durch das LBI ArchPro, ZAMG und VIAS mit Förderungsmitteln des Landes Niederösterreich.

[2] Neubauer et al. 2018·

[3] Mays 2010, 115.

[4] Frontinus-Gesellschaft e. V.: https://www.frontinus.de/.

[5] Kurz zum Projekt: Teichmann/Wallner/Neubauer 2020.

[6] Kling 1981, 14-15; Nedelik/Petznek 2017; Konecny et al. 2021.

[7] Kandler 2011; Nedelik/Petznek 2017.

[8] Konecny 2011a; Gugl/Doneus 2011; Doneus/Gugl/Doneus 2013·

[9] Mit dem Ziel einer Synthese: Konecny 2012a; Maschek 2011; Stiglitz 2011·

[10] Neubauer/Eder-Hinterleitner 1997; Poschetti 2016, 209-211.

[11] Öllerer 1998; Sedlmayer 2015.

[12] Schedivy 1985, besonders Faltplan 3; Neubauer et. al. 2018·

[13] Mays 2010·

[14] Jansen 1995, 112; Koloski-Ostrow 2015, 77·

[15] Mays 2010·

[16] Glaser 2000, 413, 443·

[17] Cattaneo 2017·

[18] Jansen 1995, 118·

[19] Lamberth 1987, 145·

[20] Vitr. *De arch* 8.6.10·

[21] Lamberth 1987, 147·

[22] Lamberth 1987, 149·

[23] Lamberth 1987, 149·

[24] Lamberth 1983, 28.

[25] Filgis 2005, 193·

[26] Pacher 2011, 25-26; Konecny 2012a, 168-169·

[27] Koloski-Ostrow 2011, 113·

[28] Koloski-Ostrow 2011, 113·

[29] Koloski-Ostrow 2011, 53; Jansen/Van Varenbergh 2011, 72·

[30] Vetters 2017, 229·

[31] Vetters 2017, 229·

[32] Börner 2013, 28·

[33] Freytag 2018, 161·

[34] Freytag 2018, 161-162·

[35] Freytag 2018, 161.

[36] Dolenz 2018, 76·

[37] Dolenz 2018, 84·

[38] Dolenz 2018, 76-77·

[39] Dolenz 2018, 78·

[40] Groh et. al. 2014·

[41] Groh et. al. 2014, 379·

[42] Groh et. al. 2014·

[43] Póczy 1997, 62·

[44] Reuckl 2008·

[45] Reuckl 2008, 46·

[46] Reuckl 2008, 49·

[47] Reuckl 2008, 51·

[48] Reuckl 2008, 56·

[49] Reuckl 2008, 52·

[50] Reuckl 2008, 57·

[51] Reuckl 2008, 58-59·

[52] Reuckl 2008, 62-63·

[53] Dolenz 2018, 79·

[54] Dolenz 2018, 84·

[55] Reuckl 2008, 64-65·

[56] Póczy 1997·

[57] Póczy 1997, 65·

[58] Póczy 1997, 65-66·

[59] Póczy 1997, 65; 2006, 100·

[60] Póczy 1997, 65·

[61] Reuckl 2008, 77·

[62] Konecny 2012a, 168·

[63] Cencic 2003, 109; Konecny 2012a, 167.

[64] Maschek 2011, 38; Konecny 2011b, 6; Fuchs/Weißmann 2012, 28·

[65] Öllerer 1998, 122·

[66] Maschek 2011, 38; Fuchs/Weißmann 2012, 30·

[67] Konecny 2012a, 168-169·

[68] Konecny 2012a, 169·

[69] Gugl/Doneus 2011, 114·

[70] Pacher 2011·

[71] Groh et. al. 2014, 393·

[72] Pacher 2011, 27·

[73] Pacher 2011, 24-25·

[74] Pacher 2011, 25·

[75] Konecny 2011b, 6·

[76] Konecny 2012a, 170·

[77] Konecny 2012a, 170·

[78] Konecny 2012a, 173·

[79] Konecny 2011b, 8·

[80] Konecny 2012a, 173·

[81] Maschek 2010, 30-31; 2011, 38·

[82] Stiglitz 2011·

[83] Swoboda-Milenovic 1957; Öllerer 1998; Sedlmeyer 2017·

[84] Konecny 2010, 32.

[85] Konecny 2011b, 6·

[86] Konecny 2011b, 8·

[87] Konecny 2011b, 8·

[88] Sedlmayer 2017, 55-58.

[89] S. die Beiträge in: Konecny/Humer/Decker 2019·

[90] Konecny 2011b, 8·

[91] Wilson 2000, 177-178·

[92] Reuckl 2008, 67-68·

[93] Neubauer et. al 2018·

[94] Doneus/Gugl/Doneus 2013; Neubauer et al. 2018.

[95] Neubauer/Eder-Hinterleitner 1997; Doneus 2013, 229-330; Neubauer et al. 2018.

[96] Trinks et. al. 2018·

[97] Groh. et. al. 2014, 391; Neubauer et. al. 2017, 67.

[98] Neubauer et. al. 2017, 67·

[99] Neubauer et. al. 2017, 67·

[100] Konecny et al. 2018, 8-10 Abb. 8-10; 2021; Konecny 2013·

[101] Gugl et al. 2020, 29, Tafel XX II-XXIII.

[102] Groh et. al. 2014, 379.

[103] Maschek 2011, 38.

[104] Ohlig 1994, 128·

[105] Freytag 2018.

[106] Öllerer 1998, 122·

[107] Neubauer et. al. 2002, Abb. 12-13.

[108] Poscetti 2016, 214-215; 2013, 433, Abb. 1·

[109] Poscetti 2016, 215.

[110] Zu *fullonicae* und zum Waschprozess: Uscatescu 1994; Flohr 2013.

[111] Zu *fulling stalls*: Pietrogrande 1974; Uscatescu 1994; Flohr 2013.

[112] Wilson 2003, 444; Flohr 2013, 22-23.

[113] Für eine genauere Besprechung des Befundes mit typologischen Vergleichen zu weiteren *fullonicae*: Teichmann et. al. in Vorbereitung.
[114] Schedivy 1985, Faltplan 3.
[115] Brödner 1983, 38-39.
[116] Zur Typologie von Einzelräumen in Thermen: Brödner 1983, 99-106.
[117] Poscetti 2016, 215·
[118] Danner 2017, 73-74.
[119] s. o.; Konecny 2011b, 6-8.
[120] s. o.; Konecny 2011b, 8.
[121] Neubauer/Eder-Hinterleitner 1997; Poscetti 2016.
[122] Neubauer/Eder-Hinterleitner 1997; Poscetti 2016, 209·
[123] Poscetti 2016, 192.
[124] Sedlmayer 2017, 55.
[125] Poscetti 2016, 192.
[126] Wippern 2003.
[127] Wippern 2003, 167·
[128] Filgis 2005, 193.
[129] Rose/Cozzolino/Mauriello 2016.
[130] Neubauer et al. 2018.

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BABESCH 97 (2022), 153-168. doi: 10.2143/BAB.97.0.3290538

Appropriating fragments
Domestic sculpture assemblages in Late Antiquity

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Summary

*While numerous studies have emphasised the extent to which the reuse of older sculptures within public and private spaces was a frequent habit in Late Antiquity, the immediate spatial environments in which they were exhibited have rarely been considered. This paper examines the fourth-century décor of the Domus della Fortuna Annonaria in Ostia, where miscellaneous architectural and epigraphic fragments from earlier buildings and monuments were visibly displayed next to these sculptures. Reading late antique sculpture collections in their broader display contexts also allows us to consider the aesthetic changes that influenced these late antique sculpture assemblages. In the second part of the paper, comparison with fourth-century poetry, in which similar poses combining literary fragments from the classical past can be observed, provides a new perspective on the aesthetic norms that prompted the syncretistic reuse of physical fragments from different monuments and periods within late antique domestic spaces.**

Introduction

The material power of sculpture in the Late Roman Empire is confirmed by the emerging negative attitudes towards the statues, which ultimately led to their destruction.[1] At the same time, sculptures of earlier periods were frequently reused in new display contexts. Their relocations expanded their biographies and sometimes even altered their purpose and function.[2] Despite not being a development specific to Late Antiquity, the frequency with which the reuse of older sculpture took place, especially from the late third to the fifth century, was higher than in previous periods.[3] Since many public and private buildings had fallen out of use by that time, building material as well as architectural and sculptural décor were available to be repurposed in a manifold of ways. Not only hidden in the construction of walls, the recycled pieces were also used for visual display in new contexts. Sculptures that once adorned temples or even tombs were relocated to new setting up places and completed the décor of public buildings, especially bath complexes, as well as private residences. This habit is furthermore confirmed by fourth- and fifth-century epigraphic, legal, and literary sources. Inscriptions inform us that statues were relocated from secluded, dirty and hidden places in order to be reused as *ornamenta.*[4] Edicts promulgated by emperors prescribed regulations for the appropriation of older sculptures.[5] And literary sources tell us that, for example, artworks of earlier periods were collected from all over the Mediterranean in order to be exhibited in the Palace in Constantinople.[6]

The reason behind reusing older sculptures was, to a large extent, economically motivated.[7] Other studies have asserted that collecting old statues in Late Antiquity had become a way of preserving an image world that was in turn to be lost: the late antique sculpture assemblages, in which older sculptures from very different contexts were displayed, have been described as archetypes of museums preserving the images of a past urban culture.[8] However, we should be cognizant that "Men and women of late antiquity did not romanticize the past, nor were they conscious of a sense of modernity. Rather, they wished devoutly to connect with a past which they still saw as part of their own experience and their own world ... ".[9] Beyond these explanations, the altered aesthetic norms that must have led to the reuse of older sculptures as well as fragments (*i.e.* spolia) from older monuments can also be stressed. In his study on the display of sculptures in public space in the late antique cities, Franz Alto Bauer thus rightly emphasises that the repetition of the act of appropriating older sculptures and spolia must have led to changed aesthetic norms and values in general.[10]

But how can we better understand this changed habit that led to the appropriation of sculptures and fragments from earlier buildings and monuments for the décor of late antique buildings? How did this altered display setting appear to the ancient viewer? Once we turn our attention to the spatial environments in which these sculptures were exhibited, especially within the domestic spaces, it becomes apparent that alongside older sculptures, miscellaneous architectural and epigraphic fragments from earlier monuments were assembled within new display settings. These eclectic compositions of physical fragments from the past sewn together in a new display frame–the Arch of Constantine being the most prominent example–not only created possibilities for transformed readings but must have alluded to concurrent aesthetic norms. In order to comprehend an ancient visitor's state of mind when looking at and contemplating late antique sculpture assemblages, it is thus necessary to examine the reused sculptures within their actual display settings as well as their broader cultural environment.

After a short summary on sculpture assemblages found in late Roman domestic spaces and their discussions in previous scholarship, this paper will first examine the late fourth-century sculptural décor of the Domus della Fortuna Annonaria in Ostia from the perspective of a late antique visitor. Secondly, it will be debated how this display of sculptures together with architectural and epigraphic fragments from earlier monuments can be linked to display settings found in contemporaneous private and public buildings, and, finally, how similar appropriations processes can be observed within the poetry of the same period. In particular, similar playful poses combining literary fragments from the classical past can be observed in fourth-century cento poems, for example the *Cento Probae*, written by the Roman noblewoman Faltonia Betitia Proba who can be linked to fourth-century Ostia through recent archaeological discoveries.

Sculpture assemblages in Late Antiquity

In larger cities such as Rome, Ostia, Athens, Corinth and Ephesus, to name only a few, the most numerous sculptures found in late antique townhouses are ideal sculptures and portraits from earlier periods, which were sometimes adapted and meticulously reworked, while sculptures carved *ex novo* are rare in townhouses.[11] Good examples include the lavishly embellished late antique townhouses belonging to Rome's aristocracy: for example, the sculpture assemblages found in the Domus degli Aradii or in the Domus on the Via Giovanni Lanza.[12] The unrivaled local availability of refined older sculptures in Rome, combined with the wealth and high status of the houseowners, enabled the acquisition of high-quality sculptures from former religious and public spaces. For example, the Casali Antinoos, the Hellenistic Isis Statue (the so-called "Vittoria dei Simmachi"), and the basanite statue of Agrippina the Younger were all found in domestic context on the Caelian hill.[13] Even the findspot of the famous Laocoon Group on the Oppian Hill might be explained by its final display context within one of these lavishly decorated late antique townhouses.[14] It is furthermore noteworthy that the situation is different in these late Roman houses than in some well-known late antique villas in the countryside: for example, most of the sculptures and portraits found in villas at Silahtaraga (Turkey), Valdetorres de Jarama (Spain), Quinta das Longas (Portugal), and Welschbillig (Germany) were created *ex novo* in Late Antiquity.[15] Consequently, the reuse of older artworks in Late Antiquity seems to have been strongly dependent on the local availability of earlier sculptures from out-of-use buildings and monuments.

Along with important questions regarding style, workshops, marble quarries, and shipping logistics,[16] publications on late antique sculpture collections have emphasized the artworks' evocations of classical education,[17] or have described them more generally as symbols for aristocratic ideals.[18] Not surprisingly, the inclusion of pagan motifs in what had become a more and more Christianized world has attracted the most scholarly attention,[19] whereas the actual display spaces of the statues have not been considered carefully enough in most cases.[20] Furthermore, the *varietas* in style, theme, size, and quality of the artworks found in late antique houses–in contrast to sculpture collections of previous periods–has been explained as opportunistic selections of material at hand.[21] As many of these sculpture assemblages found within late antique townhouses in Rome and elsewhere were destroyed by later interventions (statues were removed, demolished, or fell victim to medieval lime burning), it has even been called into question whether these sculptures formed part of late antique sculpture collections at all, or whether they were just later depositions for lime burning.[22] In addition, guided by the notion that the décor of late Roman houses, villas, and baths ought to be similar to that of their imperial-period predecessors, scholars frequently leave out the pieces that they deem 'not suitable' from their discussions of the assemblages found in these late Roman contexts.[23] To the contrary, much more resilience in the appropriation of material from older monuments and buildings must be recognized. The consultation of archival

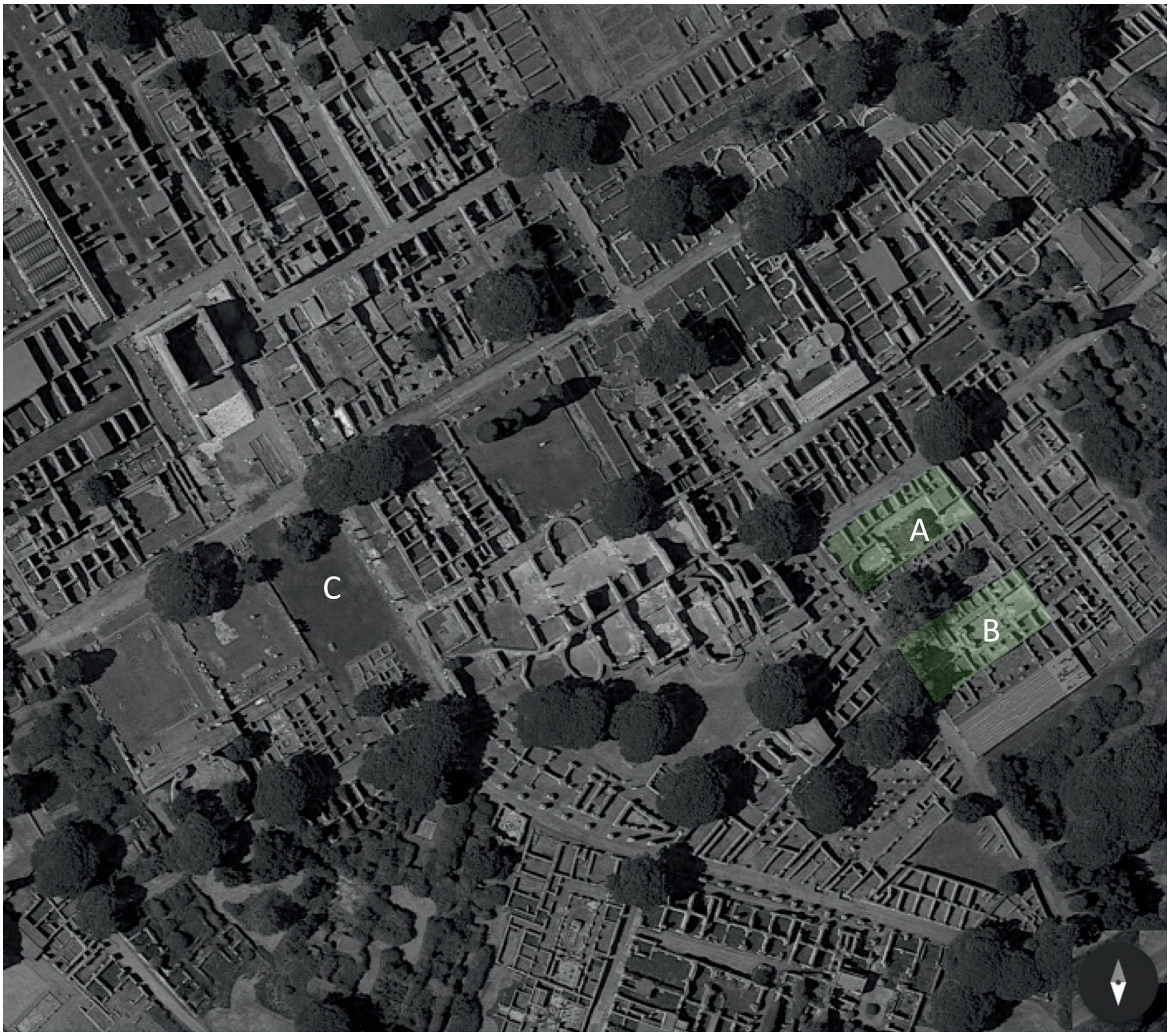


*Fig. 1. Aerial photo from Google Earth of the forum (C), part of the Regio V with the Domus della Fortuna Annonaria (A) and the Domus del Protiro (B) in Ostia (*https://www.google.com/maps/place/00119+Ostia+Antica*, consulted on 25.08.2021).*

reports in Ostia Antica can illustrate that a far greater variety of fragments and sculptures were found and displayed within late antique houses than modern scholarship usually takes into consideration.

A TOUR THROUGH THE DOMUS DELLA FORTUNA ANNONARIA

In Ostia Antica, the consultation of archival data and excavation reports offers the opportunity to study the sculptural décor of some of these late antique townhouses in their actual display settings.[24] The Domus della Fortuna Annonaria (Reg. V, Ins. II, 8) is located in a neighborhood with other late antique houses, including the Domus del Protiro in the same *insula* (*fig. 1, A-B*). The Domus della Fortuna Annonaria is the best documented late antique domus in Ostia, as well as the house in which the greatest number of sculptures and portraits from earlier periods–differing in style, theme and quality and originating from very diverse contexts–were found. However, up until now, the sculptural, architectural, and epigraphic finds from this domus have only been discussed separately.[25]

The Domus della Fortuna Annonaria is a late second-century domus, which was built atop earlier domestic structures and which evolved over the course of multiple renovations (*fig. 3*, phases

I–IV marked in different colours).[26] In the eastern part, modifications were made in the third and in the late fourth/early fifth centuries. A larger room (*fig. 3, b*) was refitted with marble floors and wall revetment. In the western half of the domus, two rectangular pillars of Luni marble, dating to the late fourth century and supporting three brick arches, framed the entrance to a raised hall outfitted with marble floors and walls (*fig. 2, fig. 3, d*). During the same renovation, an apse with a small niche was added to the western end of this dining room, and a nymphaeum featuring two rectangular and two semicircular niches was built along the room's south wall. Behind the nymphaeum and underneath a staircase, a private latrine was installed, the floor of which was also paved with reused marble slabs in the late fourth/early fifth century (*fig. 2, fig. 3, e*). Except for the newly carved rectangular marble pillars in the entrance to the hall (*fig. 2*), most of the sculptures and marble elements added to the domus in Late Antiquity were taken from other contexts and reused.

The domus was hastily excavated from December 1938 to February 1939, after which it was restored in the same year; nevertheless, the findspots of sculptures and other marble materials were noted in the *Giornali di Scavo*. Based on recent consultation of all archival documents available for this particular domus, quite specific findspots were recorded for twelve out of the house's twenty-four sculptural finds that were found during these excavations. Figure 3 illustrates their respective findspots, along with those of the twenty-nine fragmentary inscriptions, several of which were found reused visibly within the late antique marble floors and walls.[27] A tour through the Domus della Fortuna Annonaria from the perspective of a late antique visitor demonstrates how fragmented sculptural and visibly reused architectural and epigraphical finds combined to form part of the late antique décor of this house and made a visual impression as an ensemble (*fig. 4*). After a visitor entered the Domus della Fortuna Annonaria through the main porch and stood in the portico (*fig. 4, A*), his attention may first have been caught by the small puteal (*fig. 4 no. 1; fig. 3 findspot 1*) on the left side of the courtyard. Its detailed decoration featuring bucrania, fruit garlands, and flowers may have conjured up images of sanctuary landscapes.[28] Then he might have turned to his right to reach the portico in front of the main dining hall (*fig. 4, B*). Here he must have been impressed by the larger than lifesize statue at the rear end of the portico (*fig. 4 no. 2; fig. 3 findspot 2*).[29] As he approached, he saw that the statue was placed on a base made from brick and very different stone fragments. The statue itself depicted a seated woman, her left hand resting on a cornucopia, next to which was a rudder. This iconography must have alluded to representations of Fortuna. In the same corner, two female statuettes were displayed, the heads of which seemed to have been repaired (*fig. 4 no. 3-4; fig. 3 findspot 3*).[30] Before he entered the lavishly marble-clad dining hall, he saw that the walls and floors of the portico were also made of polychrome marble stones, some of which were visibly reused inscription slabs. One inscription was even visibly reused as a drain cover, and a *tabula lusoria* was reused as a threshold (*fig. 4 no. 5-6; fig. 3 findspot 11*). When he finally entered the apsidal dining hall, a configuration very *en vogue* at the time, his attention was first drawn to the luxurious nymphaeum on his left (*fig. 4, C*). The wall of the basin was clad with many different fragments of marbles in different colors. Once again, some were reused fragments of older inscriptions (*fig. 3 findspot 8*). In the four niches, he saw a statuette of a kneeling Aphrodite, a statuette of a seated female figure, a statuette of a nude male with a club (maybe Heracles), and a male bust of a younger bearded men (*fig. 4 no. 7-10; fig. 3 findspot 4* and *6*).[31] They all expressed the houseowner's good classical education.[32] Then, as he turned around, he glimpsed a large funerary inscription, the text of which he could still read, reused as one of the *crustae* in the lower part of the opposite dining hall wall, which was completely clad with a mix of white and colorful marble pieces (*fig. 4 no. 11; fig. 3 findspot 14*). Finally, he faced the central niche of the dining hall (*fig. 4 D*). At the very center of the apse and set within a niche, he gazed at a statue representing the goddess of the hunt (*fig. 4 no. 12; fig. 3 findspot 5*). Upon closer inspection, he perceived that this statue was in fact a *pasticcio* made from two different pieces: the torso and head had once been part of a very beautifully elaborated statue, which was of different marble than the lower body in a short-girded chiton and the hunting dog that had belonged to another statue (*fig. 6*).[33] While admiring the statue, he recalled having seen similar statues of Diana on display in the dining halls of other townhouses in Ostia and Rome.[34]

As this short tour through the Domus della Fortuna Annonaria demonstrates, not only the *varietas* of repurposed sculptures from different contexts and periods, but the visibly reused older inscriptions in the floors and walls of dining halls and the use of different architectural fragments, as a whole, must have made a significant visual impression to any visitor of this house.[35] The vis-

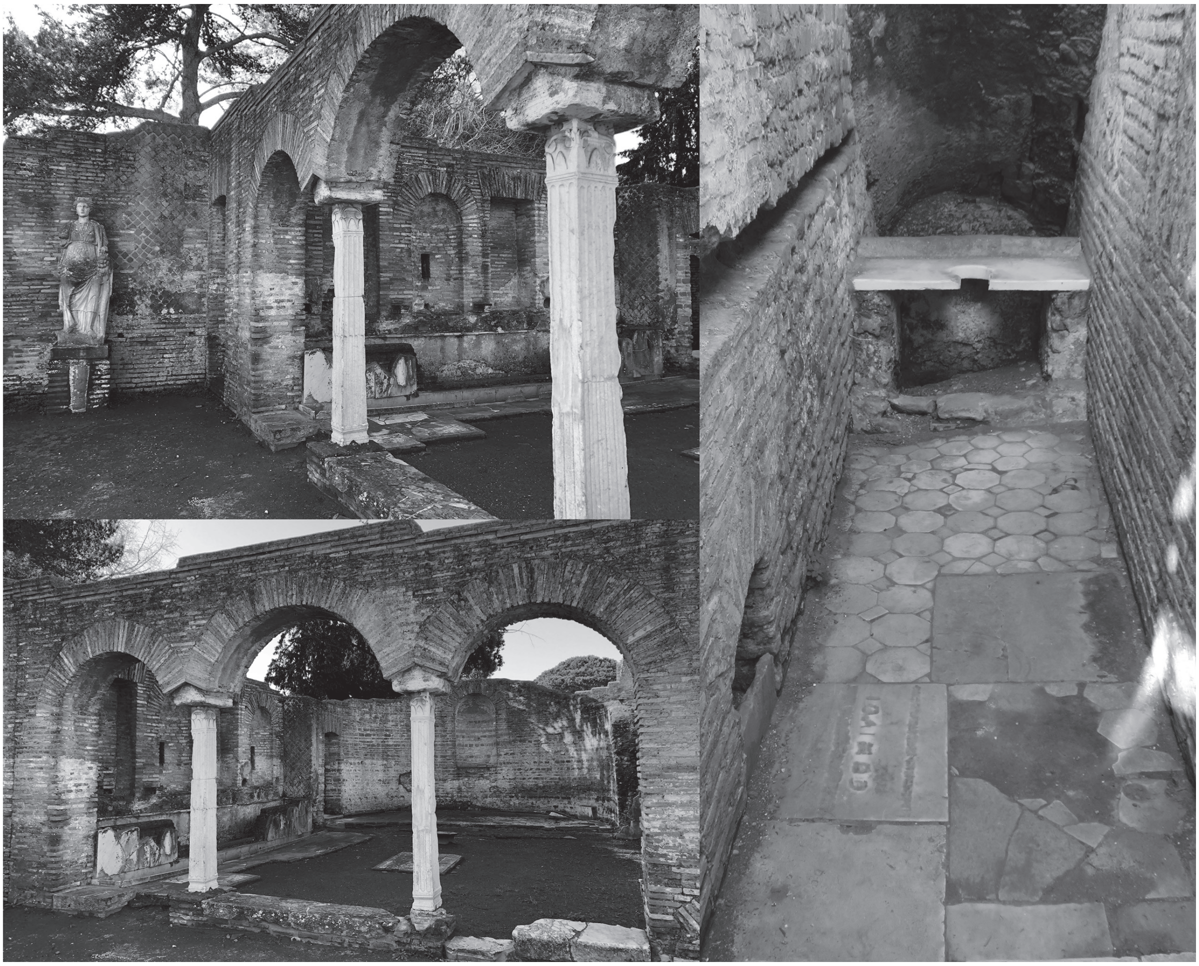
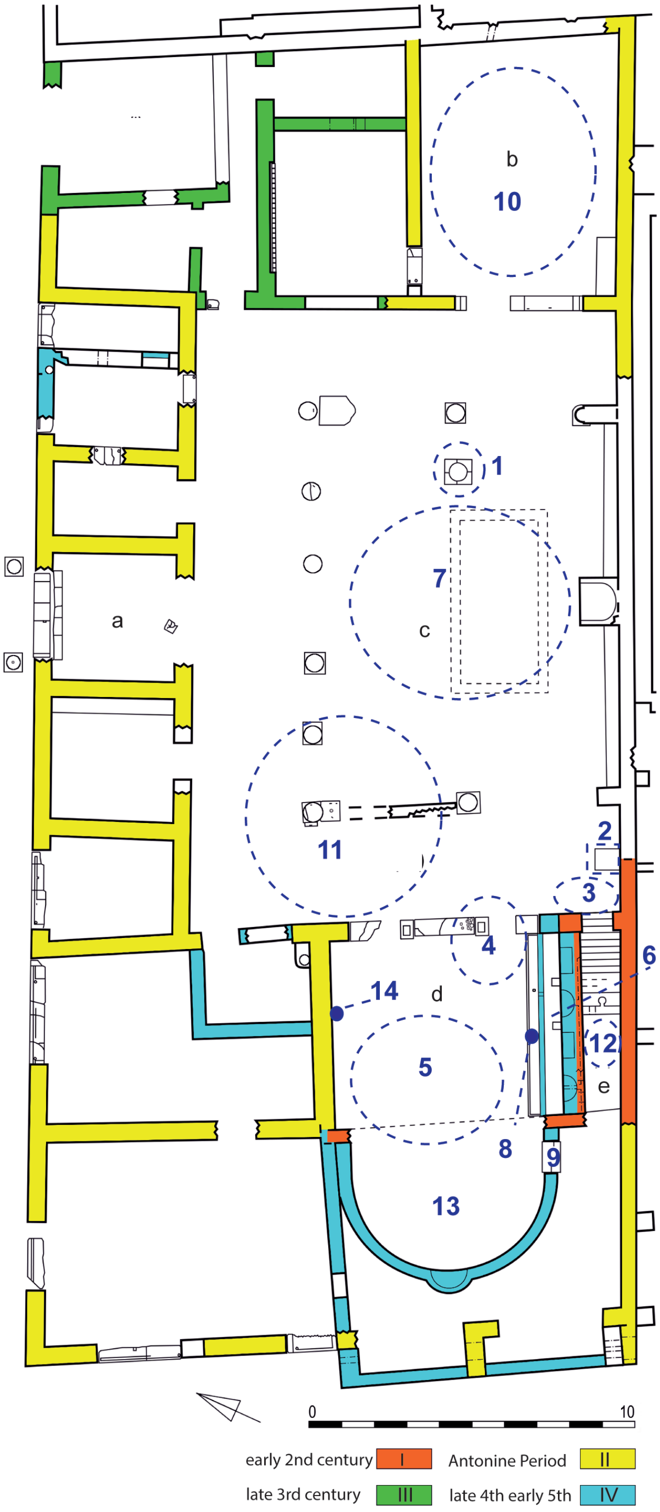


Fig. 2. Domus della Fortuna Annonaria: on the right, view from the portico into the fourth-century apsidal dining hall with the nymphaeum, and to the left, the fourth-century latrine floor with reused marble fragments and a (erased) tomb inscription (photos by author used with the permission of the Direttore del Parco Archeologico di Ostia Antica).

ibly reused sacral, public, and especially funerary inscriptions confirm the extent to which décor from abandoned buildings and monuments (temples, collegial seats, and tombs) was repurposed to complete the late-fourth century décor of the house and especially its newly built apsidal dining hall. The still preserved late fourth-/early fifth-century floor in the latrine gives a good indication of how these floors (and marble clad walls) made from different marble fragments and visibly reused inscriptions once looked (*fig. 2*).

During the last prosperous phase of Rome's harbour town, architectural and sculptural fittings from different abandoned buildings were appropriated extensively to embellish the baths, nymphaea, latrines, public squares, and especially the houses.[36] The Domus del Protiro, just south of the Domus della Fortuna Annonaria is another illustrative example. Also here, larger renovations can be dated to the fourth century, and several funerary epitaphs were found reused visibly in very prominent locations. For instance, in the vestibule, a funerary *lastra*–with its inscription facing upwards–was reused as a decorative drain cover (*fig. 5*), and the high-quality *opus sectile* floor of the cubiculum adjacent to the triclinium included a cut epitaph fragment (*fig. 5*).[37] After private buildings, it is most commonly in late antique baths that similar building habits can be observed. In the Terme del Foro (Reg. I Ins. XII,6) and the Terme di Nettuno (Reg. II Ins. IV,2), epitaphs were reused for the floor pavements, sarcophagi were repurposed as fountains, and sculptures from abandoned buildings and monuments were displayed to accomplish the fourth- and fifth-century décor.[38] The discoveries of late antique marble deposits by the forum and in the Tempio dei Fabri Navali (Reg. III Ins. II,1-2), in which décor from



findspot 1:
- well cover 55 cm
  (made from reused 1st c. altar?)

findspot 2:
- statue of Fortuna Annonaria, inv. 1216

findspot 3:
- female statue (Ceres?), inv. 1116
- female statue with diadem, inv. 1115
- 10 funerary inscriptions in rubble on top of female statues: inv. 6584; inv. 6972; inv. 6984; inv. 6995; inv. 11331; inv. 6905; inv. 6587; inv. 9648, n. inv., n. inv.

findspot 4:
- statuette of crouching Venus, inv. 123

findspot 5:
- statue of Artemis, inv. 84
- bust of older man, wearing a toga, inv. 37
- torso of Athena Hephaisteia, inv. 1113

findspot 6:
- bust of bearded young man, inv. 62
- statuette of Silvanus, n. inv.
- statuette of a sitting female figure, n. inv.
- 8 funerary inscriptions: inv. 6907 (reused) inv. 7250 (reused); inv. 9132; inv. 6082; inv. 6697; inv. 8219; inv. 7255 inv. 12271
- letters cut from public inscription? inv. 9135-9136

findspot 7:
- head with long hair from a herm, n. inv.
- head with wreath from a herm, n. inv.
- funerary inscription, inv. 6658

findspot 8:
- funerary inscription reused along the nymphaeum floor, inv. 11258

findspot 9:
- funerary inscription invisibly reused as threshold, inv. 11259

findspot 10:
- two funerary inscriptions reused for repairs in the floor, inv. 11310; inv. 6717

findspot 11:
- sacral inscription reused as drainage, AE 1998, 274

findspot 12:
- erased funerary inscription reused in marble floor, inv. 6743

findspot 13:
- funerary inscription visibly reused in the floor, inv. 11251

findspot 14:
- funerary inscription visibly reused along the plinth of the wall, inv. 11306

findspot unknown:
- statuette of a boy, n. inv.
- statuette of bacchus, n. inv.
- small female head, n. inv.
- satue of boy, n. inv.
- travertine portrait of a woman, inv. 102
- small head of bearded man, n. inv.
- statuette of a small venus (= inv. 123?)

Fig. 3. Plan of the Domus della Fortuna Annonaria with all of the recorded findspots of the sculptural, architectural, and epigraphic finds unearthed during the excavations from December 1938 to February 1939 and noted in the Giornali di Scavo (author after map by Danner 2017, pl. 15, courtesy of M. Danner) https://arachne.dainst.org/entity/3552702*).*

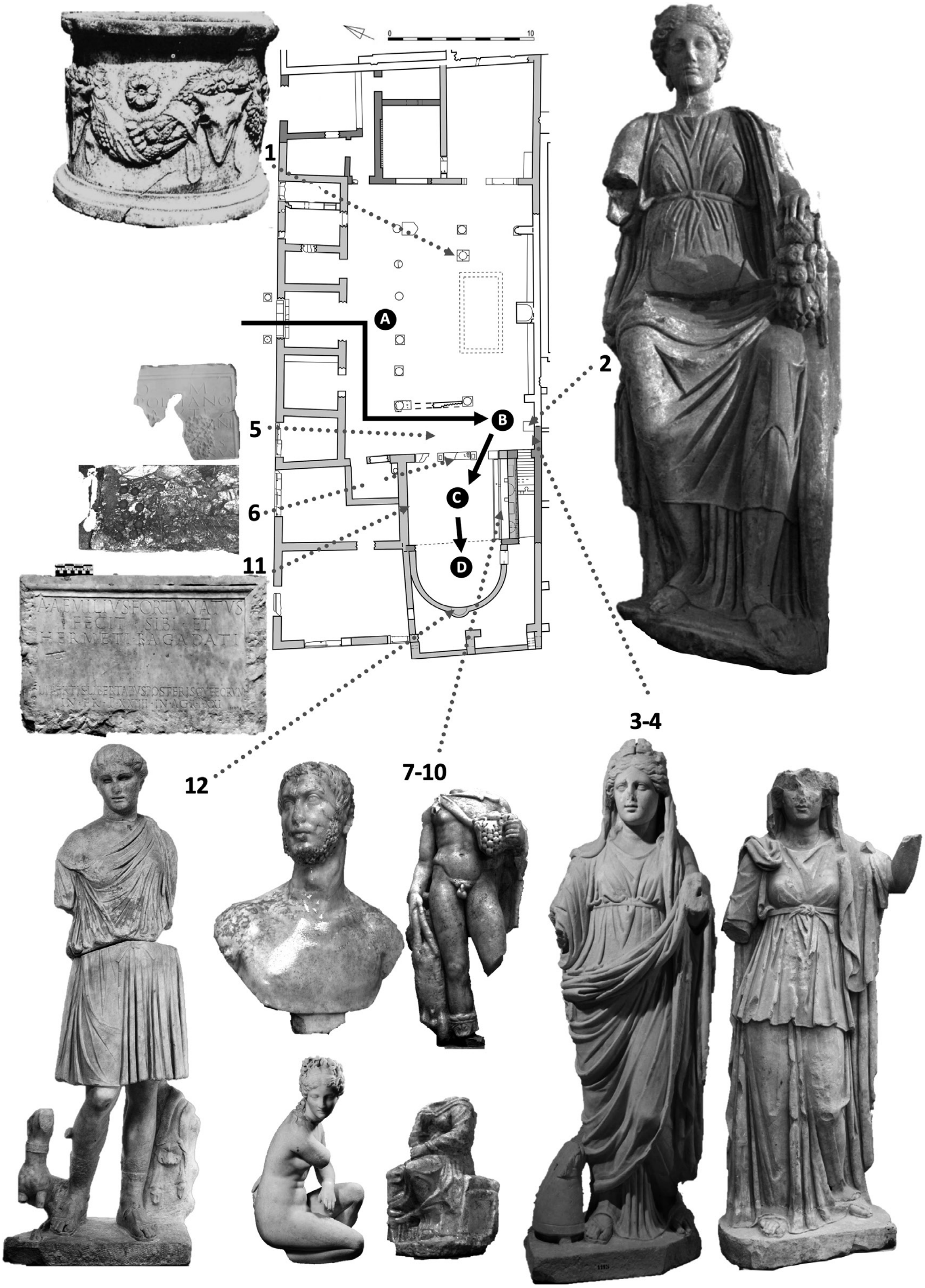


Fig. 4. A hypothetical visitor's impression of the sculpture assemblages on display in the fourth and fifth centuries in the Domus della Fortuna Annonaria (images: Archivio Fotografico del Parco Archeologico di Ostia Antica).

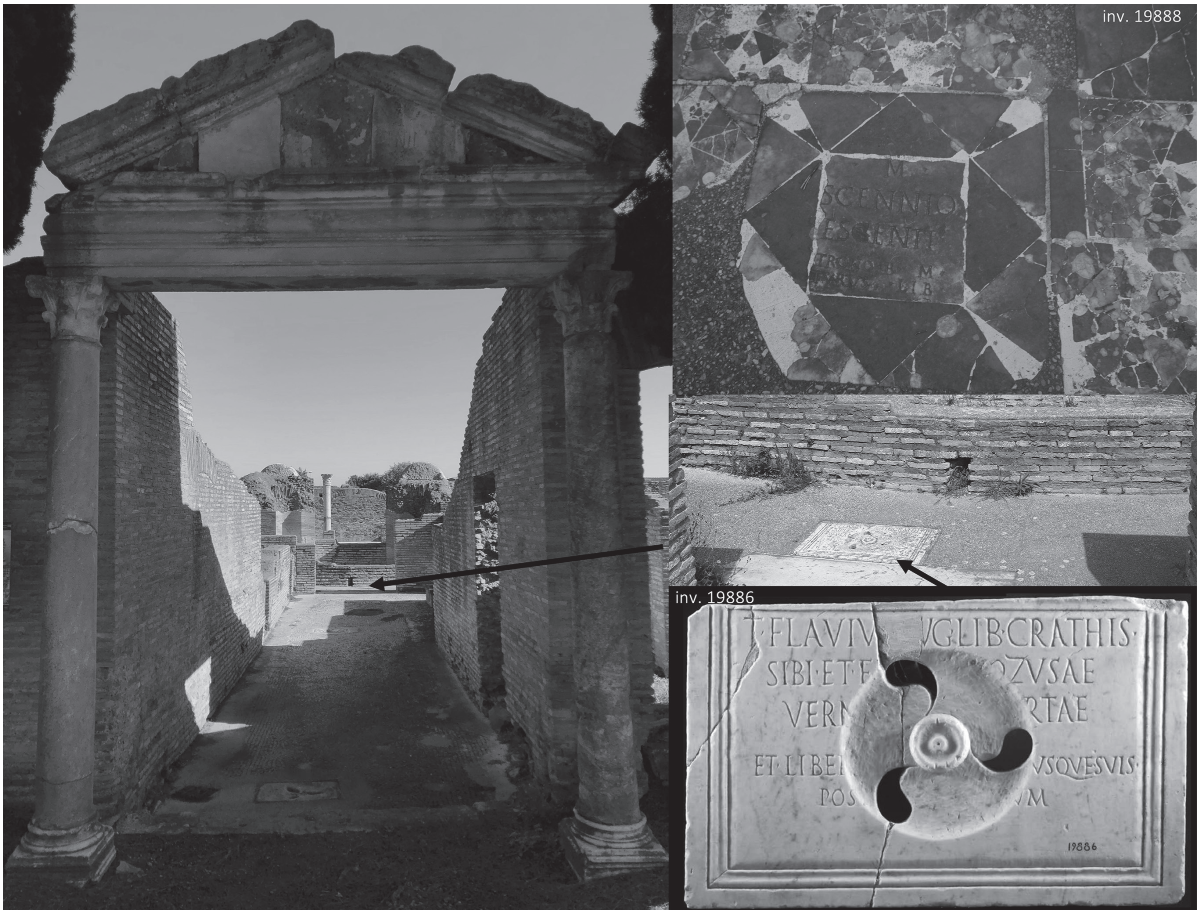


Fig. 5. Tomb inscription (inv. 19888) reused in the mosaic floor of one of the central dining rooms and a tomb inscription (inv. 19886) reused as a drain cover in the vestibule of the Domus del Protiro (photos by author used with the permission of the Direttore del Parco Archeologico di Ostia Antica).

abandoned buildings was stored before reuse, testify to how common this practice was.[39] Moreover, the reused sculptures and marble fragments in the Domus della Fortuna Annonaria were probably first stored in such a marble deposit, which also furnished marble revetments for the décor of public buildings. This intermediate step is evident from the discovery of a second-century funerary inscription fragment (inv. 12271) that was reused in the house's late antique nymphaeum (*fig. 3, findspot 6*), which could be matched to its other half (CIL 14 5397) that was found inserted into the late fourth-century pavement of the Terme del Foro.[40]

THE *CENTO PROBAE* AND LATE ANTIQUE SCULPTURE ASSEMBLAGES IN OSTIA

The syncretism of physical fragments from different monuments and periods found reused in the décor of late antique Ostian houses and bath buildings is by no means exceptional, but rather a coherent characteristic of late antique architecture, especially when taking into account the paleochristian churches.[41] The most prominent example for this new building habit, however, is the Arch of Constantine, where several of the spolia used were first stored in material deposits. In the case of the statues of the Dacian prisoners on the attic of the Arch of Constantine, Martin Maischberger has successfully proven that they were not removed from the Forum of Trajan but obtained from a marble deposit/workshop in the Campus Martius.[42] Several recent studies have linked the 'aesthetic of bricolage' on the Arch to similar appropriation patterns found in late antique poetry and literature, especially in the cento poetry that was *en vogue* in fourth-century metropolitan culture.[43] In the *Cento Nuptialis*, ascribed to the famous aristocrat and poet Ausonius of Bordeaux, entire passages from famous authors (most commonly Virgil) were woven into new textual compositions.[44] In a letter to his friend Axius Paulus, in which the *Cento Nuptialis* was included, the same author discusses and explains in detail how these patchwork poems, especially his own, were composed and how they worked:

> Centonem vocant qui primi hac concinnatione luserunt. solae memoriae negotium sparsa colligere et integrare lacerata, quod ridere magis quam laudare possis. (…) variis de locis sensibusque diversis quaedam carminis structura solidatur, in unum versum ut coeant aut caesi duo aut unus <et unus> sequenti cum medio.
>
> Those who first sported with this form of compilation call it a 'cento'. It is a task for the memory only, to collect what is scattered and fit these mangled scraps together into a whole, and so is more likely to provoke your laughter than your praise. (…) It is a poem compactly built out of a variety of passages and different meanings, in such a way that either two half-lines are joined together to form one, or one line and one accompanied by the following half-line. [45]

As described by Ausonius, this form of poetry was a creative appropriation of literary fragments from earlier authors, which in its new frame produced an altered reading. According to Jas Elsner, similar interpretations are to be expected in contemporary architecture, such as in the Arch of Constantine: "The parallels with the Arch are obvious – not only on the formal level of reuse of spolia and making a new work of art, but also on the more complex interpretative level of offering readers and viewers different positions and possibilities for exegesis."[46] Up until now, cento poems have primarily been discussed in conjunction with landmark spolia monuments, such as the Arch of Constantine. However, the question of specific conditions of reception remains difficult since only a selected audience would have linked the spolia to cento poems.[47] Since such poems were probably cited and discussed between elites (as Ausonius' letter confirms), cento poetry can more convincingly be linked to the domestic sphere and to sculpture assemblages found in the domestic realm.[48] The backdrop of a variety of sculptures and spolia fragments from the past would have provided a stimulating environment for such intellectual poetry to be recited. Appropriation processes similar to the composition of cento poems might have been at play in the Domus della Fortuna Annonaria. Like the cento poems, very different pieces were selected to create a new assemblage, within which their original functions and meanings were transformed: for instance, a statue made from two different statues was 'stitched' together to create a new image, representing the goddess of the hunt (*fig. 6*). This patchwork composition can also be observed in the floors (still visible in the latrine floor, *fig. 2*) and walls that combined marble scraps and visibly reused inscription fragments (e.g. a fragment of a tomb inscription was visibly reused in the pavement next to a gaming board reused as a threshold, see above).

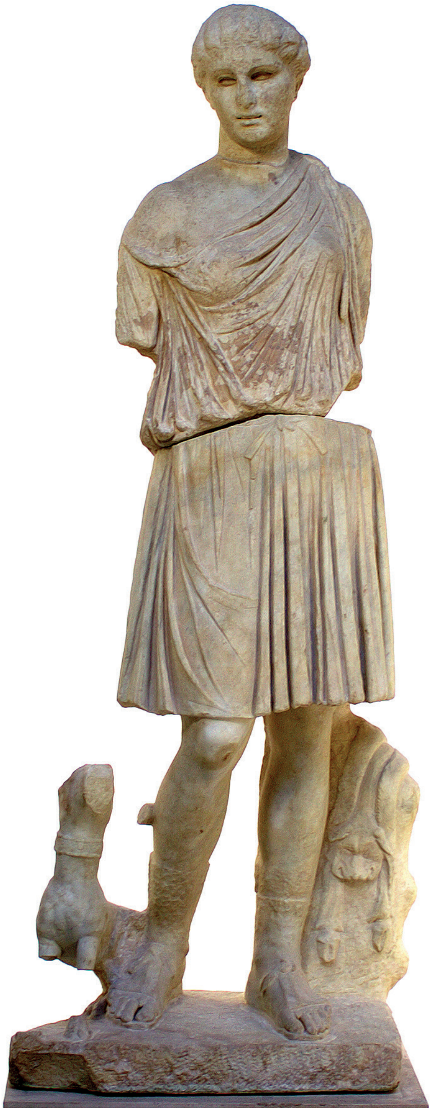


Fig. 6. "Pasticcio" statue of Artemis, Ostia Museo Inv. 84 (Archivio Fotografico del Parco Archeologico di Ostia Antica).

The manifold sculptures, inscriptions, and architectural fragments displayed in a new setting could have worked in similar manner, as different quotations. Thus, the visitor's interpretation of each sculpture, spoliated element, or inscription could have elicited very different evocations of classical culture.[49] At the same time, it could also have led to a completely transformed reading alluding to the Christian image world. As Robert Coates-Stephens, in a recent paper regarding sculptures displayed in late antique houses of Rome, astutely concluded: "Greeks and Romans, Jews, Christians and pagans, Syrians and Byzantines all had their own agenda and related to the display accordingly, even changing the identity of the works to suit themselves."[50] As regards Christian reinterpretations of late antique Ostian sculpture assemblages, the late-fourth/early fifth-century Domus dei Tigriniani (Reg. III Ins. 1, 4) is noteworthy. Equipped with a large nymphaeum, the house resembled other Ostian townhouses from the same period, including its furnishing with reused architectural elements and funerary inscriptions and sculptures, which were probably acquired from the close-by late antique marble deposits (Reg. III Ins. II, 1-2).[51] On the inscription preserved on the architrave over the entrance to the court with the nymphaeum–constructed with reused inscription blocks that are still visible on the reverse side–the owner of this townhouse even invites the visitor to experience his house and especially his richly adorned nymphaeum as an allusion to the four rivers of paradise (*fig. 7*): IN PX GEON FISON TIGRIS EVFRATA TIGRI[N]IANORVM SVMITE FONTES.[52] This inscription, as stressed by Bauer, does not imply functional alteration (e.g. that the nymphaeum should be interpreted as a baptismal font), but it instead suggests one potential reading of the water that once flowed so abundantly in this house.[53]

Another example of a fourth-century cento poem is the *Cento Probae* by the Roman noblewoman Faltonia Betitia Proba, who belonged to the *gens Anicia*, one of the most aristocratic Christian families in fourth- and fifth-century Rome.[54] Her mid-fourth-century cento on the life of Christ was composed of fragmented verses extracted from the Virgilian corpus and from the Old and New Testaments.[55] A recent find of a *fistula aquaria* stamped with the names of Faltonia and her husband Clodius Celsinus Adelphius (*praefectus urbi* in 351) excitingly confirms that this cento poet possessed property in fourth-century Ostia (*fig. 8*). It was discovered in the harbor region in Ostia (Reg. III) during recent excavations in a fourth-century luxury bath complex.[56] Furthermore, another *fistula aquaria* found in the Terme del Faro (Reg. IV Ins. II,1) attests that descendants of Faltonia and her husband restored these baths, where the reused marble décor resembled that of the Domus della Fortuna Annonaria.[57] Faltonia Betitia Proba and other family members might have even been some of the unknown owners of a fourth-century domus or larger domestic properties in the suburban surroundings of Ostia and could have encountered such a late antique sculpture assemblage as in the Domus della Fortuna Annonaria. Although information about the late antique owner of this house is lacking, it probably belonged to a member of the senatorial elite of Rome, like most of the owners of Ostian townhouses in the late fourth century.[58] Furthermore, we cannot say if the owners of Domus della Fortuna Annonaria were Christian, but this would probably not have affected the content of the sculptural décor (see above).

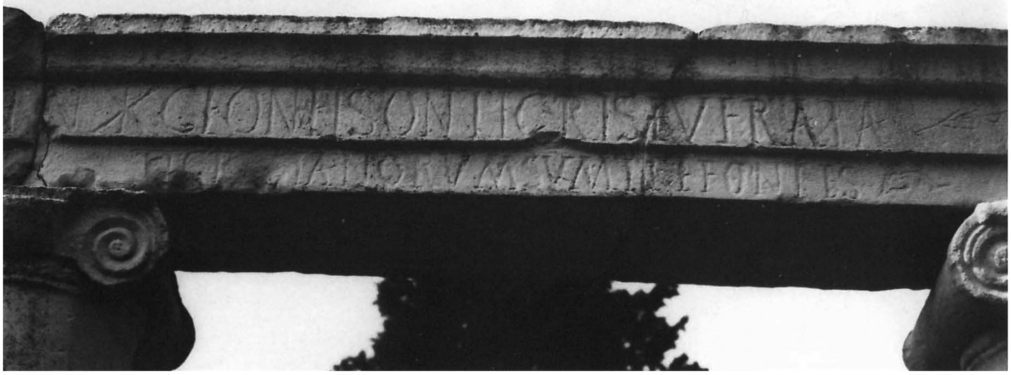


Fig. 7. Architrave crowning the entrance to the nymphaeum space in the Domus dei Tigriniani (Reg. III Ins. I, 4) with inscription Ostia 33a = AE 1941, 97 (after Brenk/Pensabene 1999, 285 pl. 17.3).

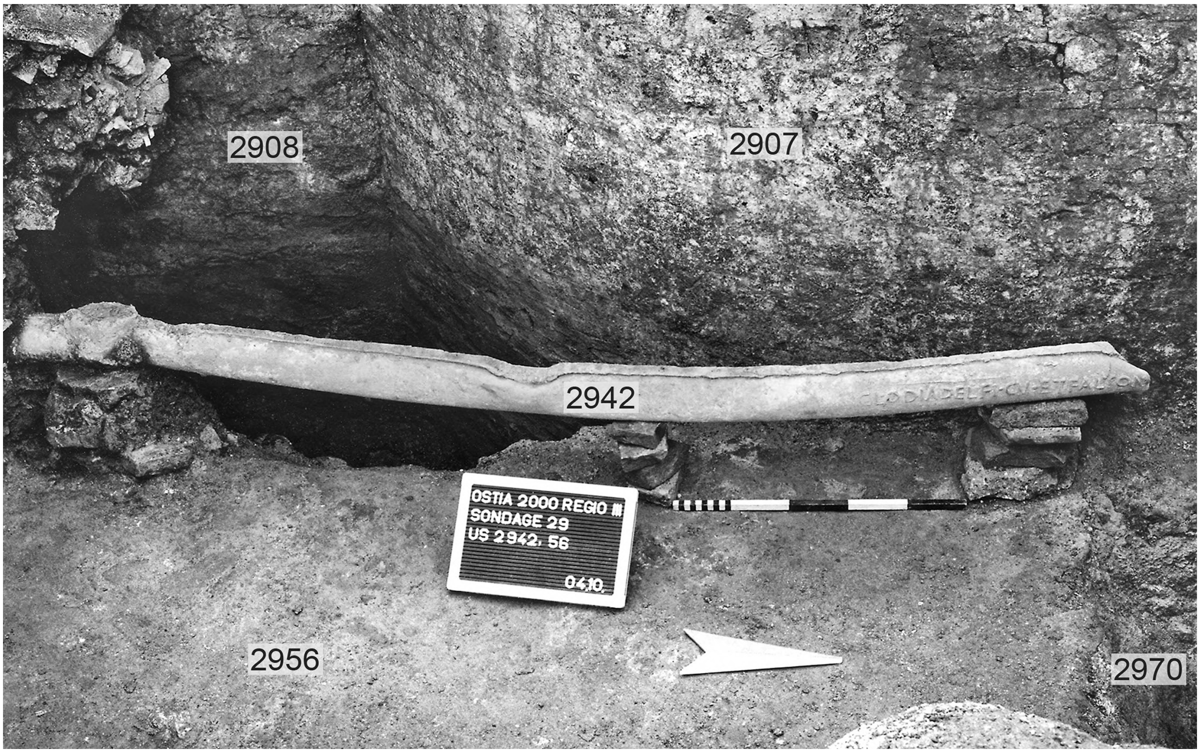


Fig. 8. Fistula aquaria (SE 2942) stamped with the names of Clodius Celsinus Adelphius and Faltonia Proba found in a fourth-century bath complex during recent explorations (sondage 29) in Regio III near the area of the harbor at Ostia (image from Heinzelmann 2020, 214 fig. 230, courtesy of M. Heinzelmann).

CONCLUSION

Based on the idea that the sculptural assemblages of late antique houses and villas ought to be similar to their imperial-period predecessors, scholars frequently leave out the pieces that they deem 'not suitable' from their discussions. However, the consultation of archival reports from late antique houses from Ostia Antica illustrates that there was much more resilience in the appropriation of sculptures as well as miscellaneous architectural and epigraphic fragments than modern scholarship usually considers. Since older artworks were also characteristic of high imperial sculpture décor, one could argue that domestic assemblages in Late Antiquity just continued this tradition. Besides, the reuse of older spolia was not unique to late antique domestic settings.[59] That said, in contrast to the high imperial period, the number of reused sculptures found in late antique domus was much greater, as was the variety of themes, styles, sizes, and quality of sculptures, which was less cohesive than in prior centuries. Since the distinct selection of image repertoires ("Bildprogramme") and images that were considered appropriate (i.e. *decorum*) in Pompeian houses or in first-century villas can no longer be observed in these late antique domus,[60] the sculptures reused in late antique domestic contexts were instead displayed for their broader aesthetic quality as *ornamenta* (pertaining to the material quality, i.e. marble).[61] However, this does not imply that the images were deprived of their meaning.

As emphasized in the second part of this paper, the new frame in which these pieces were exhibited must have altered and multiplied the possibilities for interpretation relative to their previous contexts. The numerous sculptures, inscriptions, and architectural fragments on display within Ostian houses could have elicited very different evocations of classical culture (e.g. mythology, aristocratic hunting, *paideia*). While also preserving elements of classical culture, they offered more associative possibilities for exegesis, even alluding to the Christian image world, as the architrave inscription in the Domus dei Tigriniani demonstrated. Furthermore, the great variety of repurposed sculptures from different contexts and periods together with all of the older inscription fragments reused visibly in floors and walls and the lavish use of spolia must have made an important visual impression as a collective ensemble to any visitor. This bricolage of fragments from earlier monuments and buildings can be compared to the changed aesthetic norms found in the architecture of the period (i.e. the Arch of Constantine and even more so paleochristian churches) as well as in the contemporaneous literary production. Similar playful poses combining literary fragments from the classical past can be observed in the fourth-century cento poems, such as the *Cento Nuptialis* by Ausonius or the *Cento Probae* by the Roman noblewoman Faltonia Betitia Proba. They have primarily been discussed in conjunction with the Arch of Constantine, but since such poems were probably recited in the domestic sphere, the cento poetry can better be linked to the spolia assemblages found in elite housing of the same period, as for instance in the Ostian domus. The *fistula aquaria* that was recently discovered in a fourth-century bath building near the Ostian harbor provides a significant testimony that the female cento poet Faltonia Betitia Proba possessed property in Ostia and could have encountered a late antique sculpture assemblage such as the one found in the Domus della Fortuna Annonaria.

In Ostia, although several houses were owned by aristocratic owners connected to Rome, the sculptural assemblages were created with the local material at hand, in contrast to the high-end residences in Rome where pieces of more sophisticated provenance were redisplayed. This local availability would have been greatly determined by the masses of materials from out-of-use buildings and monuments that were first stockpiled in the sculpture deposits, such as the one found in the Tempio dei Fabri Navali. Therefore, the spolia assemblages in Ostian domus were–unlike the appropriated literary fragments in cento poetry–not only shaped by individual choices, but also strongly conditioned (and more limited) by the local availability of materials. At the same time, it appears that the aristocratic house owners in Ostia made a virtue out of that necessity. For example, the owner of the Domus del Protiro–just next door to the Domus della Fortuna Annonaria–decided to reuse a tomb inscription visibly and very prominently as a drain cover right in the entrance (*fig. 5*), greeting every visitor to his domus. As similar playful poses can be found in fourth-century poetry, although this is now mere speculation, the owner of the Domus del Protiro perhaps reasoned somewhat similarly about his décor as Ausonius did about his *Cento Nuptialis*, when the poet wrote: "[…] it is more likely to provoke your laughter than your praise".[62]

NOTES

[*] I would like to thank Dott.ssa Mariarosaria Barbera, Direttore del Parco Archeologico di Ostia Antica and Dott.ssa Paola Germoni for granting permission to consult the *Giornali di Scavo* (GdS) and other archival documents in summer 2019. Furthermore, I have to thank Alessandro D'Alessio Direttore del Parco Archeologico di Ostia Antica for grating the kind permission for the images and Dott.ssa Marina Lo Blundo from the Archivio Fotografico del Parco Archeologico di Ostia Antica for all her assitance with the images. I am grateful to Elisa Bazzechi, Marcel Danner, Thomas Lappi, Christian Russenberger, and Ginny Wheeler for stimulating discussions and comments that improved this paper.

[1] Mango 1963, 55-59; Myrup Kristensen 2013b, 65-88. – In contrast to the eastern Empire, there is less archaeological evidence for this practice in the west, cf. Ambrogi 2012, 157-218.

[2] Curran 1994, 46-58. – On the biography of reused sculptures, see also Myrup Kristensen 2013a, 23-45.

[3] Settis 2008, 12-31; Myrup Kristensen/Stirling 2016; Smith/Ward-Perkins 2016; Coates-Stephens 2017, esp. 310.

[4] e.g. CIL X 3714 (*signa translata ex abditis locis*) or CIL XIV 4721 (*translatam ex sordentibus locis*). Lepelley 1994, 1-15; Ambrogi 2012, 169-175. n. 39-40.

[5] e.g. CTh XVI, 10, 8 (AD 382): Lepelley 1994, 1-15; Curran 1994, 46-58; Behrwald 2009, 99-127.

[6] Eus. *vita Const.* III,54: Mango 1963, 56-57; Bassett 2014, 146-155.

[7] Witschel 2015, 334-336.

[8] Lepelley 1994, 1-15; Alchermes 1994, 172; Wellington Gahtan 2015, 1-19; Bounia 2015, 90. Contra: Smith 2007, 220 who stresses that instead of describing these finds as "late antique museum of statues", one should rather stress the continuing life of ancient statues; cf. Formisano 2014, 7-16.

[9] Cameron 1999, 1-2; cf. Formisano 2014, 7-16.

[10] Bauer 1996, 347.

[11] Hannestad 1994, 117-149. 215-249; Baldini Lippolis 2001, 72-95; Stirling 2005, 165-228; Stirling 2015, 137-145 (Corinth). – On repairs of older artworks, see Vorster 2013, 473-477 fig. 54-55.

[12] Guidobaldi 1999, 53-68; Ensoli/La Rocca 2000, 280, 518-524; Ambrogi 2012, 157-218.

[13] In 1885, when the Ospedale Militare was built (formerly the area of Villa Casali), many sculptural finds were found reused within a late antique wall (Coates-Stephens 2001, 228-230), but they were probably first displayed within the domus: Pavolini et al. 1993, 443-505; Coates-Stephens 2007, 173.

[14] Volpe/Parisi 2009, 81-110.

[15] Wrede 1972 (Welschbillig); Kiilerich/Torp 1994, 307-316 (Silahtaraga); Puerta López 1994, 179-200 (Valdetorres de Jarama); Nogales Basarrate/ Almeida/Carvalho 2004, 103-156 (Quinta das Longas). – In the villa of Chiragan (France), the sculpture collection was last added to in the early fifth century (with the Heracles reliefs from an Aphrodisian workshop), although the majority of imperial and private portraits found belonged to earlier periods: Bergmann 2000, 168-172; Bergmann 2007, 323-339.

[16] Hannestad 1994; Bergmann 1999; Stirling 2005, 91-137.

[17] Stirling 2005, 138-164; Uytterhoeven 2009, 321-342; Bassett 2015, 239-261.

[18] Schneider 1983, 85-174; Ellis 1991, 117-134; Muth 2007, 341-355.

[19] Elsner 1995; Hannestad 1999, 173-203; Brenk 1999, 69-84; Myrup Kristensen 2012, 31-66; Bravi 2013, 171-187; Pollini 2014, 241-270; Caseau 2011, 479-480; Bassett 2015, 239-261.

[20] The lack of contextual studies regarding late antique sculptures from domestic contexts has also been criticized by Baratte 2001, 275-283.

[21] Stirling 2015, 137-145.

[22] Chuvin 1990, 197; Munro 2016, 47-68.

[23] For instance, out of the 140 pieces of sculpture found in the Triconch House in Aphrodisias (many were found when dismantling late walls), only eight pieces (including a portrait of Pindar, a bust of a girl, and a statue of Aphrodite) were displayed in the 5th c. house, according to Berenfeld 2009, 219; Berenfeld 2019, 44. – For the other remaining fragments found, see now Berenfeld 2019, 91-95 Appendix 2.

[24] On the importance of archival data regarding late antique Ostia, see Gering 2018, 16-18; Murer 2020b. – The find circumstances of inscriptions (mostly epitaphs) found during the E42 excavations were recently published by Caldelli et al. 2018.

[25] On the sculptural décor of the domus, see Becatti 1949, 24-29. 47-48. 50. 54; Boersma 1985, 47-58. 138-160. fig. 50-63. 141-156; Pensabene 2007, 445. 508-512. 624-625; Danner 2017, 265-275 no. 15. – The DFG Project "*signa marmorea*" at the University of Würzburg directed by M. Danner and E. Bazzechi is now documenting the sculptures from Ostian houses.

[26] On the building phases: Boersma 1985, 47-58; Pensabene 2007, 508-512; Danner 2017, 265-273 no. 15.

[27] GdS 25, 48-86; GdS 26, 18-20. 24-26. 32; GdS 28, 41. 49. 51-61; GdS 29, 36. – Within the *Giornali di Scavo,* it is also noted which inscriptions were found reused upside down and thus invisibly, as, for example in the case of a funerary inscription (fig. 3 no. 9) reused invisibly as a threshold. – For a detailed analysis of these finds, see Murer 2020b, 96-101 fig. 22. 119-121 table 6 fig. fig. 34-37.

[28] This first-century altar (0.55 m) is a later addition to the domus: Danner 2017, 267.

[29] Fortuna Annonaria (Magazzini di Ostia, Inv. 1216; 1.9 m) dating to the fourth century (?) as suggested by Becatti 1949, 23; Danner 2017, 579 no. 139 and might have been produced in an Ostian Workshop, as suggested by Pensabene 2007, 577.

[30] Second-century (?) statuette of a women (Magazzini di Ostia, Inv. 1116, 1,5 m) Luni marble and a second-century statuette of Ceres (Magazzini di Ostia, Inv. 1115) wearing a diadem (showing ancient repairs).

[31] Second-century Venus of Doidalsas in Carrara marble (Museo Ostiense Inv. 123; 0.42 m); headless statuette (0.66 m) of Silvanus or Heracles?; statuette of a sitting woman, without head (0.34 m); portrait (around AD 250, Romeo 2019, 170-173 no. 5, fig. 5a.d.) of a younger man (Museo Ostiense Inv. 62; 0.64 m).

[32] I.e. *paideia* cf. Stirling 2005, 228-232; Vorster 2013, 479-481.

[33] Museo Ostiense Inv. 84; 1.4 m. The upper part is Carrara marble from a first-century BC Artemis Valentini, and the lower part belonged to a second-century AD Artemis Millesgaden. The repairs are late antique: Vorster 1998, 286; Pensabene 2007, 624 no. 19; Danner 2017, 164.

[34] Murer 2016, 188 n. 44.

[35] In the case of some of the statuary found, for example the busts, it remains difficult to determine whether or not they were heirloom pieces of previous owners. – For *varietas* as a new aesthetic, which cannot be confused with a form of classicism, see Pensabene 2015, 13 with reference to Brenk 1987, 103-109.

[36] This habit was already noted by Wickert 1933, 821-824 and was discussed by Becatti 1949. – For more recent discussions, see Pensabene et al. 2007.; cf. Nuzzo 1996, 85-114; Pensabene 1999, 153-163; Pensabene 2005, 707-726; Underwood 2015, 383-409; Murer 2016, 177-196; Gering 2018; Murer 2020b.

[37] On the house and its late antique décor, see Boersma 1985a, 291-294; Pavolini 2014, 158f. fig. 9; Danner 2017, 257-264. – For the mentioned inscription, see GdS 25 (1938- 1939) 32. 102-104. GdS 32 (1960) 129.

[38] Pensabene 2007, 433-453; Romeo 2015, 533-566, esp. 535; Murer 2020a, 150-161.

[39] Pensabene 1998, 12-27 fig. 19, 53; Brenk/Pensabene 1999, 289-294; cf. Gering 2017, 149-166.

[40] Inv. 12271 = CIL 14, 5397: Cicerchia/Marinucci 1992, 206f. no. C79 fig. 133.

[41] On *varietas* in late antique church architecture, see: Fabricius Hansen 2003, 172-178 and see above note 35.

[42] Maischberger 1997, 119-121. 147-151; Panella/Pensabene 1999, 129-131; Liverani 2004, 413-414. However, not all spolia reused were necessarily been stored in deposits. Some must have been taken "directly" from other buildings, such as the Tempio di Roma e Venere: Pensabene 2015, 90-03. – Inside the Arch, two Republican tomb inscriptions were reused in the ceiling of the staircase leading to the attic: Pensabene 2015, 104f. fig. 81; Murer 2018, 123 fig. 16.

[43] Elsner 2000, 149-184; Elsner 2004, 272-308; Liverani 2004, 386; Pensabene 2015, 778; Squire 2017, 53-120 esp. 71.

[44] "Das Wort cento (aus dem gr. *kentron*) selbst, bezeichnet eine aus Stoffresten zusammengenähte Decke, ein Patchwork. Also ein »Flickgedicht«": Formisano 2008, 54. 52-55; cf. Londa et al. 2016, 211-239.

[45] Auson. *cent. nupt.* 4-6; 24-25. (trans. Hinds 2014, 188-189) written around the middle of the fourth century: McGill 2005, 1-3; Evelyn-White 1919, 371-373.

[46] Elsner 2000, 176-177.

[47] As rightly observed by Marlowe 2004, 223. The imagery on the Arch of Constantine cannot be reduced to aesthetic readings alone: Pensabene 2015, 778-780 (with a recent summary of interpretations of the Arch).

[48] On the changed elite representations and interactions in late antique houses: Muth 2015, 208, 420-423.

[49] Within their new frames, reused sculptures certainly still alluded to mythology, aristocratic hunts, or classical culture *paideia* in general, see above note 17-19.

[50] Coates-Stephens 2017, 318.

[51] Brenk/Pensabene 1999, 271-299; Danner 2016, 203-208.

[52] Ostia 33a = AE 1941, 97. – cf. Marrou 1978, 160-161: "C'est dans le Christe que se trouvent les quatre fleuves du Paradis. Venez puiser aux eaux des Tigriniani!"

[53] Bauer 2003, 60.

[54] Faltonia Betitia Proba was the wife of Clodius Celsinus Adelphius and the grandmother of Faltonia Anicia Proba who was married to Petronius Probus; Brown 2012, 267. 300-303; Hinds 2014, 174-175.

[55] Hinds 2014, 175-176; Londa et al. 2016, 215-218 n. 110 with further references.

[56] Heinzelmann/Granino Cecere 2001, 313-328 fig. 11; Giovanetti 2020, 234 fig. 8 and see most recently Heinzelmann 2020, 201-215 fig. 225-233 (late antique bath in Reg. III, sondage 29).

[57] Geremia Nucci 1999/2000, 404 n. 106, fig. 12; Giovanetti 2020, 234 fig. 9.

[58] cf. Danner 2017, 179-183.

[59] For example, Neudecker 2014, 134-136, recently pointed out that a Hellenistic votive relief once affixed to a pillar was reused and fixed on the wall in the Casa degli Amorini dorati in Pompeii; cf. Seiler 1992, fig. 104-105.

[60] On "Bildprogramme" see Neudecker 1988, 121-129; Zanker 2000, 207-210; De Angelis 2015, esp. 575-578. – On *decorum* defining the appropriate display of images in public or private spaces (i.e. as expressed in Cicero's letters to Atticus, Cic. *Att.* 1.4.3): De Angelis 2015, 575; Bravi 2010, esp. 291-293.

[61] Vorster 1998, 278. Bravi 2010, esp. 291-293. – e.g. CTh 9.17.2; CTh 9.17.5; CJ 8.10.6, where the term *ornamenta* pertains to the material quality (i.e. marble).

[62] Auson. *cent. nupt.* 4-6 "[…] quod ridere magis quam laudare possis", see above note 45. – On playful poses in cento poetry, see overall Hinds 2014, 196.

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BABESCH 97 (2022), 169-194. doi: 10.2143/BAB.97.0.3290539

Wilhelm Dörpfeld and the Persian destruction of the Acropolis

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Abstract

Wilhelm Dörpfeld (1853-1940) was during his lifetime, and is still today, considered one of the greatest classical archaeologists of all time. His contribution to the present understanding of the Acropolis of Athens consists mainly of three theories on architecture and objects attacked by the Persians in 480 BCE: the Archaios Neos, *the Older Parthenon, and the* Perserschutt. *Despite some controversy, these theories have over the years become paradigmatic. The present article aims to explain the general acceptance of the paradigm of Persian destruction and seeks reasons in Dörpfeld's prevailing esteem as a meticulous scientist and in the philhellenic narrative of Greek rebirth which the paradigm rendered tangible.*

INTRODUCTION

Aus Schutt und Trümmern längst vergangner Zeiten,
Aus dichterisch geformten Heldensagen
Zog keiner so viel Antwort auf die Fragen,
Um die sich endlos die Gelehrten streiten,

Wie der, dem heute wir dies Fest bereiten,
Der wie in jungen so in alten Tagen
Durch zähes Forschen und durch kühnes Wagen
Der Lethe abrang neue Wirklichkeiten.

Wir danken ihm für alle seine Gaben
Und lassen heute jeden Zweifel fallen;
Denn keine hat er nutzlos uns gegeben.

Wir alle wissen, was wir an ihm haben,
Und lassen frohbewegt den Ruf erschallen:
Noch lange mög' uns Wilhelm Dörpfeld leben!

From rubble and debris of times long past,
From poetically shaped heroic sagas
No one drew so many answers to the questions,
About which the scholars endlessly argue,

Like the one whom we are celebrating today,
Who, both in his younger and elder days,
By tenacious research and bold daring,
Wrested from the Lethe new realities.

We thank him for all his gifts
And today let go of all doubt;
For none has he given us in vain.

We all know what we have in him,
And gladly let the call resound:
Long may for us Wilhelm Dörpfeld live!

Sonnet by Ludwig Pallat on the occasion of Wilhelm Dörpfeld's eightieth birthday in 1933.[1]

Wilhelm Dörpfeld (*fig. 1*) was born on 26 December 1853 in the Prussian town of Barmen (later incorporated in the new city of Wuppertal). Already during his lifetime, he was considered a hero of Greek archaeology and among the finest academics that Germany had to offer to the world. Today, he is still remembered as a "meticulous, science-oriented scholar."[2] Dörpfeld was not formally trained in any of the disciplines that comprise *Altertumswissenschaft*, but rather studied architecture and mechanics at Berlin's Bauakademie (the later Technische Hochschule) from 1873 to 1876.[3] His final examination on the architecture of the Propylaea (the monumental gate building to the Acropolis of Athens) impressed his professor Friedrich Adler (1827-1908), who happened to have been excavating at Olympia since 1874. Adler invited Dörpfeld to participate in the project, where he worked from 1877 to 1881.[4] Olympia would remain Dörpfeld's "first and last love,"[5] but he also took part in many other important excavations, including at Troy (1882, 1890, 1893-1894), Tegea (1882), Mycenae (1884-1885), Tiryns (1884-1885), Eleusis (1883-1890), Orchomenos (1886), Pergamon (1886, 1900-1912), Lefkada (1907), Pylos (1907), and Corfu (1908-1914). Even though Dörpfeld's university education was only tangential to his profession,

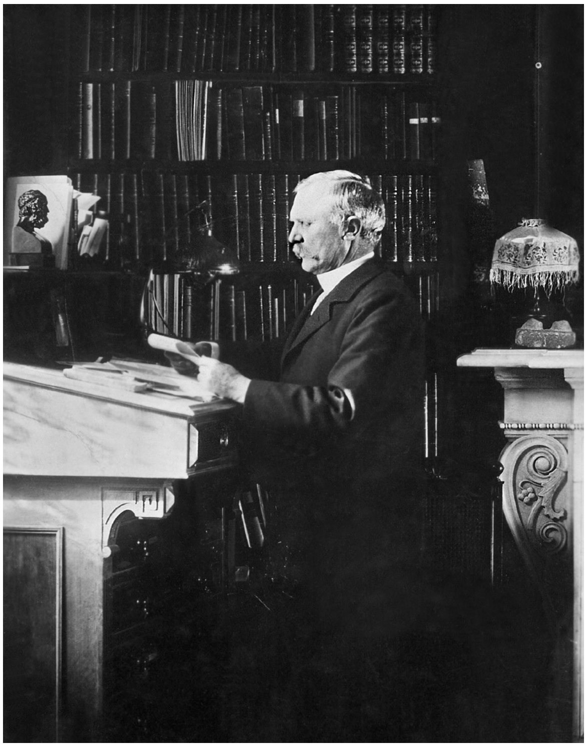

Fig. 1. Dörpfeld at work (unknown photographer 1934; ANP/Süddeutsche Zeitung Photo).

there were now few, if any, scholars who could draw on so much experience in the field.

Dörpfeld's contributions to Greek archaeology are so many and diverse that biographical scholarship can be forgiven for not exploring his work on the monument where it all began and that enthralled him until the end of his life: the Acropolis of Athens. His legacy on the current understanding of the iconic citadel includes the historical reconstruction of its appearance on the eve of the arrival of the Persians led by the Achaemenid king Xerxes I in 480 BCE. The temples standing there were then burned by the invaders and from ca. 450 BCE rebuilt under the auspices of the political leader Pericles. Dörpfeld established the dominant view on the pre-Persian temples. Despite controversial discussion of these theories over the years, they can be called paradigmatic: still today, they provide the prevailing model through which the Acropolis as a whole is interpreted.

The present article asks why and how Dörpfeld's theories on the Persian destruction of the Acropolis have received their paradigmatic status. I begin with a cursory review of the theories. I do not aim to contribute new archaeological arguments for or against these complex postulates, but rather examine their historical and academic contexts, origins, and legacies, while highlighting the variety in scholarly opinion over the years. Although the reason for the endurance of the paradigm of the Persian destruction is a complex, multifactorial matter and therefore inherently unknowable, I surmise that one factor may have been Dörpfeld's reputation as Germany's best archaeologist, which relied on his supposed innovative methodology and his pugnacious scholarly attitude. The article closes by considering a second potential factor: the tangible confirmation that the paradigm offers to a prominent narrative in (neo-)philhellenic thought: the story of the downfall and rebirth of Hellas.

Dörpfeld's theories on the Persian destruction of the Acropolis

Dörpfeld's professional engagement with the Acropolis began in 1885 with his appointment as Second Secretary of the Athenian branch of the German Archaeological Institute (DAI).[6] Within only two years, he became its First Secretary (i.e., Director), a position that he would hold for 25 years until 1912.[7] In that capacity, he oversaw the great excavations of the Acropolis of 1885-1890 by the Greek archaeologist Panagiotis Kavvadias (1850-1928) and the German architect Georg Kawerau (1856-1909), to whom Dörpfeld left the practical work as he himself could not always be present in Athens.[8] This project, which reflects the continuing strong bond between German scholars and the Archaeological Society at Athens (Ἡ ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀϱχαιολογικὴ Ἑταιϱεία), did not inaugurate archaeological work on the site, but earlier excavations[9] had not been able to settle many topographical questions.

In particular, there was considerable uncertainty regarding the appearance of the Acropolis before the Persian attack of 480 BCE, of which ancient texts provided only faint glimpses. Approximately fifty years after the Persian invasion, Herodotus produced what would become to posterity the main account of these events. He wrote that the Persians managed to take the citadel, killed the Greek defendants who had taken shelter in the *megaron* (temple hall), and then burned the entire Acropolis (8.53). Nine centuries later, the lexicographer Hesychius preserved a memory of the pre-Persian temple in his definition of "ἑκατόνπεδος" (*Hekatonpedos* or *Hekatompedos*, 'Hundredfooter') as the present temple of Athena that was 50 feet larger than an earlier Hekatompedos burned by the Persians. Furthermore, a variety of post-Persian literary sources and inscriptions, many of which came to light as the nineteenth century progressed, spoke of Athena's *Archaios Neos* (Ancient Temple), perhaps the only surviving temple of the pre-Persian Acropolis.[10] Blocks built into the exterior side of the north fortification wall of the Acropolis (*fig. 2*) had been identified as belonging to the pre-Persian temple since the time of the French diplomat Louis-François-Sébastien Fauvel (1753-1838) and the British colonel William Leake (1777-1860).[11] In 1835-1836, the philologist Ludwig Ross (1806-1859) examined and excavated part of the massive platform under the Great Temple, known today as the "Parthenon," to conclude that it was built for an earlier temple.[12] However, this was not enough: the texts led to the expectation that evidence of the Persian vengeance that had effaced the Archaic Acropolis was still lurking in its *Erdreich* (earth realm). The new excavations, aimed at clearing the earth until the bedrock, were to winnow out more valuable pieces from the dust and to enlighten the pre-Classical age that Xerxes had terminated.[13]

Even if Dörpfeld was not the nominal leader of the excavations, these took place under his auspices; he considered himself the project's architectural adviser.[14] Having temporarily left for Olympia, he was soon called back to Athens, because it was thought that the excavation of the Acropolis could not proceed without the only *Grabungsfachmann* (professional excavator) in town.[15] As the digs went on, and long before the official publication of the finds in 1906,[16] Dörpfeld wrote many interpretative articles on them in the main periodical of the DAI's Athenian branch, the *Athenische Mitteilungen*. Dörpfeld was not credited as the author of the excavation reports, but his work of preceding years is cited as authoritative throughout.[17] These intricate essays placed the new discoveries in the context of the long-known textual sources and included much discussion on the appearance of the pre-Persian Acropolis. This body of scholarship can be divided into three interrelated theories.

The first theory concerned the terrace in the middle of the Acropolis, immediately south of the Ionic temple with Karyatids. In the nineteenth century, the Karyatid Temple was universally understood to be a sanctuary of Athena and Poseidon-Erechtheus called the "Erechtheion." Part of the building was supposed to have been reserved for the shrine of the old statue of Athena Polias, the *Archaios Neos*. In 1862, the area to the temple's south was investigated by the architect Carl Boetticher (1806-1889). He exposed stone walls, which to him indicated a paved terrace that could have contained a few chapels.[18] In 1885, it was decided that the walls had to be

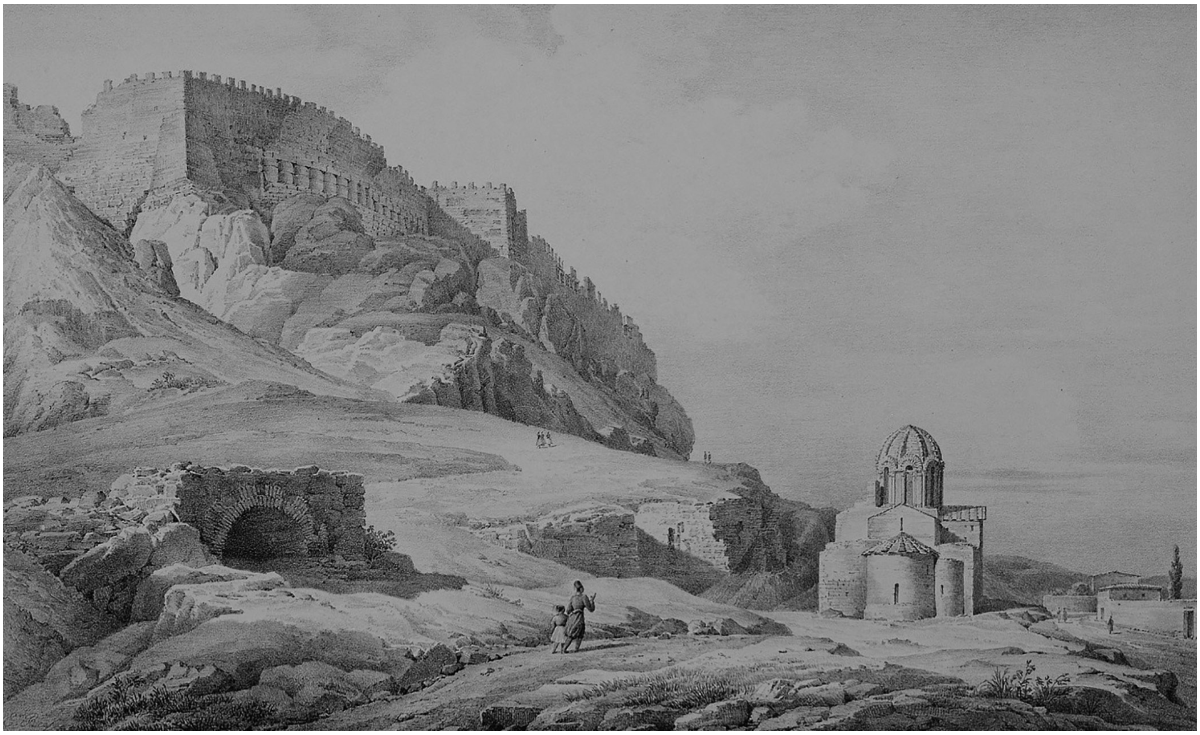

Fig. 2. North wall of the Acropolis with column drums (drawing by E. Rey; pl. 35 in Rey et al. 1867; courtesy Aikaterini Laskaridis Foundation, http://www.travelogues.gr/).

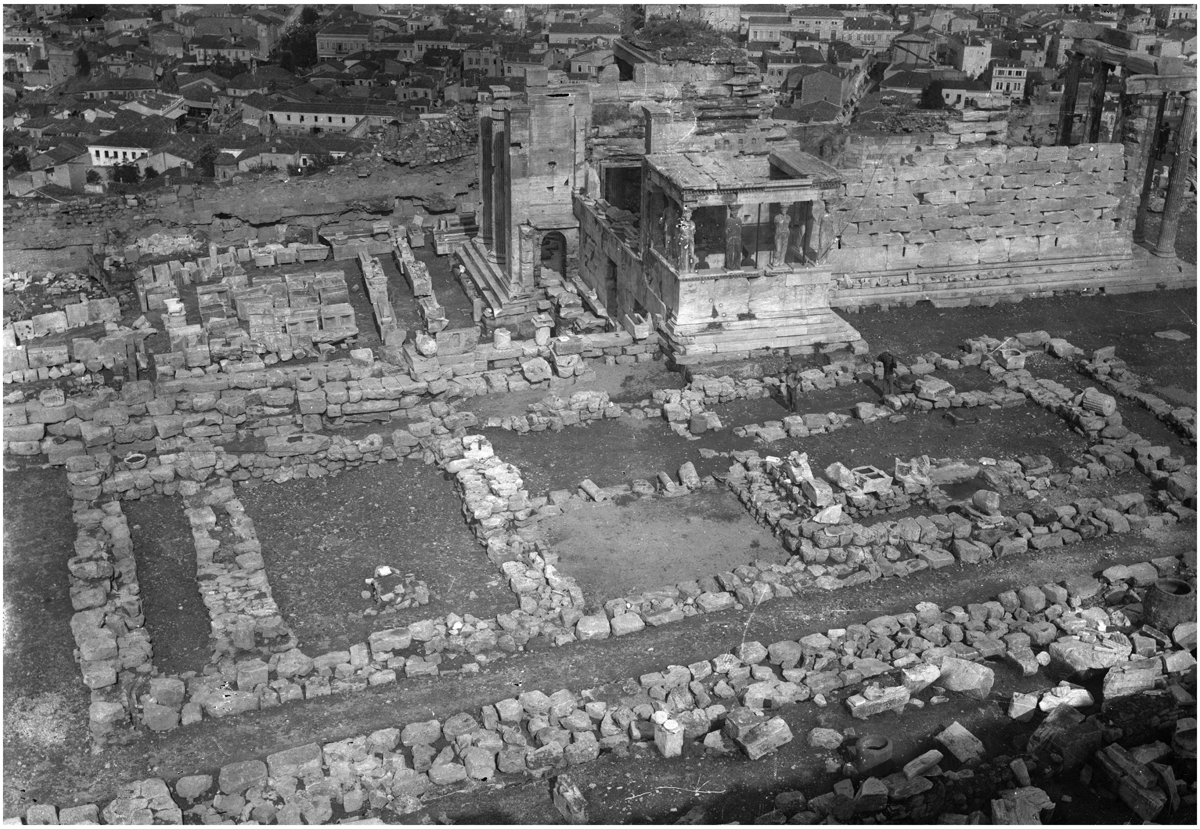

Fig. 3. The restored foundation in the middle of the Acropolis and the Karyatid Temple looking north (unknown photographer, 1887; D-DAI-ATH-Akropolis-0015).

revealed completely, which happened in 1886 (*fig. 3*). However, before the spades hit the soil, Dörpfeld already published an article in the *Athenische Mitteilungen* of 1885 in which he decided what the foundation had been: this, not the Karyatid Temple, was the original location of the *Archaios Neos*. It was also the pre-Persian Hekatompedos mentioned by Hesychius.[19] For Dörpfeld, there was no question that these identifications were valid, as he was at the time convinced that there was no other location on the Acropolis where a pre-Persian temple could have stood. The Greek archaeologist Valerios Stais (1857-1923), in a *Festrede* for the inauguration of Dörpfeld's bust at the DAI's Athenian branch in 1914, discussed Dörpfeld's discovery of the foundation as of utmost importance for the understanding of both the prehistorical and later Acropolis.[20] Klaus Herrmann, in his contribution on Dörpfeld in *Archäologenbildnisse* (1988), describes the discovery as the culmination of the work of the Greek Archaeological Society in these years.[21] Yet, swept under the rug of the spectacular find was the fact that the site had already been discussed before: Dörpfeld ignored Boetticher's earlier excavation and did not engage with another early interpretation (still today tenable) that the terrace had been home to another elusive sanctuary, exclusively known from inscriptions, the *Kekropion*.[22]

The foundational 1885 publication also marks the birth of the second theory on the Persian

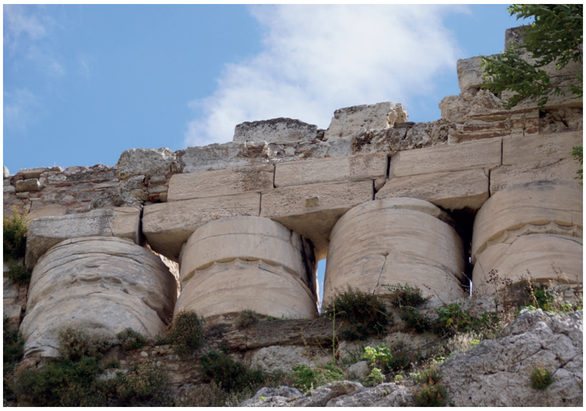

Fig. 4. Several column drums in the north wall of the Acropolis (photo by M. de Vries, 2017).

destruction. It concerned the architectural blocks built as spolia into the north wall of the Acropolis: the entablature of *poros* (a local limestone) and marble and the unfinished column drums and other blocks of marble from Mount Pentele (*fig. 4*). As indicated, this material had been associated with a pre-Persian temple since the time of Fauvel, a theory endorsed by Leake and Ross. Dörpfeld's contribution was that the material did not belong to a single temple, but instead had to be divided over two temples. Again, he did not cite a predecessor in research, this time the French Indologist Émile-Louis Burnouf (1821-1907), who had already categorized the material eight years earlier. In Burnouf's view, the poros and marble entablature in the west section represented the pre-Persian temple that had stood on the foundation underneath the Great Temple discovered by Ross; but the marble column drums were quarried for the Periclean Great Temple and rejected due to defects in the marble.[23] Dörpfeld argued instead that the poros material had belonged to the building that had stood on "his" new foundation, the *Archaios Neos*; only the marble material had to be assigned to a hitherto unknown, disappeared building, never mentioned in ancient sources. This all-marble, unfinished temple, called the "*älterer Parthenon*" (Older Parthenon), was likewise dedicated to Athena. It would have been under construction on the foundation on the south side of the Acropolis before the project's abandonment and replacement by the Periclean Great Temple. Dörpfeld initially dated the Older Parthenon to the time of Kimon, the Athenian politician who was active in the 460s BCE.

Yet, an article of 1902 had a plot twist for the Older Parthenon in store: mainly on the basis of alleged fire damage in the architectural remains assigned to it, Dörpfeld now argued that the temple was destroyed in a great, Persian inferno and that its inception therefore necessarily dated to the pre-Persian period. This argument demanded a reconstruction of the Acropolis with, in addition to the *Archaios Neos* which Dörpfeld thought to have been carried by the foundation discovered in 1885, a second Athena temple destroyed by the Persians standing on the south foundation as a predecessor of the Great Temple. Dörpfeld was not the first to argue that the Older Parthenon was pre-Persian: the British archaeologist Francis Penrose (1817-1903) had already advocated this position several times.[24] Dörpfeld was not immediately convinced, but after his volte-face, it was on his authority as the pioneer of the theory of the all-marble Older Parthenon that its pre-Persian date became almost universally accepted.[25]

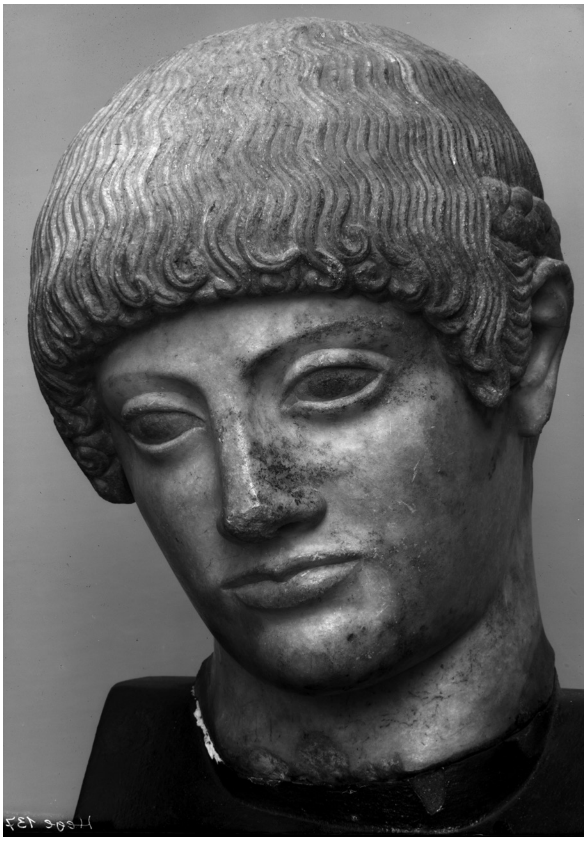

Fig. 5. Head of a kouros from on the Acropolis, the so-called "Blond Boy", marble, 25 x 12.5 x 22.8 cm; Acropolis Museum, Athens; Akr. 689 (photo by W. Hege, 1928/1929; D-DAI-ATH-Hege-1373).

Dörpfeld's third theory on the Persian destruction developed on the basis of the extraordinary finds made during the great excavations by Kavvadias and Kawerau that he supervised, in deposits northwest of the Karyatid Temple and south and east of the Great Temple. Here appeared many objects, including pottery and broken sculptures (for instance the marble kouros head known as the "Blond Boy"; *fig. 5*). The immediate conclusion was that these objects had been present on the Acropolis when the Persians attacked. Along with the temples, they were violently destroyed and shortly after the war interred by the Athenians. The general idea of a material category representing direct evidence of the Persian attack of 480 BCE had already existed since the sondages of Ross.[26] Yet, Dörpfeld, along with the archaeologist Franz Studniczka (1860-1929), was in 1887 the first to baptize the newly found material "*Perserschutt*" (Persian debris).[27] He portrayed it as follows: "Herodotus describes to us how the Persians, during their two stays in Athens, set fire to and destroyed almost all the buildings of the lower city and the castle; only the houses in which the Persian leaders lived were spared. With the numerous buildings and works of art of the citadel, our temple [i.e., the *Archaios Neos* on the foundation excavated in 1886] also perished at that time. The total destruction of the citadel is eloquently demonstrated by the statues and architectural elements that have now emerged from the rubble. Everything that could be broken was smashed, the columns overturned, everything that could be burned was set on fire, and everything that was precious was stolen. The traces of the flames can still be seen clearly on many works of art and architectural pieces."[28]

The 1902 article in which Dörpfeld rebranded the Older Parthenon as a pre-Persian building had an important consequence for the Perserschutt. Now, the deposits near the podium of the temple that were deemed contemporaneous with the Older Parthenon project and had formerly been thought to contain Perserschutt needed to date to the pre-Persian period, like the temple itself. The finds could therefore not constitute Perserschutt (which, by definition, is pre-Persian material buried in post-Persian deposits). Dörpfeld thus restricted the term "Perserschutt" to only one deposit close to the "Kimonian" south retaining wall of the Acropolis that was certainly post-Persian.[29] This restriction of the term, however, was a small price to pay for what was received in recompense: a second Persian-destroyed temple – the early, revolutionary incarnation of the Parthenon itself – whose broken vestiges in the north Acropolis wall had kept watch over the lower city for millennia.

Dörpfeld's three theories can be considered pillars that support a mode of thinking in which the Acropolis is an exposition of the history of the Persian destruction of 480. The theories have been highly successful. Already in 1899, the American archaeologist Arthur Cooley described his respect for Dörpfeld's knowledge about the Acropolis temples in nearly royal terms: "All would bow to his keen judgement."[30] Dörpfeld's acquaintance with the site earned him the Royal Gold Medal for architecture by the Royal Institute of British Architects in 1911.[31] Despite instances of criticism discussed below, the central tenets of the theories are still today widely accepted:[32] the theory that the foundation he had "discovered" was that of the *Archaios Neos* erased earlier thinking about the site and is universally recognized; the structure is still today sometimes called the "Dörpfeld foundation" in his honor.[33] His Older Parthenon theory, as formulated in the 1902 article, was the basis for a fuller reconstruction of the temple by the American archaeologist Bert Hodge Hill (1874-1958) that Dörpfeld himself mostly agreed with and is today commonly accepted.[34] And his concept of Perserschutt furnished a precise chronological peg of 480 BCE (the watershed of the Archaic and Classical periods) in the development of Greek sculpture and vase painting and hence a dating mechanism for archaeological contexts in the entire Greek world.[35] This mode of thinking is widely accepted as a certain base onto which new research can grow and which can justifiably be termed a paradigm.

ARCHAEOLOGY'S *ALTMEISTER*

The paradigmatic status of the theories on the Persian destruction probably depends on many factors, but one important ingredient seems to have been Dörpfeld's authority as one of the founding fathers of modern archaeology. This repute, which has been called a "*Geniekult*,"[36] developed during his lifetime and has dominated postmortem discourse as well.[37] Accolades came early and in numbers too large for a full discussion in the present article. Mention of only a few milestones suffices here: an honorary doctorate from the University of Würzburg at the age of 28, without ever having written a dissertation (1882); the Professor title from the imperial government (1892); the *Adlerschild*, the highest imperial award for scholarly or artistic achievements, from President Paul von Hindenburg (1933); and the renaming of Wuppertal's City Gymnasium to Wilhelm-Dörpfeld-Gymnasium (1938).[38] The superlatives bestowed upon Dörpfeld are equally extraordinary: he was referred to as archaeology's "*Altmeister*" (old master; founding father),[39] "*Stammesheros*" (tribal hero),[40] and "Nestor."[41] On the occasion of his death in 1940, the archaeologist Armin von Gerkan (1885-1969) asserted that Dörpfeld must be acknowledged as the master of architectural research and related disciplines of *Altertumswissenschaft*.[42] Dörpfeld's friend and biographer Peter Goeßler (1872-1956) in 1951 stated that Dörpfeld's persona represents the zenith of classical archaeology itself.[43]

With this status came the conferment of equally positive character traits. For example, Dörpfeld was lauded for his marvelous rhetorical talent in perfectly timed presentations and for his willingness to patiently explain his theories to anyone interested; his guided tours of archaeological sites were particularly celebrated and greatly contributed to his popularity.[44] Among Americans, especially, he reached the status of an archaeological superstar.[45] This stature even contributed to a kind of "Germanophilia" at the

American School of Classical Studies at Athens (ASCSA).[46] In 1896, he embarked on a lecture tour of the East Coast of the United States, at the time an extraordinary journey. American universities vied for his attention and he was awarded an honorary doctorate at Princeton University.[47] Goeßler reports that an American colleague, who remains anonymous, observed that Dörpfeld's work had made German the native language of archaeology.[48]

What circumstances led to Dörpfeld's enthronement as archaeology's *Altmeister*? His intellectual capacities, rhetorical gift, and work ethic were certainly highly advantageous to his success, but there were other archaeologists who had title to these assets. Two additional reasons loom large in explaining why he surpassed most others. First, Dörpfeld was a source of German patriotism in the context of archaeology's increasing international competition. Because he uncovered so many prominent sites and buildings, he contributed like few others to the era of Germany's big excavations (1870-1914). Thus, he personifies the blossoming of German archaeological scholarship.[49] With his own nationalist outlook (common among academics of his generation), he revelled in this stature.[50] This sentiment transitioned seamlessly from the German Empire into the Weimar Republic and on into the Third Reich; for Dörpfeld, an expert on sites that mattered in national-socialist ideology, including Olympia and the Acropolis,[51] was also admired by Nazi politicians and scholars. A Festschrift in honor of Dörpfeld's eightieth birthday (1933) published by the Koldewey-Gesellschaft exposes the force of Dörpfeld as a symbol of German ownership to archaeological remains. Here, Nazi architect Konrad Nonn (1877-1945) describes Dörpfeld as a torchbearer in the process to expand the development of German art and proclaims a "Heil Dörpfeld, Heil Deutschland."[52] He then transforms the figure of Dörpfeld from a scholar into a warrior against subhumanity – a fight prefigured by the Gigantomachy on the Pergamon Altar, which Dörpfeld helped to claim for the *Vaterland*.[53] During the 1936 Olympic Games in Berlin, to which Dörpfeld was invited as an honorary guest, Hitler himself ordered the continuation of the Olympia excavations, a project that would become known as the *Führergrabung* (Führer's excavation). Dörpfeld was most grateful to Hitler that *Großdeutschland* (Great Germany) had the honor of new excavations at the site.[54] The archaeological remains of Olympia and the Acropolis, including the Dörpfeld foundation, were the protagonists in Willy Zielke's sensational shots for the prologue to *Fest der Völker*, the first part of Leni Riefenstahl's *Olympia* (1938), a propagandistic film that glorified the Olympic Games.[55] Dörpfeld was also a guest of honor at the Nazi-sanctioned 6th International Archaeological Congress in Berlin 1939. Here, he appeared as a living fossil of German archaeology's grandeur of yesteryear and as a mascot for the resurgence of German archaeology, which had lost its leading position as a result of the empire's aggression of the preceding decades.[56] After his death and the demise of Nazism, the patriotic view that he had been a German ambassador who brought international reputation to the Athenian office of the DAI continued unabated.[57] Even the sober *Neue deutsche Biographie* (1959) describes him as "the most successful German excavator in the time of the great archaeological discoveries."[58] In the DAI's own retrospect, he embodies its most fertile and successful period.[59]

A second keystone of Dörpfeld's success lies in the wide recognition of his methodological innovation as a "pioneer of modern archaeology."[60] Not unjustifiably, Dörpfeld is credited with the production of objective architectural histories enabled by a mathematical, logical manner of thinking and by the observation of architectural details and stratigraphy.[61] This reputation as an empirical observer grew on the fertile soil of his training in architectural engineering at the prestigious Bauakademie and his avoidance of archaeology's traditional penchants for art history and evocative reconstruction drawings.[62] It was augmented by a rather facile contrast with his controversial mentor Heinrich Schliemann (1822-1890; *fig. 6*), then and now regarded as archaeology's *bête noir* – an untruthful treasure hunter devoid of academic credentials.[63] The more Schliemann was condemned as a destructive parvenu, the more Dörpfeld emerged as a prolific hero.[64] Dörpfeld would probably not have subscribed to this contrast, but it nevertheless came to stand for the divergence of two archaeological generations and their approaches: the first traditional, impressionistic, and text-based; the second progressive, empirical, and architecture-based. A Serbian politician (an unidentified Đorđević) reportedly qualified Dörpfeld as Schliemann's most beautiful discovery.[65] Here was a scholar whose work was *unvergänglich* (undying).[66]

THE FAILURE OF DÖRPFELD'S EMPIRICAL ARCHAEOLOGY

However, what remains of Dörpfeld's legacy if one looks beyond the hagiographic remarks from his entourage and later admirers? In contrast to the very positive terms by which Dörpfeld is still usually remembered, those who investigate indi-

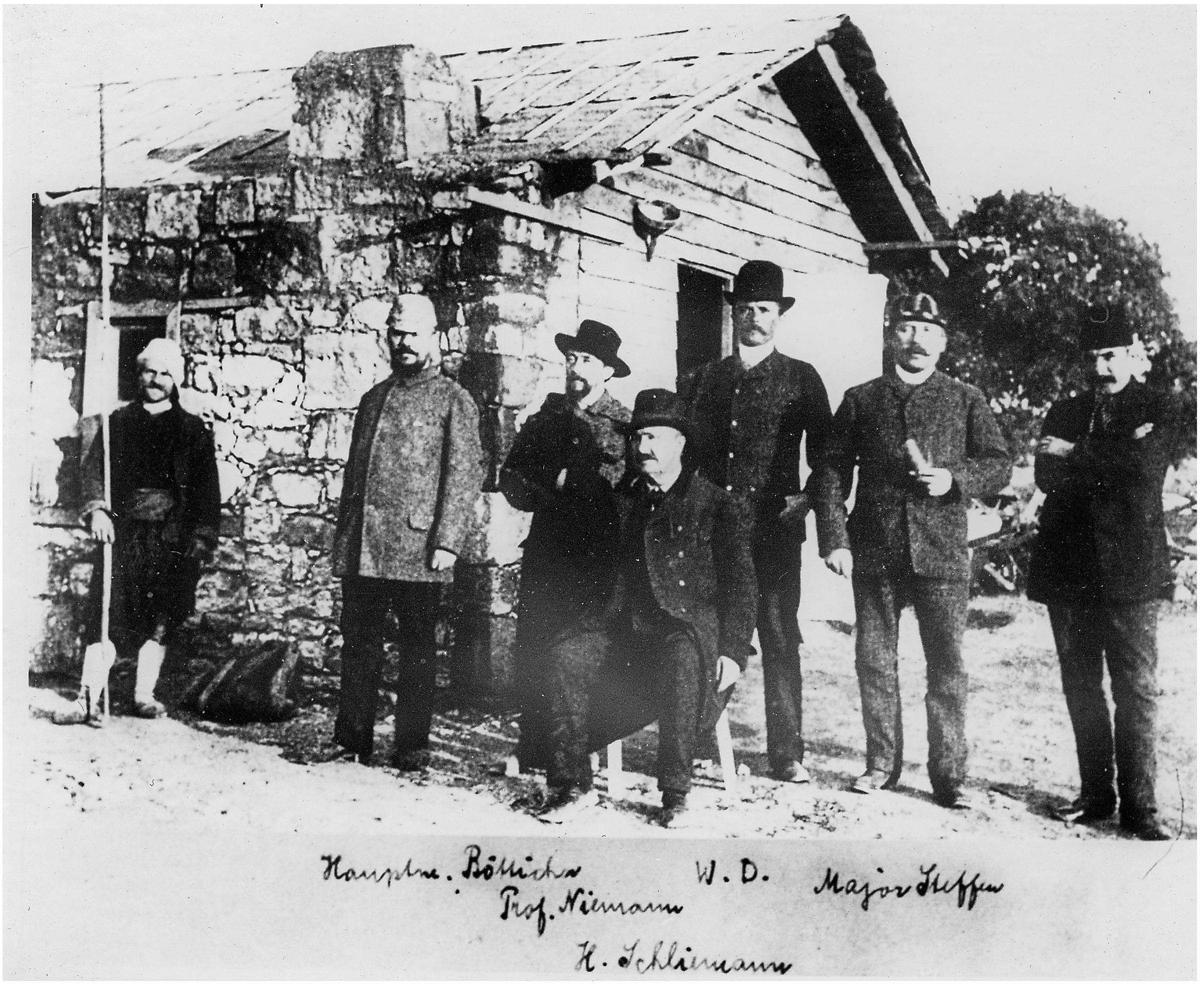

Fig. 6. Group photo at Hisarlık. The five central figures are identified as "Hauptm[ann Ernst?] Bötticher, Prof. [George] Niemann, H[einrich] Schliemann, [Wilhelm Dörpfeld], Major [Bernhard] Steffen." (unknown photographer, 1889).

vidual theories find a rather different legacy. His successor as First Secretary of the DAI at Athens, Georg Karo (1872-1963), recalls that already by 1909 Dörpfeld was so embittered about the growing scholarly antagonism coming his way that he had prematurely requested his retirement, which was granted in 1912.[67] Hartmut Döhl in 1981 remarks that "Dörpfeld's identifications have failed almost without exception" and that the *Altmeister* was, upon his death on 25 April 1940 on Lefkada, largely written off by his colleagues.[68]

This antagonism is illustrated most vividly by the fates of Dörpfeld's studies of Greek prehistory and Homeric topography.[69] The site of Kakovatos on the Peloponnese, which he identified as Nestor's palace, was later shown to be a minor early Mycenaean center.[70] He also attempted to demonstrate that Olympia, where Pausanias reports the heroic-era remains of the Pelopion and the house of the mythical king Oinomaos, had Mycenaean roots. Yet, he relied on only few relevant finds and resorted to dating Geometric pottery, normally dated to ca. 900-700 BCE, into the second millennium BCE.[71] The British archaeologist Sylvia Benton (1887-1985), in a review of Dörpfeld's book *Alt-Olympia* (1935a), described it as the tragedy of a man who created his own world of archaeology.[72] The most notorious example of the typical fate of Dörpfeld's theories is his identification of Odysseus' mythical home island Ithaca. On the basis of an alternative reading of confusing topographical descriptions in the *Odyssey*, Dörpfeld rejected Ithaca's traditional identification with the small Ionian island of Thiaki and proposed the more northern Lefkada instead. All that remained, following his usual methodology, was to test this hypothesis by excavating on that island palatial remains, fit for a hero of

Odysseus' stature. The identification of Homeric Ithaca with Lefkada, where no substantial Late Helladic remains were found, was severely criticized or even ridiculed by colleagues. It could not convincingly overturn the traditional theory, nor prevent the proposition of yet other Ithacas.[73] Nevertheless, Dörpfeld did not abandon his idea, resorting instead to correct Homer himself by proposing the existence of an *Urodyssee*, a 500-year older textual nucleus embedded in the extant work that would offer a precise historical source for the topography of Odysseus' voyages.[74] This curious theory did not lead to criticism, but to complete neglect.[75]

Dörpfeld's scholarly tragedy lies not so much in the impermanence of his theories – which, if nothing else, paved the way for further research – but rather in his refusal to deal with criticism in a professional manner. His much-commended humbleness and openness masked a degree of academic vanity: biographers find that Dörpfeld expected understanding and acceptance from all and left no leeway for dissenting views.[76] He regarded such disagreements not as opportunities to advance academic debates, but as threats to his reputation, to be thwarted in hostile terms. His scholarship was a battle for truth. To the archaeologists Otto Walter (1882-1965) and Martin Schede (1883-1947), Dörpfeld's refusal to accept any criticism only typified his heroic fighting spirit.[77] Dörpfeld used the word "*Kampf*" (fight) to describe the controversy that ensued from his hypothesis that Greek actors did not use the *logeion* of the *proskenion* of the Greek theater until the Hellenistic period.[78] His battles became more numerous and intense as time went on. He labeled criticism by the philologist Eugen Petersen (1836-1919), his predecessor as director of the DAI Athens, on his interpretation of the Karyatid Temple "verletzende Beschuldigungen" (hurtful accusations).[79] And in a review of the main publication on the Karyatid Temple by the ASCSA, Dörpfeld described the proposal by the American archaeologist James Morton Paton (1863-1944) that the *Archaios Neos* had stood on the site of the Karyatid Temple rather than on the Dörpfeld foundation – an idea that is still tenable today – "a regrettable step backwards of scholarship."[80]

The American excavations of the Ancient Agora, which began in 1931, escalated in a bitter polemic between Dörpfeld and the Americans, formerly among his most enthusiastic admirers. Dörpfeld had always desired to excavate the site himself and looked on with dismay as his own views on the topography were effaced. In his diary he anxiously wrote: "They label nearly all buildings incorrectly."[81] In an effort to restore his dwindling reputation, he hastily published his criticism of the American work in the first volume of *Alt-Athen und seine Agora* (1937). The prominent American archaeologist Theodore Leslie Shear, Sr. (1880-1945), in a review of that book, not only insinuated that it was possibly illicit because it contained the premature publication of material found in the American excavations; he also pointed out that the topographical interpretations were completely incorrect and ignorant of key evidence: "Dörpfeld's casual rejection of archaeological evidence in favor of his opinion as to the date of building materials [...] cannot be recommended as sound scientific practice."[82] Dörpfeld rebutted Shear sharply in the second volume of the book (1939), but in a review of that volume, Shear reprised his condemnation by shaking the foundations of Dörpfeld's empirical stature: "no common meeting ground can exist for a scientific archaeologist and one who rejects chronological evidence provided by sherds, coins and other objects in closed deposits [...]. Like the refrain of a theme song running through the book the statement repeatedly appears that certain opinions have been proclaimed and taught by the author for forty years and therefore they must be true."[83]

The reception of Dörpfeld's theories reveals the inherent risks of his methodology. A dreamlike past emerging from evocative, yet multi-interpretable texts was the inspiration for his projects and was to become tangible in archaeological remains, to which the texts were in turn the yardstick.[84] He described the discovery of an ornamental wall plinth inlaid with glass beads at Tiryns' megaron, matching Homer's description of a *kyanos* frieze at Alcinous' palace at Scheria (Hom. *Od*. 7.86-87), as the moment when he became convinced of the fundamental historicity of Homeric epic.[85] In this, he did not differ from Schliemann, who was equally entranced by such textual mirages and did not ignore architecture.[86] In fact, Schliemann and Dörpfeld shared the aim of proving the veracity of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* by excavating supposed palatial remains and together defended the identification of Homer's Troy with Hisarlık.[87] This makes Dörpfeld, despite the architectural turn in archaeology that he triggered, and despite the fact that Schliemann himself considered Dörpfeld the world's foremost authority on ancient architecture,[88] still a member of archaeology's *ancien régime*.

Dörpfeld's methodology of excavating texts was not necessarily incorrect: it remains an exciting possibility that material correlates to the world of ancient texts can be found. In an adapted form, Schliemann and Dörpfeld's identification of

Homer's Troy with Hisarlık is still today defendable. However, this path needs to be trodden prudently and confirmation bias needs to be avoided. Different categories of evidence, which all have their limitations, need to be weighed carefully using insights from constituent specialisms in the broad field of *Altertumswissenschaft*, including archaeology, epigraphy, history, and philology. Dörpfeld did realize the need for interdisciplinary collaboration.[89] However, in his eyes, philologists and historians were unqualified to comment on architectural remains because they did not share in the expertise that only he, a *Bauforscher*, possessed. Conversely, when architecture was part of the equation, he saw himself fit to comment on all variables, both material and textual. Yet, in reality, he too readily saw proof in these variables.[90] In the firm conviction that the past can be made knowable with absolute certainty, he seems to have frequently overplayed the empirical cards of his *Bauforschung*. His modus operandi was criticized by prominent historians and philologists, including Theodor Mommsen (1817-1903) and Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1848-1931), who despised Dörpfeld as a mere architect who could not truly penetrate into the alien world of Antiquity and whose theories suffered from textual cherry-picking.[91] Von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff scathingly remarked: "Dörpfeld ignores all grammar, all criticism, all history, except when something suits him."[92] And in her review of *Alt-Olympia*, Sylvia Benton succinctly scorned Dörpfeld – using the past tense as if he was already deceased – as "a man who read texts and excavated to prove them true."[93]

The paradigm of the Persian destruction under fire

How does Dörpfeld's work on the Persian destruction of the Acropolis relate to his methodology and its criticism? His contributions to Greek archaeology's crown jewel cemented his status and have mostly remained in the clear. In modern biographical discourse on Dörpfeld, the Ithaca theory has been characterized as the final stage of a negative development of his method: from an early phase of empirical searching and unbiased interpretation towards problematic intuitive finding and all-encompassing theories.[94] As criticism of Dörpfeld's scholarship has concentrated on this later work, the Acropolis theories, established early in his career, have largely escaped a negative reception. In fact, however, no methodological development seems to have occurred: in the early years, too, Dörpfeld's work typically moved from ancient texts, whose veracity was to be proven by the retrieval of material remains. As indicated above, Dörpfeld relied primarily on texts to support his theories on the Acropolis of the 1880s and 1890s, yet he rarely questioned the reliability of these historical narratives and took the existence of material correlates to them as guaranteed. This early work, too, may have suffered from interpretative bias.

The largely positive reception of the Acropolis theories can also be related to the type of text they were based on: Herodotus' sensational account of the Persian destruction of the Acropolis (8.50-55). This brief text was the *sine qua non* for Dörpfeld's theories: had it not been transmitted, there would probably have been little reason to recognize evidence of the Persian destruction on the Acropolis. Without consistently citing the narrative in the *Histories*, Dörpfeld took this course of events as a reliable historical scenario by which new discoveries were to be interpreted.[95] His trust was not eccentric, for (unlike Homer's poetry) Herodotus' historiography on the Persian Wars at the time still held sway as a reliable source for events in the Greek world. Scholarly concern that Herodotus is no unfailing guide to the complex military encounters may have been growing already, but his story of the destruction of the Acropolis was never in question: despite its production more than a generation *post factum*, it was still close enough to the events of 480 BCE. Moreover, veterans would certainly have held Herodotus' fantasy in check.

Thus, in the zeal of the sensational excavations during the heyday of Dörpfeld's authority, Herodotus' account of the Persian siege became physically manifest. However, was this line of thought valid? We are now more aware that the relation of the historical past to Herodotus' account on the Persian siege, transformed through the prisms of memory and folklore, is less facile than previously thought.[96] The historicity of the Persian invasion of Athens is not in doubt, but the text provides a rather weak basis onto which to construe archaeological theories. There is a risk of *petitio principii* in Dörpfeld's theories, whose general conclusion was identical to the assumption from which they moved: that the attack had left incontestable material traces.[97] Furthermore, a circular argument played havoc with the dating of the Older Parthenon: because the foundation of the Older Parthenon stratigraphically related to the deposits, the deposits could be used to date the temple, while the assumed date of the temple could provide the date of the deposits.[98]

Circularity in reasoning does not necessarily yield wrong conclusions, but all three theories have been shown to be problematic on other grounds as well. Dörpfeld's views on the original construction plan of the Karyatid Temple and the post-Persian rebuilding of the *Archaios Neos* found only little resonance in later scholarship.[99] I have argued elsewhere that his identifications of the *Archaios Neos* (with the Dörpfeld foundation) and the *Erechtheion* (with the Karyatid Temple) need to be reversed.[100] Thorough studies of the objects and contexts of the so-called Perserschutt have shown that the concept is misleading, because the conclusion that the broken sculptures suffered from Persian aggression is not certain; the use of Perserschutt as a dating mechanism should be avoided, since the deposition of the fills cannot be precisely dated.[101] In recent years, the chronology of the interface of Archaic and Classical art in which 480 BCE has served as a chronological watershed, has been the subject of new discussions,[102] but it will presumably take some time before the old chronology's ripples throughout Greek archaeology have been smoothened out.

Of the three theories in this paradigm, Dörpfeld's opinion on the date of the Older Parthenon (an issue that has been described as one of the big questions of archaeology[103]) has perhaps been most controversial. Goeßler notes that Dörpfeld most intense grievance towards the end of his life was that he, a *Bauforscher* with fifty years of research on the temple, had failed to convince all colleagues of his views on it.[104] The first, relatively minor disagreement concerned Dörpfeld's idea that the Older Parthenon was originally planned to be built in *poros*, before it was decided that the temple be executed in marble instead. This led to a controversy with the American archaeologist William Bell Dinsmoor, Sr. (1886-1973), who dismissed the existence of the poros phase.[105] The second, more offensive criticism came from the historian Walther Kolbe (1876-1943), who, 34 years after Dörpfeld's 1902 article that was meant to confirm the pre-Persian date of the Older Parthenon, dated the temple again to the time of Kimon in the 460s.[106] Kolbe concluded his study with the provocative statement: "The pre-Persian Older Parthenon belongs in the realm of legends."[107] In the 1930s, Dörpfeld's expertise in many areas was already in eclipse. He was all the more upset by Kolbe's theory which threatened to pull down the remaining pillar of his reputation. He hastily published an aggressive flyer with the aim of defending his authority, closing by affirming that the pre-Persian Older Parthenon was a historical fact.[108] In a reply, Kolbe rebutted Dörpfeld: "Just because W. Dörpfeld, whom we today revere as the master of excavation, declared his support for Leake and Ross [on the pre-Persian date of the marble column drums] in his concluding essay in the *Athenische Mitteilungen* of 1902, in sharp contrast to his own earlier statements, this opinion is today almost considered a dogma."[109] According to Kolbe, the scholarly mainstream had accepted the pre-Persian date of the Older Parthenon as an axiom, not by seeking confirmation in evidence, but rather by succumbing to the *Altmeister*'s authority.

Kolbe's voice did not cry in the wilderness. His refutation of the pre-Persian date of the Older Parthenon was continued and corroborated by the architect Arnold Tschira (1910-1969), who, in a set of articles in 1939 and 1940, showed that no fire damage can be recognized in the marble blocks associated with the temple and thus disqualified the central tenet of Dörpfeld's 1902 article.[110] Dörpfeld was again furious, but passed away before he could rebut Tschira in writing.[111] Shortly before his death, he did send a letter to Goeßler about the topography of the Acropolis temples.[112] The topic still haunted him and his magnum opus on the Acropolis, meant to end the discussion once and for all, was in preparation; however, it never appeared.[113] For several decades after Dörpfeld's death, the debate on the existence of the pre-Persian Older Parthenon, which is not certainly referred to in any ancient source, continued as the evidence for Persian fire (among other arguments) remained contested.[114] However, from the 1980s onwards, the pendulum swung back to Dörpfeld's 1902 thesis, when the Greek architect Manolis Korres (1948-) argued that the pre-Persian date of the Older Parthenon was indisputable by asserting, to wide acceptance, that the fracturing of the blocks attributed to the temple was caused by a great fire, only identifiable as the Persian inferno of 480 BCE.[115] Thus, the waters closed over Kolbe's critical inquiry and its legacy. Yet, incontestable scientific proof that fire has caused the breakage of the blocks has not been forthcoming; in fact, the blocks' fracturing has many other possible explanations.[116] And even if the blocks were broken by fire, the determination of the fire's Persian ethnicity is beyond the remit of archaeology. Another problem is that the pre-Persian Older Parthenon theory is incongruous with the Hekatompedon inscription: this document testifies to the existence of a large, operational temple called the Hekatompedon on the south side of the Acropolis in 485/4 BCE, when the Older Parthenon would have been under construction there.[117] The Canadian epigraphist Ron Stroud (1933-2021) has warned that the date of the inscription is almost certain and suggested that archaeological theories should respect the epigraphical evidence: "Regardless of how many buildings they postulate on the archaic Acropolis or how many temples they discover below the foundations of the Periclean Parthenon, however, many archaeologists have still accepted Kirchoff's date of 485/4 B.C. for the Hekatompedon decrees."[118] The pre-Persian Older Parthenon theory, originated by Dörpfeld, is perhaps not necessarily incorrect, but a thorough investigation of the validity of existing claims is called for. Until then, it would seem that the temple has been constructed on shifting sands.

Why has criticism of the three theories remained largely outside the scholarly mainstream and not been able to challenge their paradigmatic status? Dörpfeld's authority may have contributed to the paradigm's endurance. Yet, this cannot be the only factor, because, as discussed, archaeological arguments have overridden his authority in many other cases. In the continuation of this article, I seek a possible reason in the narrative of Hellas' destruction and rebirth which the paradigm of the Persian destruction rendered tangible. This narrative was already important to scholars of Dörpfeld's generation and to the man himself, and seems to have only grown in significance in the course of the twentieth century.

THE NARRATIVE OF THE PERSIAN DESTRUCTION IN PHILHELLENIC IDEOLOGY

The Persian destruction was an important historical beacon in the international academic milieu of Dörpfeld's time and long after, influenced by the ideological discourse called philhellenism. The Greek War of Independence (1821-1829) and subsequent conflicts with the Ottoman Empire led to the creation, growth, and consolidation of the Greek state. These struggles were enmeshed with philhellenic ideals among Greek, European, and American elites who were ideologically invested in Hellas' imminent rebirth.[119] As explored by Suzanne Marchand and Anthony Andurand, philhellenism swelled into a widespread, institutional ideology in Germany's Age of Empire. It was also enshrined in the Prussian Gymnasium curriculum, where it could shape the predilections of generations of educated young German men, until the abolition of Ancient Greek instruction after the Second World War.[120] In Greece, the Germanies, and elsewhere, philhellenism's glorification of Hellas went hand in glove with the condemnation of eastern societies for their historical engulfment of the country. These cultures were often denied the qualities of rationality, ingenuity, and love of freedom, typically earmarked for the ancient Greeks and their European heirs.[121] This anti-eastern ideology has a long history, but its flame was fanned by the intensive study of the Persian Wars through the prism of Herodotus' *Histories* (both in academia and at the Gymnasium).[122] The Classical contrast of Ancient Greece and Persia – increasingly seen as the greatest historical clash of the west and the east – had immediate political relevance during the wars with the Ottoman Empire. In history's mirror, the Persian invasion of 480-479 reflected as the ancient prefiguration of the modern war, since both conflicts were fought by Greeks against eastern foes whose territories largely overlapped.[123] The essentialist distinction of Greece from its eastern neighbors, with its historical parallelism of Persia and Turkey, was standard throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[124] This particular view of history, which has probably not entirely disappeared from both popular and academic discourse in Greece and other western countries, comes with an emphasis on Greece's multiple destructions and ensueing rebirths: much like the ancient Greek city states were saved following the expulsion of Xerxes' armies in the battles of Salamis and Plataea, the Greek state was reborn when it finally shook off the Turkish yoke.[125] The idea that Hellas was rising again from its ashes was so strong that a phoenix was chosen as the icon of the irredentist military Sacred Band (Ἱερὸς Λόχος), as the obverse of the first coins minted by the Greek state, and, in 1973-1974 still, as the state emblem of the military dictatorship.[126]

In this philhellenic ideological climate, which glorified Greek civilization and reviled its eastern subjugators, the Athenian Acropolis, devastated in both the Persian and Ottoman wars, naturally developed into the most potent symbol of Greece's ancient and modern resurrections. Here, too, Herodotus provided the foundational narrative (8.55): upon the Athenians' return to their destroyed citadel, they noted that Athena's sacred olive tree, though also burned with the rest of the sanctuary, had miraculously sprouted again. The implication of the legend is that hope of the city's imminent resurrection was already germinating among the ashes of the old Acropolis.[127] The symbolism of the Herodotean narrative was so strong that the Greek historian Dimitrios Kambouroglou (1852-1942) wrote that the olive tree of the Acropolis was burned in the war with the Ottomans, but had miraculously grown back afterwards.[128] He thus reiterated Herodotus' old legend, but disregarded the fact that no tree grew here at the time of the modern insurgence. The story of the destruction and rebirth of the Acropolis can be considered part of a wider phenomenon of antagonistic narratives relating the wrongdoings of enemies, which often have no firm historical basis, but serve contemporary ideologies.[129]

The abstract narrative of destruction and rebirth became concrete with the work of German philhellenes. Between 1830-1841, the Great Temple rose above the Bavarian Danube. To this day, it serves as a hall of fame for the Germanic world named *Walhalla*, after the celestial hall in Nordic mythology where Odin rejoices with fallen warriors. The architect Leo von Klenze (1784-1864) designed it as the Great Temple following the order of King Ludwig I, who believed that the edifice represented the Persian defeat on the hands of the Greeks, the ancestors of the Germans.[130] When von Klenze and Ross arrived in Bavarian-ruled Athens, they brought along the philhellenic hope of resuscitating the dusty, war-torn town to its ancient splendor. Ross then compared Athens in its destroyed state to the city on the eve of the battle of Salamis,[131] and described the Acropolis as "the narrow stage, where all Europeans more or less as one people fully faced the Orientals, to which the Greeks still half belonged at that time."[132] When the Ottomans were at last removed from that stage, their buildings could be demolished and the first excavations performed. The comparison between the Persians and Turks was now rendered concrete: Ross held the Turks responsible for the destruction of ancient sculpture found on the south side of the Great Temple, thereby creating, *de facto*, a kind of 'Türkenschutt' in layers above those that would become known as the Perserschutt.[133]

The restoration of the Great Temple itself – the ultimate manifestation of Greece's palingenesis – commenced on 10 September 1834.[134] The project was inaugurated with a pompous ceremony on the Acropolis attended by the people of Athens. Ludwig's son Otto von Wittelsbach (1815-1867), the young Bavarian prince who had been crowned the first king of Hellas reborn, was the guest of honor. He was seated on a throne inside the ruined edifice, decorated with myrtle and olive branches. Von Klenze invited the young monarch to summon the phoenix with the following words: "The traces of a barbaric period, debris, and shapeless rubble will, as everywhere in Hellas, disappear here, too, and the remains of the glorious past will rise to new splendor as the most secure basis of a glorious present and future. So, I dare to ask Your Highest Majesty, in the name of Greece and the whole of the educated world, to offer the customary consecration, and thus the best guarantee for the progress and success of this work of preservation, to the first column that rises again on the rejuvenated Parthenon."[135] Von Klenze described the setting of the Walhalla's cornerstone and the beginning of the Great Temple's reconstruction as his life's only two moments of true satisfaction and joy.[136]

DÖRPFELD'S PHILHELLENISM

> Durch Schutt und Schlamm im Zug der Zeit,
> Öd war durch Wetter, Sturm und Streit.
> Rings des Homers geliebtes Land,
> Pfadlos, verfinstert und verkannt.
> Fernher ein klärend Leuchten bricht,
> Ein Pharos sendet strahlend Licht.
> Land, traumversunken, es erwacht:
> Die heilige Hellas taucht aus Nacht.
>
> *Through rubble and mud in the march of time,*
> *Barren by weather, storm and strife.*
> *Circling Homer's beloved land,*
> *Pathless, darkened, and unrecognized.*
> *Far away breaks a brightening glow,*
> *A pharos sends radiant light.*
> *Land, lost in dreams, it awakens:*
> *Holy Hellas emerges from night*.

Acrostic on the occasion of Dörpfeld's death (1940).[137]

When Dörpfeld secured his leading position at the DAI in 1885, he further built upon the foundations laid out by his graecophile predecessors. Dörpfeld may not have received an academic education in philology, ancient history, or archaeology, and regarded himself primarily as a *Bauforscher*, but he did study Greek intensively at the Gymnasium, where his love for the Hellenes was kindled.[138] He explicitly self-identified as a philhellene and ideological heir to von Klenze and Ross.[139] His career and *Geist* were deemed representative of Germany's "inner unity with Hellas."[140] He considered German researchers as the most important actors in the project of leading humanity back to Hellenism's boons: "German researchers in particular have paved the way back to the motherland of full human culture and intellectual freedom."[141] As the president of the Committee on the Conservation of the Parthenon (founded in 1895 to restore it), he continued the material resurrection of the Great Temple; his signature is found under all their reports.[142] And both the German and Greek flags covered his coffin before its interment in Ithacan earth.

Dörpfeld's adoration of the Greeks was remarkably reciprocal. Thanks to his excavation of the country's ancient glories, often in peripheral areas, he was popular among the local population and the communities of Corfu, Lefkada, Delphi, and Olympia declared him an honorary citi-

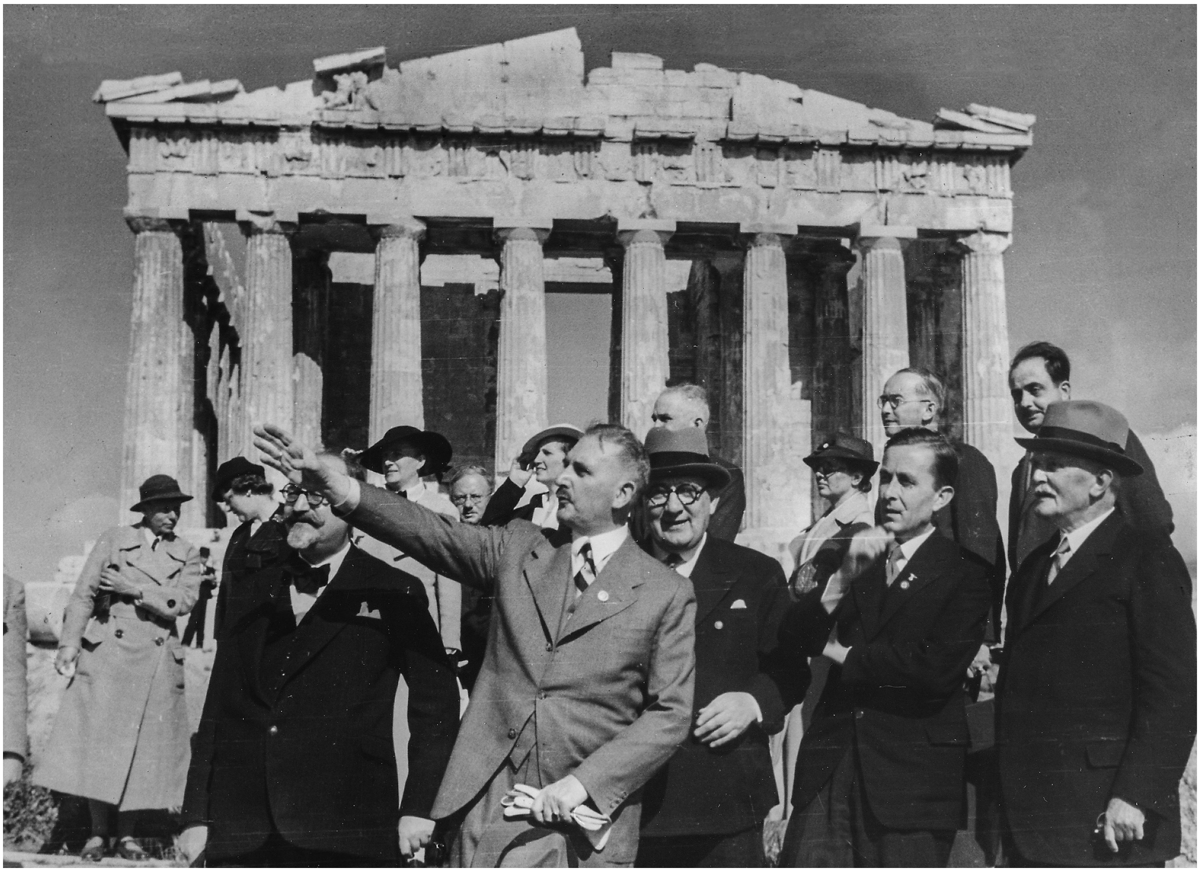

Fig. 7. Bernhard Rust (with extended arm) on the Acropolis. Behind Rust, from left to right, Georgios Oikonomos, Nikolaos Kiparissis, Walther Wrede, and Wilhelm Dörpfeld (photo probably by Carl Hammer, 7 April 1937; Ullstein bild/Lineair Fotoarchief).

zen.[143] After World War I, when the survival of German institutions abroad was at stake, his favorable reputation among the Greek population was a decisive factor for the continuation of the DAI's Athenian branch.[144] In recognition of his efforts to raise Greece's international prestige, the Hellenic state awarded him in 1933 or 1934 the Grand Cross of the Order of the Phoenix – the very symbol of Greece's rebirth.[145]

Dörpfeld appears a philhellene primarily in his assiduous scholarly pursuit of the material world of Ancient Greece, but he was not immune to philhellenism's political propositions. Like his ideological ancestors, he endorsed the continuation of the Greek *anastasis* from its eastern empire and Eleftherios Venizelos' irredentist thrusts, which led to the violent annexation of further Bulgarian and Ottoman territories.[146] Nevertheless, he could not press his condemnation of the Ottoman Empire and the Turks too far or too openly, because he needed the approval of Ottoman authorities for his work in Pergamon and Troy. Despite the close ties between the German and Ottoman empires, Dörpfeld never received any Ottoman honor. The reason was clear enough: "They knew that I am a philhellene."[147]

Dörpfeld's philhellenism is also palpable in his reaction to the great wars. World War I weighed heavily on his mind, in part because it threatened to devastate his professional ecosystem, the international community of scholars.[148] Yet, he also feared the ruin of his *Vaterland*. In 1914, Dörpfeld, along with other prominent members of German academia (his enemy von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff among them), signed the manifesto addressed *"An die Kulturwelt!"* (To the world of culture!), known as the *Manifesto of the Ninety-Three*. This racist declaration attempted to restore Germany's reputation after the brutal invasion of Belgium and the burning of Leuven's university library, insisted on Germany's role as a champion of civilization, and condemned whomever questioned that role by casting Goethe's sons as barbarians.[149] The appeal to the world of culture was to no avail:

Dörpfeld and other German scholars were boycotted from various foreign academies and societies. Unlike many other subscribers, Dörpfeld would not retract his signature after Versailles.[150] The manifesto is important not because it can lead to the moral condemnation of its endorsers, but rather because it reveals how those who self-identified as patrons of *Kultur* and *Wissenschaft* divided the world along racial and ethnic fault lines.

To Dörpfeld's nationalist mind, the Greek struggle against the Persians became a proxy for the German fights against their many enemies. In a letter to the German-Greek society in Athens dated to December 1914, he accused the United Kingdom and France of imperialism and racially mixing their troops – an indictment also found in the *Manifesto of the Ninety-Three*. He probably saw here a resemblance to Xerxes' multi-ethnic army, vividly described by Herodotus (7.61-99). He characterized the German military contrastingly as "The people in arms, trained and equipped to defend the fatherland and the homeland. The army of citizens. The same spirit that fought the victorious battles against the Persians in Hellas millennia ago. [...] What a German poet and patriot said a hundred years ago is still true today: in Germany's camp, the cause is freedom and humanity, the cause of Europe, not with the heirs of Napoleon and the Persian great kings."[151]

As was usual for a German in these difficult days, Dörpfeld, with his conservative attitude, bewailed the collapse of the German Empire. He remained loyal to the former emperor and asked British colleagues to help to revoke the Treaty of Versailles.[152] Dörpfeld was in the 1930s too old to partake in the political ascent of Nazism; he never joined the NSDAP. In these years, as his eyesight was deteriorating, he preferred to retreat on his Ithaca to lurk in the trenches of his academic battles.[153] Nevertheless, his approval of the Nazi regime is evident from personal letters and recollections by his inner circle. These sources reveal his delight about the annulment of the Versailles treaty and Hitler's promise to resurrect the German *Volk* and *Reich*.[154] In photos taken on the Acropolis in 1937 (*figs 7, 8*), Dörpfeld appears in the company of Nazi minister Bernhard Rust (1883-1945), who was visiting Athens on the occasion of the beginning of the Führergrabung in Olympia. The following year, probably on his 85th birthday, Dörpfeld was photographed at his house of birth decorated with the Nazi flag (*fig. 9*). The

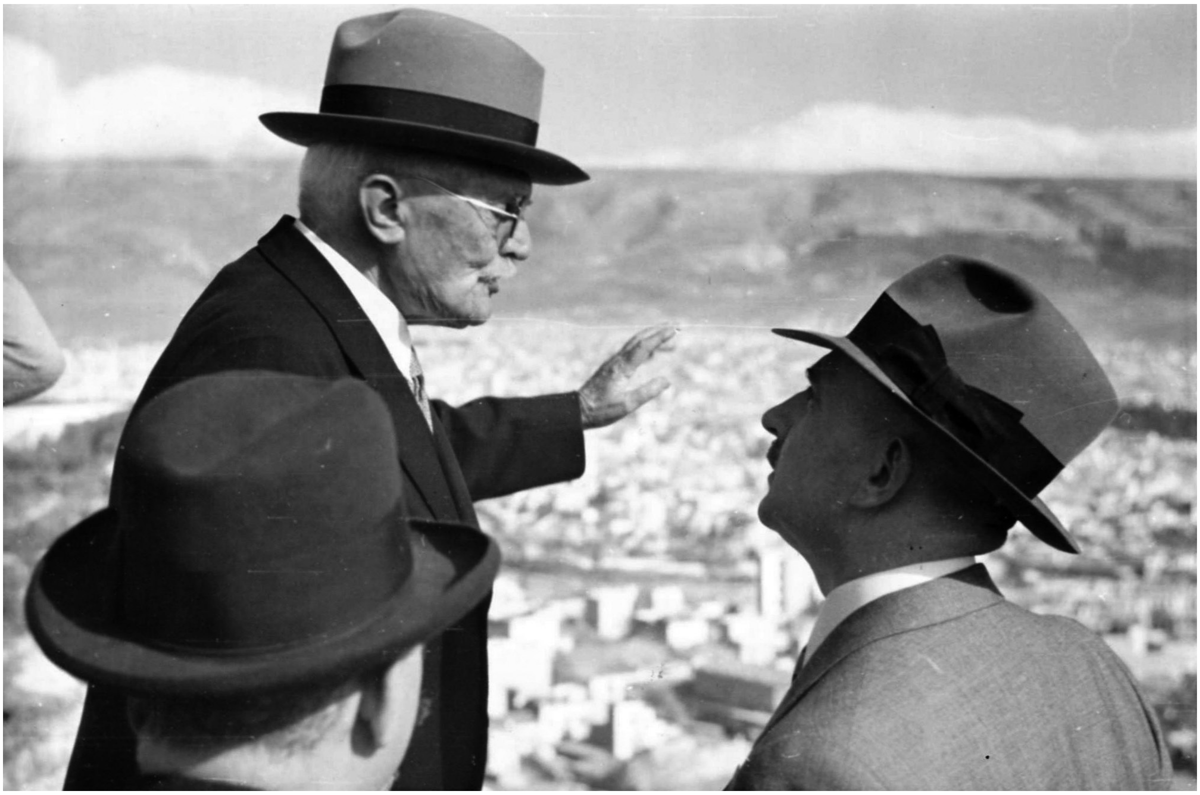

Fig. 8. Wilhelm Dörpfeld (top left) and Bernhard Rust (right) on the Acropolis (photo by Carl Hammer, 7 April 1937; courtesy Klaus Goebel).

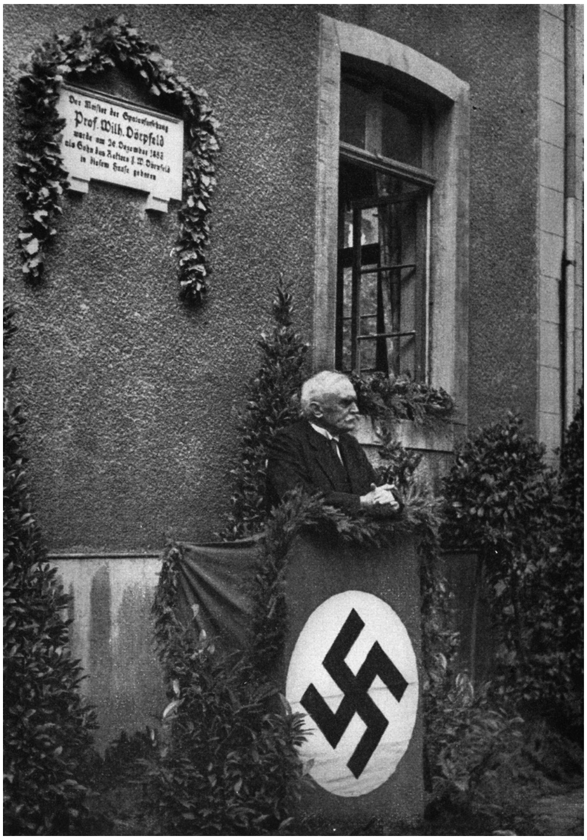
Der Meiſter der Spatenforſchung
Prof. Wilh. Dörpfeld
wurde am 26. Dezember 1853
als Sohn des Rektors F. W. Dörpfeld
in dieſem Hauſe geboren

Fig. 9. Dörpfeld at his house of birth in Barmen, Wuppertal (unknown photographer, probably 26 December 1938; fig. 9 in Wilhelm Dörpfeld: geboren 26. Dez. 1853 in Barmen, gestorben 25. Apr. 1940 auf Leukas, Berlin).

presence of the ubiquitous flag itself may be trivial, but Hitler himself sent Dörpfeld a congratulatory telegram.[155] Dörpfeld's dalliance with the Third Reich (which was quickly forgotten after his death[156]) is neither unexpected nor, perhaps, condemnable, nor did it influence his scholarship. However, it is still noteworthy, because it symptomizes the intertwinement of philhellenism and nationalism in the mind of this German archaeologist. To him, the Third Reich represented a twentieth-century incarnation of the alliance of Greek states that defeated the Persians. With his dimming eyes, he discerned on the horizon a Periclean-like blossoming of the *Vaterland* and the restoration of his own celebrity of yesteryear.[157]

Despite Dörpfeld's self-identification as a philhellene and the reverberations of the past in his view of the present, his genuine academic interest was the material uncovering of the ancient Greek world. His scholarship seems concerned with little more than solving intricate historical puzzles and he did not deliberately (at least not observably) enmesh these with philhellenism or orientalism, in the manner of his contemporary peer, the British archaeologist Arthur Evans (1851-1941).[158] To some extent, the reverse seems to have been the case: Dörpfeld broke the typical opposition of west and east by recognizing Semitic influences in early Greek culture.[159] This *Orientthese* led to heated discussions with Evans.[160] The oriental archaeologist Walter Andrae (1875-1956), who generally admired Dörpfeld, did not accept his view that temple architecture had oriental rather than Nordic origins.[161] For all its eccentricity, the *Orientthese* can indicate that Dörpfeld sometimes avoided the essentialist distinction of west and east.

However, even if Dörpfeld's theories do not bear an ideological imprint, they can still be considered born under the sign of philhellenism. As indicated, he relied on Herodotus' narrative of Persian destruction to interpret material remains as providing evidence for the "Wut der Barbaren" (Barbarians' anger).[162] His writings used and disseminated terms like "*vorpersisch*" (pre-Persian), in which the destruction of 480 BCE is equated with the ethnonym and which embodies a dichotomy between the Archaic and Classical periods.[163] As to the site's recent history, he joined his predecessors in condemning the historical Ottoman domination of Greece, which he considered to have been a major cause of destruction. For example, he accused the Turks of burning the church that once stood inside the Karyatid Temple,[164] and described the clearing of the Turkish town on the citadel from 1834 onwards not as a loss of historical evidence, but rather as a liberation.[165] Thus, even in these dry historical treatises, the specter of orientalism occasionally rises.

THE LEGACY OF THE PARADIGM OF PERSIAN DESTRUCTION

Ultimately, the relevance of the theories of the Persian destruction lies not in the personal thought of their prominent advocate, but rather in their wider effect outside ivory towers. With Dörpfeld's stamp of approval, the theories offered archaeological evidence to Herodotus' story of Athens' destruction and thus rendered an already strong philhellenic narrative tangible and seemingly incontestable. Modern Athens has been filled with alleged mementos of the calamity of 480 BCE. For example, from 1956 to 2000, the Acropolis was the decor of the *Son et Lumière* (Sound and Light) show which recounted the story of the Persian invasion and the triumph of the Athenians over their eastern enemies, stereotyped as quintessentially evil.[166] The Acropolis Museum contains a forest of mutilated sculptures from the Perserschutt; despite some doubt in modern scholarship about the validity of this concept, a video screen added to the museum room in 2021 shows Persians in oriental costume aggressively pulling the statues from their pedestals to smash them to pieces. On the Acropolis itself, the two foundations of the Persian-destroyed temples are exposed among and underneath the Periclean buildings. Towering above everything, the Great Temple can be viewed as a statement of the west's triumph over the east. It has been likened to New York's Freedom Tower that both commemorates and defeats the September 11 attacks near the site of destruction of the World Trade Center.[167]

Perhaps the most lasting vision enabled by Dörpfeld's paradigm of the Persian destruction appears looking at the Acropolis from the north. This facade includes the unfinished marble column drums assigned to the Older Parthenon. After Dörpfeld's 1902 revision of the date of that temple, the remains could be regarded as purposely inserted in the north wall of the Acropolis to serve as a *Mahnmal* (cautionary memorial) of the Persian destruction, lest posterity forget the sacrilege of the barbarians. The blocks can be seen to form an architectural ensemble with the Great Temple above it – a phoenix rising from the ashes in the Acropolis. This narrative of rebirth in the archaeological ensemble cannot be based on any ancient source, but nevertheless permeates modern scholarship,[168] and was included in the 1987 report that led to the designation of the Acropolis as a UNESCO World Heritage site.[169] A leading textbook on the Acropolis describes the wall as "a moving display of ruins high above the city of Athens, looming testimony to Persian sacrilege, an eternal lament."[170]

In the lower city, the eternal lament re-appears in the Monument of the Unknown Soldier in front of the Greek parliament on Syntagma square, designed by the Greek artists Theodoros Pangalos, Emmanouil Lazaridis, and Phokion Rok and built in 1930-1932 (*fig. 10*). This cenotaph incorporates replicas of ancient column drums in its flanks. They mimic the drums in the north wall of the Acropolis and can be taken as a solemn commemoration of Greek democracy's rebirth from its ashes following ancient and modern wars.[171] The monument's symbolism seems akin to Albert Speer's concept of *Ruinenwert*, which urged that new buildings be designed to last and eventually become beautiful ruins of a millennia-old glory that would incite the heroism of future generations.[172] Looking at the column drums in the north wall of the Acropolis and those flanking the cenotaph, we can begin to understand the reason for the paradigmatic status of Dörpfeld's theories on the Persian destruction: they were a prerequisite for the assignment of historical meaning to these stones. Without them, the narrative of destruction and rebirth evaporates from the marble.

CONCLUSION

Der Pallas Tempel in Athen,
Die Stätten Tiryns und Myken',
Hissarliks Hügel: Trojas Thron,
Terrassentrümmer von Pergamon,
Homers unsterblicher Gesang,
Aus der Orchestra Spiel und Klang,
Nidris Gestade - rauscht den Ruhm
von hohem Geistes-Heldentum!

Pallas' temples in Athens,
The sites of Tiryns and Mycenae,
Hisarlık's hill: Troy's throne,
Terrace debris from Pergamon,
Homer's immortal chants,
From the orchestra play and sound,
Shore of Nidri – roar the glory
Of high intellectual heroism!

Hymn on the occasion of Dörpfeld's death (1940).[173]

This article has attempted to explain the paradigmatic status of Dörpfeld's theories on the Persian destruction of the Acropolis. The cause for their esteem is an intricate, multifactorial question. It does not necessarily depend on their absolute

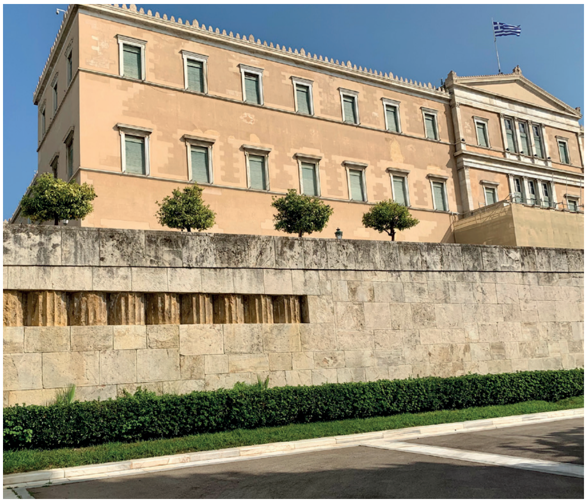

Fig. 10. Replicas of column drums flanking the monument of the unknown soldier (designed by T. Pangalos/E. Lazaridis/P. Rok, ca. 1930-1932) in front of the Greek parliament building, Athens (photo by author, 2019).

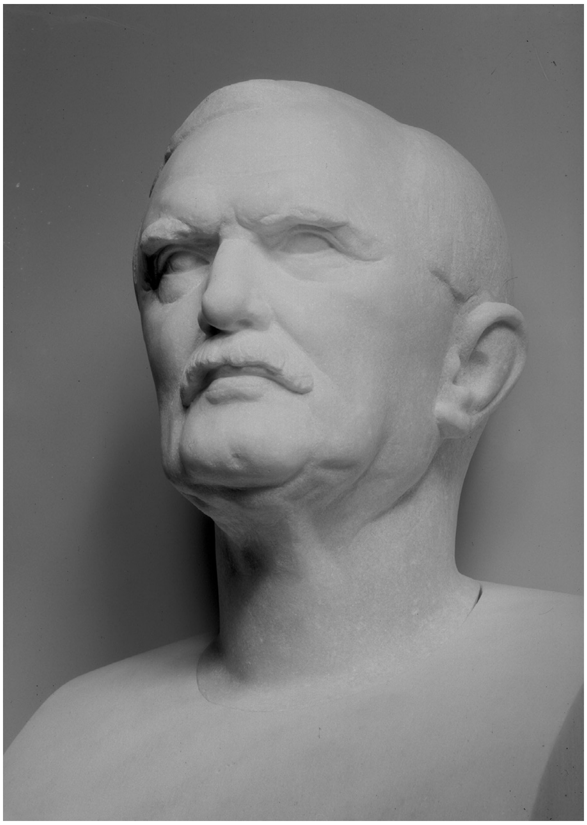

Fig. 11. Marble portrait bust of Wilhelm Dörpfeld by H. Isenstein (1931-1933) in the archaeological museum of Olympia (photo by W. Hege, probably 1936; D-DAI-ATH-Hege-0532).

veracity, which has been contested numerous times. Instead, a plausible contributing factor is Dörpfeld's tenaciously defended reputation as Germany's best *Bauforscher*, who transformed archaeology from philology's hinterland into empiricism's bailiwick. However, this authority has not prevented the abandonment of many of his other theories, especially those on Greek prehistory and Homeric sites. The article has sought another possible reason for the paradigm's success in its intertwinement with the prominent philhellenic narrative of Greece's destruction and rebirth. This story was highly influential in Dörpfeld's days and has not completely disappeared. Although Dörpfeld's writings seem born with the best objective intentions, they have been instrumental in preserving the narrative in archaeological amber.

The architectural turn in archaeology that Dörpfeld's persona exemplifies has been continued in Athens with the influential work of Greek scholars who were, like Dörpfeld himself, trained as architects, including Dörpfeld's student Anastasios Orlandos (1887-1979), John Travlos (1908-1985), and Manolis Korres.[174] Their contributions to our understanding of the Acropolis have not erased those of Dörpfeld wholesale. Nor is the present article meant as a lasso to pull down the bust of archaeology's *Altmeister* (*fig. 11*). His formidable amount of inquiry remains an instructive scholarly monument, which new research can reject, refine, or respect. Yet, assessments that are beginning to question even the most foundational of assumptions in Dörpfeld's visions on the Acropolis may serve as a reminder that his material empiricism and intellectual heroism have failed to monopolize the citadel's past.

NOTES

[*] For help and comments, I am indebted to several anonymous reviewers, Josine Blok, Klaus Goebel, and Suzanne Marchand. All translations are by the author. Persons whose nationality is not indicated are generally from one of the German states. The research that led to this article is part of a Veni project granted by the Dutch Research Council (NWO) and benefited from a fellowship granted by DFG Kolleg-Forschungsgruppe 2615 "Rethinking Oriental Despotism," Freie Universität Berlin.

[1] Dörpfeld 1934, 11.

[2] Cline 2017, 174.

[3] Dörpfeld 1934, 1-2 ("vom Architekten zum Bauforscher und Archäologen geworden"); Goeßler 1951, 23; Jantzen 1986, 22-23; Eckart 1992, 88; Goebel 2008, 31-34.

[4] Von Gerkan 1940, 427; Goeßler 1951, 22-24; Herrmann 1988, 112; Eckart 1992, 90.

[5] Dörpfeld 1934, 3: "die heilige Altis des olympischen Zeus ist meine erste und letzte Liebe gewesen."

[6] On the history of the German Archaeological Institute, see Jantzen 1986; Kankeleit 2019. On the history of foreign archaeological institutions in Athens, see Whitling 2019.

[7] On Dörpfeld's years as director of the DAI Athens, see Jantzen 1986, 22-33.

[8] Kavvadias/Kawerau 1906, 22.

[9] 1833 and 1834 (K. Pittakis and L. von Klenze), 1835-1836 (L. Ross), 1836-1861 (K. Pittakis), 1862 (C. Boetticher), 1864 (E. Ziller), 1881-1883 (P. Evstratiadis), and 1883-1885 (P. Stamatakis). Cf. Steskal 2004, 39-48.

[10] For attestations, see van Rookhuijzen 2020, 20-24.

[11] E.g., Fauvel (undated) 1, 254 verso; Leake 1821, 282-283.

[12] Ross 1855.

[13] Dörpfeld 1886, 162-163; Kavvadias/Kawerau 1906, 19-22.

[14] Dörpfeld 1937b, 3.

[15] Von Gerkan 1940, 427.

[16] Kavvadias/Kawerau 1906. The poros architecture was published in Wiegand 1904.

[17] Kavvadias/Kawerau 1906, 31-32, 55-60, 69-70, 77-78, 81-84, 93-94, 105-112, 119-120, 123-126, 129-132, 135-136, 139-140.

[18] Boetticher 1863, 206-208.

[19] Dörpfeld 1885. The Karyatid Temple, whose south porch rests on the outer perimeter wall of the terrace, was now relegated to the function of Classical succes-

sor of the *Archaios Neos*, while retaining its title to the Erechtheion.

[20] Stais 1913, vi. Cf. Schweitzer 1941, 3.

[21] Herrmann 1988, 113.

[22] E.g., Michaelis 1871, pl. 1; 1902, 10; Fergusson 1876, 12; Penrose 1888, 5-6.

[23] Burnouf 1877, 165, 184.

[24] Penrose 1888, esp. 99-102; 1891, esp. 276-277, 289-295; 1892-1893.

[25] E.g., Hill 1912; Dinsmoor 1934; Korres/Bouras 1983, 131-132; Korres 1994b, 56; 1995; Rhodes 1995, 30-32; Hurwit 1999, 130-135; Gruben 2001, 167-172; Connelly 2014, 71-73; Shear 2016, 7-8; Meyer 2017, 111-113; Rous 2019, 37, 85.

[26] E.g., Ross 1855, 140-141.

[27] Dörpfeld 1887, 60; Studniczka 1887, 159-168. Cf. Steskal 2004, 32.

[28] Dörpfeld 1887, 30: "Herodot schildert uns, wie die Perser bei ihrem zweimaligen Aufenthalte in Athen fast alle Bauten der Unterstadt und der Burg in Brand steckten und zerstörten; nur die Häuser, in denen die persischen Grossen wohnten, blieben verschont. Mit den zahlreichen Bauten und Kunstwerken der Burg ging damals auch unser Tempel zu Grunde. Wie total die Zerstörung der Burg war, dafür legen die jetzt aus dem Schutte wieder hervorkommenden Statuen und Bauglieder ein beredtes Zeugniss ab. Alles was zerschlagen werden konnte, wurde zertrümmert, die Säulen umgestürzt, alles Brennbare angezündet und alles Kostbare geraubt. Die Spuren der Flammen erkennt man noch jetzt deutlich an sehr vielen Bildwerken und Baustücken."

[29] Dörpfeld 1902, 392, 408-409. On the confusion that Dörpfeld caused with this redating, see Steskal 2004, 85.

[30] Cooley 1899, 348. In 1938, Cooley wrote a letter to Dörpfeld to express his disbelief that Dörpfeld shared the views of Nazi rulers (Kankeleit 2021, 175-177).

[31] Goeßler 1951, 158.

[32] Von Gerkan 1952, 167; von Lücken 1959: "Grundtatsachen der Archäologie, wie der vorpersische Tempel der Akropolis, der Urparthenon, ... gehen auf seine Entdeckungen zurück."; Herrmann 1990, 75; Eckart 1992, 97.

[33] Herrmann 1990, 75; Ferrari 2002.

[34] Supra n. 25.

[35] For the standard chronology of vase painting based on this peg, see Langlotz 1920, 98-99; 177 (overview table). On the impact of the Perserschutt in the establishment of this chronology, see Steskal 2004, esp. 77-87.

[36] Kankeleit 2021, 187.

[37] Von Gerkan (1952) was critical of Goeßler's biography (Goeßler 1951). Calder (1986, 30) still called for a non-hagiographic biography of Dörpfeld, describing him as "problematic." A recent critical contribution is Kankeleit 2021.

[38] On these accolades, see Goeßler 1951, 95, 217; Herrmann 1988, 113; Eckart 1992, 88, 96; Goebel 2021, 19-20.

[39] Nonn 1933, 13, 15; Kolbe 1937, 363; Andrae 1939, 82; Körte 1940, 94. Cf. Goeßler 1951, 249.

[40] Cited in Kankeleit 2021, 192.

[41] Schäfer 1940, 45.

[42] Von Gerkan 1940, 429. On von Gerkan, see Fröhlich 2012.

[43] Goeßler 1940, 8, 84-85. Cf. Schweitzer 1941, 1.

[44] Von Gerkan 1940, 428; Schweitzer 1941, 2; Curtius 1950, 265-266; Karo 1959, 73; von Lücken 1959; Eckart 1992, 100-102; Kluwe 1992, 155-156.

[45] Goeßler 1951, 11, 203. Cf. Karo 1959, 71-72.

[46] Vogeikoff-Brogan 2019.

[47] Goeßler 1951, 109-111; Eckart 1998, 101.

[48] Goeßler 1951, 71.

[49] Schweitzer 1941, 2-4; Rumpf 1953, 92-123; Marchand 1996, 143; Deutsches Archäeologisches Institut, Abteilung Athen/Goethe-Institut 2007, 5-6 [W. Schultheiss].

[50] Goeßler 1951, 169-170; Eckart 1992, 104; Kankeleit 2021, 166. Dörpfeld's diary (Dörpfeld et al. 2010) does not provide any indication for direct political engagement. On Dörpfeld's role in the establishment of a German community in Athens, see Kankeleit 2019.

[51] On Nazism and ancient Greece, see Demandt 2002, 291-297; Chapoutot 2008. On classical archaeologists and national-socialism generally, see Brands 2012; Altekamp 2017. On Olympia, see Moormann 2021. On the Acropolis, see Hitler 1925-1927, 287; Buschor 1943; Picker 1951, 344, 446 [A. Hitler]. Cf. Demandt 2002, 288, 294-295; Hofter 2012; Altekamp 2017, 302; 312-313; Hanink 2017, 21.

[52] Nonn 1933, 15.

[53] Nonn 1933, 9, 11. Cf. Marchand 1996, 97.

[54] Archäologisches Institut des Deutschen Reiches 1940, 648-649 [W. Dörpfeld]. Cf. Kyrieleis 1979, 47-48.

[55] Eckart 1992, 104; Moormann 2021, 288-292.

[56] Archäologisches Institut des Deutschen Reiches 1940. Goeßler 1951, 239; Kankeleit 2021, 187-194.

[57] Dörpfeld/Schleif 1942, 9 [M. Schede]; Goeßler 1951, 84; Karo 1959, 71-73. Cf. von Rohden [Dr. G.] 1940, 30; Goeßler 1943-1948, 25; 1951, 50, 188; Kankeleit 2021, 187-194.

[58] Von Lücken 1959: "D. ist der erfolgreichste deutsche Ausgräber im Zeitalter der großen archäologischen Entdeckungen gewesen." Cf. Schweitzer 1941, 2; Herrmann 1988, 113.

[59] Jantzen 1986, 25.

[60] Deutsches Archäeologisches Institut, Abteilung Athen/Goethe-Institut 2007, 5 [W. Schultheiss]: "Pionier der modernen Archäologie."

[61] Nonn 1933, 12-13; Trüper 1940, 25; Schweitzer 1941, 2; von Gerkan 1940, 427-429; 1952, 167; Curtius 1950, 266; Goeßler 1951, 23, 34, 45; von Lücken 1959; Jantzen 1986, 23; Dierichs 2003, 666; Weidhaas-Berghöfer 2021, 85.

[62] Frazer 1898, vol. 2, 553; Nonn 1933, 11-12; Goeßler 1940, 7; Kübler et al. 1940, 88-89; von Gerkan 1940, 428; Marchand 1996, 114.

[63] Goeßler 1943-1948; 1951, 65-83; Eckart 1992, 88, 94. Cf. Kluwe 1992; Kennell 2021, 25; Weidhaas-Bergdörfer 2021, 88. On the (sometimes complicated) relation between Dörpfeld and Schliemann, see Traill 1995, *passim*; Kennell 2008; 2010.

[64] Döhl 1981, 55-61; 1986, 104.

[65] Körte 1940, 97; Goeßler 1943-1948, 15; Rumpf 1953, 95-98.

[66] Nonn 1933, 15.

[67] Karo 1959, 77; Jantzen 1986, 32-33. On Karo, see Lindenlauf 2016.

[68] Döhl 1981, 61: "Dörpfelds Identifizierungen [...] sind fast ausnahmslos gescheitert". Herrmann (1990, 84-85) prefers to remember Dörpfeld in a positive light despite this criticism.

[69] Cf. Dörpfeld 1934: "Wenn meine Arbeiten auf diesem Gebiet von manchen Gelehrten nicht anerkannt, von einigen sogar verspottet werden ..."

[70] E.g., Dörpfeld 1913. Cf. Steinmann 2021, 54-56.

[71] Dörpfeld 1906; 1925. Cf. Cooley 1937, 145; Steinmann 2021, 59-61. On the theory on the Pelopion, see Rambach 2008.

[72] Benton 1936, 81. Cf. Cooley 1937; Andrae 1939.

[73] Körte 1940, 107; Goeßler 1951, 149; Herrmann 1990, 84-85; Kluwe 2008; Steinmann 2021, 56-59.

[74] Dörpfeld 1920; Dörpfeld/Rüter 1925.

[75] Weidhaas-Bergdörfer 2021, 92-97. Cf. Scott 1926.

[76] Körte 1940, 108; von Gerkan 1940, 427-429; 1952, 167-168; Wickert 1979, 87; Herrmann 1988, 113; Eckart 1992, 93; Hedderich 2021, 125; Steinmann 2021, 67-68.

[77] Cited in Kankeleit 2021, 192; 198. On Schede, see Maischberger 2016.

[78] Kreeb 2016. For the theory, see Dörpfeld/Reisch 1896, 341-365. This theory necessitated him to discredit Vitruvius' remarks on these architectural elements (5.7.1-2) and to argue that these elements in surviving theaters were added after the early Hellenistic period.

[79] Dörpfeld 1911, 44.

[80] Paton 1927a; Paton 1927b, 434-492; Dörpfeld 1928, 1070: "ein bedauerlicher Rückschritt der Wissenschaft."

[81] Dörpfeld et al. 2010, 106: "Sie benennen fast alle Gebäude falsch." Cf. von Hagen 1940, 122; Goeßler 1951, 228. For an earlier polemic against William James Stillman's theories on Tiryns and Mycenae, see Dörpfeld 1889.

[82] Shear 1938, 75.

[83] Shear 1940, 195.

[84] For statements on his methodology, see Dörpfeld 1913, 108; Dörpfeld 1925, 84: "Selbstverständlich betrachte ich den archäologischen Befund stets als sichere Grundlage für alle meine Forschungen und benutze ihn immer wieder, um meine Ansichten zu prüfen und gegebenfalls zu verbessern."

[85] Goeßler 1951, 52; Steinmann 2021, 52.

[86] Schliemann had a penchant for architecture and stratigraphy as well (Döhl 1986, 104). When Schliemann's work and persona were strongly criticized, Dörpfeld defended his mentor's reputation by arguing that his expertise in archaeology had grown over the years (Meyer et al. 1936, 7 [W. Dörpfeld]). Calder (1986, 31) suggests that Dörpfeld defended Schliemann because he was his *cliens*.

[87] Meyer et al. 1936, 8-9 [W. Dörpfeld]; von Gerkan 1940, 427-428; Eckart 1992, 95; Kennell 2021; Steinmann 2021, 50-54; Weidhaas-Bergdörfer 2021, 88-91. Cf. Goeßler 1951, 83.

[88] Deutsches Archäeologisches Institut, Abteilung Athen/Goethe-Institut 2007, 7 [W. Pöhlmann]: "den ersten Mann der Welt für die alte Architektur."

[89] Dörpfeld 1934, 3.

[90] Von Gerkan 1952, 167.

[91] Von Gerkan 1940, 428; von Rohden [Dr. G.] 1940, 27-28; Calder 1980, 148-149; Eckart 1992, 93, 102; Eckart 1992, 93, 102; Weidhaas-Berghöfer 2021, 84-87.

[92] Archäologische Gesellschaft zu Berlin 1903, 140: "Dörpfeld ignoriert eben alle Grammatik, alle Kritik, alle Geschichte, es sei denn es passte ihm einmal etwas in den Kram" (quoted by Weidhaas-Berghöfer 2021, 88). Cf. Shear 1940, 196 on the Agora controversy: "Dörpfeld's houses of cards collapse one after the other".

[93] Anonymous reviewer [S.B.] 1936, 81.

[94] Herrmann 1988, 113; Weidhaas-Berghöfer 2021, 87-88. Cf. Döhl 1981, 61.

[95] Dörpfeld 1886, 163-64.

[96] On the construction of the Persian War narratives in Herodotus, see, generally, Proietti 2021. Herodotus saw the Acropolis ca. 430, largely rebuilt with Periclean buildings, and he may not have been in the position to comment on how much had been destroyed. He does record "walls scorched by fire by the Mede" (5.77) and says that the temple of Erechtheus and Athena's olive tree had burned (8.55). It is possible that the story of a total destruction of the Acropolis by the Persians could be born from these few traces present at the time of Herodotus' visit.

[97] Cf. Steskal 2004, 33.

[98] One sherd in particular played a particular role in dating the platform to the pre-Persian period: Ross 1855, 140-141; Graef/Langlotz 1933, 3; pl. 1, 20; Dinsmoor 1934, 418-421. On the circularity of this argumentation, see Löwy 1938, 34-74; Dörpfeld 1935b, 504-506; Steskal 2004, 77-91, esp. 90-91.

[99] For the theory on the original plan of the Karyatid Temple, see Dörpfeld/Schleif 1942. For the rebuilding of the *Archaios Neos* see Dörpfeld 1919 and Ferrari 2002, who revives Dörpfeld's view about the rebuilding of the *Archaios Neos* after the Persian attack.

[100] Van Rookhuijzen 2021a. Cf. supra n. 22.

[101] Lindenlauf 1997; Steskal 2004; Stewart 2008. Greco (2010, 35-36) calls the Persian siege "uno dei tanti 'capolavori' prodotti dalla fantasia archeologica" (one of the many 'masterpieces' produced by archaeological fantasy).

[102] E.g., Meyer/Adornato 2020; Stewart 2021.

[103] Steskal 2004, 25.

[104] Goeßler 1951, 223.

[105] Dörpfeld 1935b; 1937a; 1937c; Dinsmoor 1934; 1935; 1937.

[106] Kolbe 1936; 1937; 1939a; 1939b; 1940. The main argument was an association of the Older Parthenon foundation with the separately dated south wall of the Acropolis. Cf. Goeßler 1951, 89-90, 210.

[107] Kolbe 1936, 27: "Der vorpersische Vorparthenon gehört ins Reich der Legende."

[108] Dörpfeld 1937a: "Die zwei vorpersischen Tempel Parthenon I und II sind historische Tatsachen."

[109] Kolbe 1939a, 393: "Allein da W. Dörpfeld, in dem wir heute den Meister der Bodenforschung verehren, sich in seinem abschließenden Aufsatz in den Athen. Mitt. 1902 in scharfem Gegensatz zu seinem eigenen früheren Äußerungen wieder zu Leake und Roß bekannte, gilt diese Meinung heute fast wie ein Dogma."

[110] Tschira 1939; 1940.

[111] Goeßler 1951, 242.

[112] Goeßler 1940, 2.

[113] Von Rohden [Gertrud] 1940, 31; Eckart 1992, 97.

[114] E.g., Syriopoulos 1951; Carpenter 1970; Bundgaard 1976; Kalpaxis 1986.

[115] E.g., Korres 1984, 2:370 n. 1; 1993, 72-73; 1996, 66-68.

[116] E.g., Tschira 1939; 1940; Kalpaxis 1986, 92-93; Steskal 2004, 153-154; Bloedow 2005, 26-27.

[117] *IG* I^{3} 4.

[118] Stroud 2004, 89-90.

[119] Hamilakis 2007; Martin-McAuliffe/Papadopoulos 2012, 334; Rous 2019, 214-216. Marchand (1996, esp. 32-33) shows that Germans in this period saw themselves as the true heirs of Greek civilization and were deeply invested in the recreation of the Greek nation. On philhellenic attitudes in the United States, see Hanink 1997, 21-25.

[120] Marchand 1996; Andurand 2013.

[121] Marchand 1996, e.g., 20-21, 43-44, 309-310, 322-325. For the east-west dichotomy in Nazi Germany, see Archäologisches Institut des Deutschen Reiches 1940 [Bernhard Rust]; Demandt 2002, 306-307; Altekamp 2017, 303-305.

[122] Hanink 2017, 43-45.

[123] For examples, see Vickers 1990; Marlowe 2001, 589-591; Yalouri 2001, 34, 146; Hamilakis 2007, 137; Hanink 2017, 140, 142.

[124] Cf. Demandt 2002, 302; Hanink 2017, 5-6; 16; 18. For example, an exhibition in the Zappeion in 1968 entitled "The Hellenic Fight for Civilization" included the Trojan War as "the first Panhellenic effort to repel the Asiatic invader" and presented the Persian Wars and the Greek War of Independence as comparable conflicts (Marlowe 2001, 589-591). The archaeologist Manolis Andronikos, in a speech entitled *History and Poetry* delivered in 1977 at the University of Thessaloniki to celebrate the Greek War of Independence, stated: "[Following the Byzantium years] again the Asiatic steppes sent towards the Mediterranean coasts new ethnic groups. One of them conquered the state of Byzantium and subjugated all people under a disgraceful and tyrannical rule." (discussion and translation in Hamilakis 2007, 137).

[125] Hamilakis 2007 78; 103-104; 224; 231.

[126] Hamilakis 2007, 104.

[127] For the idea of total destruction of the Acropolis buildings and fortification walls see, e.g., Shear 1999, 96, 104, 107, 120, 116-118; Kousser 2009, 264-265.

[128] Kambouroglou 1922, 146. Cf. Yalouri 2001, 146.

[129] Loukaki 2008, 253; van Rookhuijzen 2021b, 354-356.

[130] Etlin 2005, 379-381.

[131] Ross 1863, 31. Cf. Yalouri 2001, 34.

[132] Ross 1863, 89: "... der engen Bühne, wo vollends alle Europäer mehr oder weniger als ein Volk den Orientalen gegenüberstanden, zu denen die Griechen damals noch halb gehörten..."

[133] Ross 1855, 92.

[134] Von Klenze 1838, 390. On the Great Temple's symbolism, see McNeal 1991; Leontis 1995, 116-17; Loukaki 1997, 312; 2008, 201, 231; Yalouri 2001, 34-35, 89-91; Fouseki 2006, 535-536; Hamilakis 2007, 85-99, 215-224; Lalaki 2012, 552; Martin-McAuliffe/Papadopoulos 2012, 334; Hanink 2017, 43, 158, 259-260; Voutsaki 2017, 6; Fowden 2018, 274.

[135] Von Klenze 1838, 386: "Die Spuren einer barbarischen Zeit, Schutt und formlose Trümmer werden, wie überall in Hellas, auch hier verschwinden, und die Ueberreste der glorreichen Vorzeit werden als die sichersten Stützpunkte einer glorreichen Gegenwart und Zukunft zu neuem Glanze erstehen. Ich wage also an Eure Majestät im Namen Griechenlands und der ganzen gebildeten Welt die Bitte, dem ersten Säulenstücke, welches sich wieder auf dem verjüngten Parthenon erhebt, Allerhöchstselbst die übliche Weihe und somit dem Fortgange und dem Gelingen dieses Werkes der Erhaltung die beste Gewähr zu ertheilen."

[136] Von Klenze 1838, 387.

[137] Kaufmann 1940, 66.

[138] Goebel 2008, 30-31.

[139] Kankeleit 2021, 171, citing a letter dated to 7 May 1934: "Was diese wahren Philhellenen [Ludwig Ross und Ernst Curtius] begonnen haben, suchte ich as Epigone fortzusetzen und ich bin glücklich und dankbar dafür, dass die neue Generation diese Bestrebungen in erhöhtem Masse fortsetzt und die enge Verbindung beider Völker zu neuer Blüte bringt. Dazu hat die politische Revolution in Deutschland und das Erwachen des Deutschen Volkes under Adolf Hitler in wunderbarer Weise beigetragen." Deutsches Archäeologisches Institut, Abteilung Athen and Goethe-Institut 2007, 5-6 [W. Schultheiss].

[140] Dörpfeld 1914: "innere Zusammengehörigkeit mit Hellas"; Goeßler 1951, 231, 245. Cf. Nonn 1933, 12, 15.

[141] Dörpfeld 1914: "Vor allem deutscher Forscher haben die Wege gebahnt, die in das Mutterland der menschlichen Vollkultur und geistigen Freiheit zurückführen."

[142] Papoulakou 2019.

[143] Dörpfeld 1934, 14 [G. Karo]: "Kein Deutscher ist in Griechenland wohl je so allgemein beliebt und verehrt gewesen wie er."; Goeßler 1951, 51; von Lücken 1959; Eckart 1992, 88.

[144] Dörpfeld 1934 [G. Karo], 15; Kyrieleis 1979, 42.

[145] Goeßler 1951, 217.

[146] Goeßler 1951, 173.

[147] Goeßler 1951, 113, 151: "Man wußte, daß ich ein Philhellene bin." The problematic relation exemplifies the relationship of Germany and Turkey at large; for underneath Germany's noble plan of excavating *Kultur* in Ottoman territories lurked semi-colonial ambitions that increasingly encountered Turkish suspicion. Cf. Böhme 1975, 80-88 (speech by Erich Marcks); Wenk 1985/1986; Marchand 1996, 191, 207-208, 254.

[148] Goeßler 1951, 170; Hedderich 2021.

[149] Cf. vom Brocke 1985; Marchand 1996, 235-38; Hedderich 2021, 109; Kankeleit 2021, 164-66. On von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf's engagement with this text, see Norton 2008.

[150] Hedderich 2021, 109-110; Kankeleit 2021, 166.

[151] Dörpfeld 1914: "Das Volk in Waffen, geschult und gerüstet zur Verteidigung des Vaterlandes und der Heimat. Das Bürgerheer. Derselbe Geist, der vor Jahrtausenden in Hellas die siegreichen Schlachten gegen die Perser geschlagen hat. [...] Was ein deutscher Dichter und Patriot vor hundert Jahren sagte, gilt noch heute: in Deutschlands Lager is die Sache die Freiheit und Menschlichkeit, die Sache Europas, nicht bei den Erben Napoleons und der persischen Großkönige." Cf. Marchand 1996, 247; Goeßler 1951, 219. Dörpfeld also proposed that Germany join new nations, rather than "dying" ones (Goeßler 1951, 173); here, he surely had the shrinking Ottoman Empire in mind.

[152] Goeßler 1951, 174; Marchand 1996, 247, 261; Hedderich 2021.

[153] Goeßler 1951, 216; Eckart 1992, 101, 104-105; Kankeleit 2021, 168. Dörpfeld's diary (Dörpfeld et al. 2010) does not include information on Hitler's rise to power in 1933 (Kankeleit 2021, 169-170). There is no indication that he held antisemitic views; in fact, he kept good relations with Jewish friends even after 1933 (Kankeleit 2021, 177-179).

[154] Kaufmann 1940, 65; von Hagen 1940, 123; Goebel 2021, 20-21; Kankeleit 2021, 170-177. For a tantalizing reference for his support of Nazi Germany's annexations of its western neighbors, see von Rohden [Gertrud] 1940, 38. Cf. Goeßler 1951, 244; Kankeleit 2021, 171-175. Furthermore, there were Nazis in his entourage (e.g., the architect Hans Schleif, 1902-1945) and successors at the DAI (e.g., the archaeologist Walther Wrede, 1893-1990). Cf. Lehmann 2012 (on Schleif); Krumme 2012 (on Wrede); Kankeleit 2021, 179-186. On the DAI Athens during Nazism, see Jantzen 1986, 47-56.

[155] Körte 1940, 109; Kankeleit 2021, 172.

[156] It is surprising that the relation of Dörpfeld to the Nazis has rarely been commented upon after the war. In 1940, Goeßler (1940, 19) described Dörpfeld as "großer deutscher Mensch" and the work of German archaeologists in Greece and Asia Minor as a "nordisch-germanisches Erbteil" (nordic-Germanic legacy) (p. 1). However, in the 1951 biography, Goeßler is silent about Dörpfeld's infatuation with Nazi ideology. Much

later, Uwe Eckart (1992, 104) still downplays this engagement by saying that Dörpfeld was already 80 years old when the Nazis came to power. As usual, these scholars focus on Dörpfeld's legacy as the man who made archaeology empirical, while suppressing his questionable political sympathies and the instrumentality of his work in nationalist thought.

[157] Goeßler 1940, 21; Körte 1940, 109; Kübler et al. 1940, 92; von Hagen 1940, 123; Eckart 1992, 104; Marchand 1996, 261, 247, 345; Kankeleit 2021, 166-167, 171-172.

[158] On the work of Evans, see Gere 2009; Schoep 2018.

[159] E.g., Dörpfeld 1925. Cf. Goeßler 1951, 29; Petersen 2021, 156-158; Steinmann 2021, 62-66. For example, by pointing out the similarity of walls at Tiryns and Carthage, he argued that the Phoenicians had influenced Mycenaean architecture (Dörpfeld 1892, 96). Another concrete case in point is his handling of the find of the "Gorgo" of Corfu, the centerpiece of a temple pediment, unearthed with the help of emperor Wilhelm II; Dörpfeld maintained that this Gorgo was not the Medusa known from the myth of Perseus, but rather a representation of the Arabian sun goddess Shams (Nonn 1933, 9, 14; Kübler et al. 1940, 92; Goeßler 1951, 175; Marchand 1996, 243). An even more curious theory was that the Minoans of Crete were related to the Minaeans of Yemen (Körte 1940, 108).

[160] Meyer et al. 1936, 11-12 [W. Dörpfeld].

[161] Andrae 1939, 84-85.

[162] Dörpfeld 1897, 166.

[163] E.g., Dörpfeld 1902, 381-382.

[164] Dörpfeld/Schleif 1942, 35.

[165] Dörpfeld 1937b, 2.

[166] Marlowe 2001. Cf. Malraux 1959.

[167] Cf. Mendelsohn 2014; Hanink 2017, 43, 61.

[168] E.g., Ross 1855, 129; Dörpfeld 1902, 412; Drerup 1981, 32; Korres/Bouras 1983, 131; Korres 1994a, 41-42; 1994b, 58; Rhodes 1995, 32-34; Hurwit 1999, 142; Ferrari 2002, 25; Kousser 2009, 270-271; Martin-McAuliffe/Papadopoulos 2012, 347-348; Connelly 2014, 74; Shear 2016, 8; Paga 2017, 166; Rous 2019, 36-45.

[169] ICOMOS 1987, 2.

[170] Hurwit 2004, 70.

[171] Papageorgiou-Venetas 1994, 386; Yalouri 2001, 57; Kotsaki 2004, 60; Kouki 2017, 71; Rous 2019, 213, 216-218. On the monument generally, see Hellenic Parliament Foundation 2009.

[172] Cf. Demandt 2002, 289-290.

[173] Kübler et al. 1940, 93. The poet could be any or all of the authors.

[174] On Dörpfeld's collaboration with the Greek Archaeological Society, see Petrakos 1990.

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BABESCH 97 (2022), 195-218. doi: 10.2143/BAB.97.0.3290540

I pavimenti in *opus sectile* di Capri

Appunti sulle scoperte degli anni Venti dell'Ottocento tra documentazione archivistica, analisi tipologica e ricostruzione contestuale

Luca Di Franco, Carmen D'Anna, Giancarlo Di Martino

Abstract

In the last few years, a new project focused on the island of Capri has improved our knowledge about the archeological record of the area. The research has actually started from the archivistic record, discovering new papers about the excavation and the transportation of at least three different marble floors. Two of them are already known and still visible in their actual location, the last instead is totally new find, hitherto not recognizable in any of the visible marble floor reused in the royal palaces of Naples. The new documents improve our knowledge of the location and time of the discoveries, and help us in proposing an hypothetical reconstruction of the lost floor.

INTRODUZIONE

Le ricerche per la nuova cartografia archeologica dell'isola di Capri hanno permesso di rintracciare una cospicua messe di documenti storici.[1] L'Archivio di Stato di Napoli e l'Archivio del Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli conservano, infatti, numerosi incartamenti, prodotti in età borbonica nell'espletamento dell'attività archeologica ufficiale.[2] Gli anni Venti dell'Ottocento rappresentano una fase di particolare vitalità per l'esplorazione di Capri: oltre allo scavo regio di Villa Jovis,[3] furono di fatti condotte ulteriori operazioni di sterro, per acquisire al patrimonio regio tre preziosi pavimenti in *opus sectile*. Tali pavimentazioni policrome, realizzate con lastre marmoree di diverse varietà, connesse in modo da formare caratteristici partiti geometrici, furono rinvenute in fondi privati ricadenti su complessi archeologici, oggi non più conservati, nelle località di Valentino, Truglio e Unghia Marina (*fig. 1*).

Le due tipologie d'intervento sul campo, pur rimandando a finalità piuttosto divergenti, hanno radici in un retroterra ideologico comune: sia la più "moderna" esperienza di Villa Jovis – maggiormente orientata allo studio delle architetture e alla "messa in fruizione" di un sito archeologico di forte richiamo[4] – sia la più tradizionale procedura d'acquisto di reperti di pregio in mano privata trovano, infatti, spazio in una pratica archeologica in cui le esigenze conoscitive dei tecnici costituiscono soltanto un aspetto di una dinamica, per altri versi, ben più impattante sulla società del tempo. Il caso di Capri, in tal senso, può testimoniare non solo dello stabile inserimento dell'archeologia nelle politiche di rappresentanza della Corona, ma anche della spiccata connotazione economica tributata al bene archeologico e qui espressasi sia nella dinamica della vendita sia in quella del dono al re di Napoli.[5]

Per altro verso, nell'immaginario dell'epoca i *sectilia pavimenta* dovevano costituire una categoria di reperto fortemente associata all'isola di Capri: già nel 1793, Norbert Hadrawa[6] ne enfatizzava il "ruolo identitario",[7] diffondendone anche

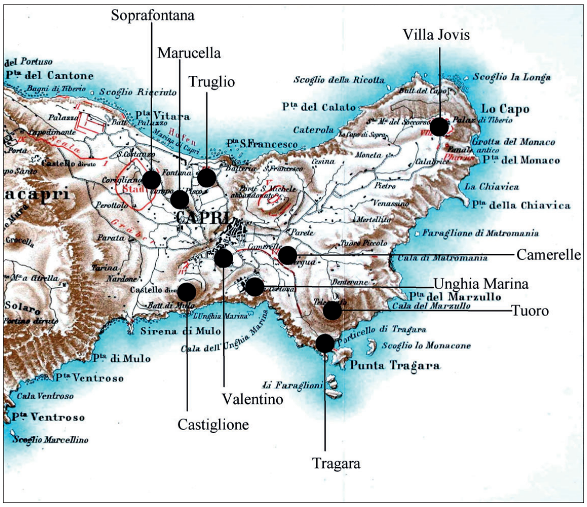

Fig. 1. Carta dell'isola di Capri (da Beloch 1890), con i luoghi citati nel testo (elaborazione C. D'Anna).

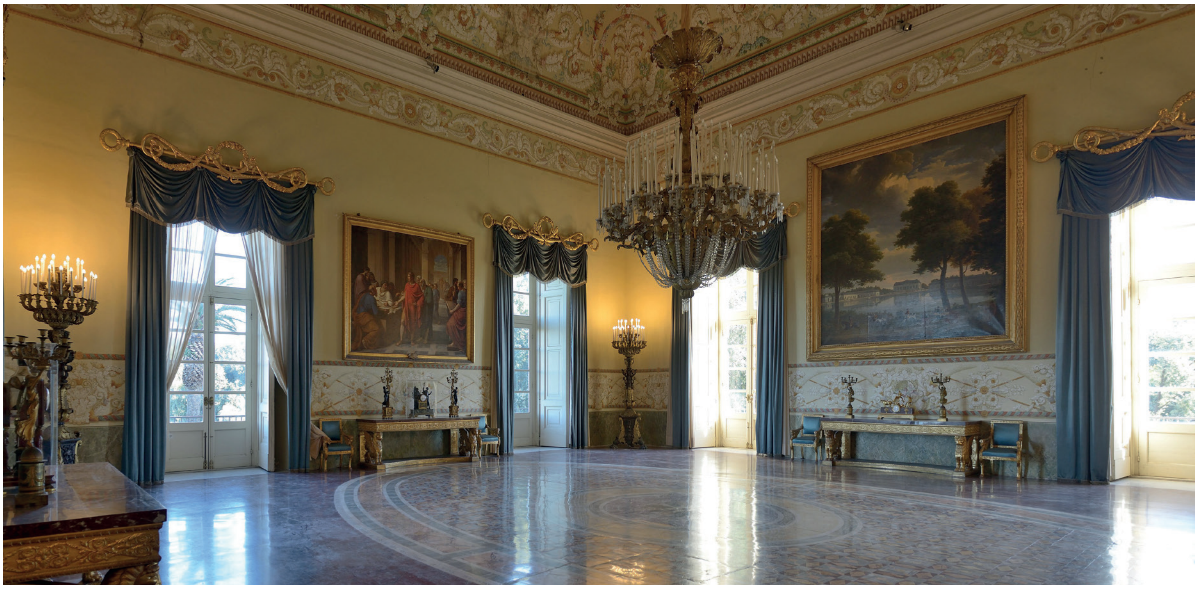

Fig. 2. Napoli, Reggia di Capodimonte. Il "Salone della Culla" con il pavimento in opus sectile *dall'area del Castiglione a Capri.*

disegni,[8] mentre si affermava la moda del mobilio con inserti marmorei prelevati da rivestimenti di tal genere.[9] Da parte sua, il conte Castone della Torre Rezzonico, letterato e membro dell'Arcadia, riferiva tale peculiarità dell'archeologia caprese alla concezione del matematico Trasillo, «astrologo, ed indovino […] molto caro a Tiberio»,[10] secondo una lettura combinata tra classici[11] ed evidenza materiale ancora accettata negli anni Venti,[12] ma riecheggiata perfino nel 1877, come testimonia l'epigrafe esplicativa allora apposta a un quarto lastricato in *opus sectile* – rinvenuto sempre a Capri nei precedenti scavi Hadrawa – al momento del suo trasferimento dalla Villa Favorita di Resina al Salone della Culla di Capodimonte (*fig.* 2).[13]

Quest'operazione ebbe luogo, forse non casualmente, a due passi dall'alcova di Francesco I e Maria Isabella di Borbone, una sala maggiormente conosciuta col nome di "Salottino alla pompeiana", realizzata nel biennio 1829-1830 su progetto di Antonio Niccolini.[14] Proprio alla camera da letto della coppia regnante, dove il linguaggio figurativo delle città vesuviane era entrato a sostegno dell'autorappresentazione monarchica, erano infatti stati destinati ben due dei pavimenti capresi scoperti negli anni Venti, con l'evidente intento di traslare nel nuovo ambiente lo sfarzo e le connotazioni simboliche di alcuni tra i pezzi d'antichità di livello più alto – poiché direttamente connessi alla presenza degli imperatori antichi – fino a quel momento emersi nei territori del regno. Né può forse escludersi, dietro tale scelta, una precisa volontà di Francesco I, che si era recato a Capri almeno quattro volte nei suoi cinque anni di regno,[15] per visitare lo scavo di Villa Jovis da lui finanziato e intrattenere rapporti con la comunità locale in cui l'archeologia e il recupero dei pavimenti in oggetto sembrano giocare un ruolo di centralità.[16]

Attraverso le carte d'archivio, sarà dunque possibile seguire il viaggio dei tre "pavimenti imperiali", dal ritrovamento sull'isola all'alcova del Real Sito di Capodimonte, o – nel caso della terza pavimentazione dal sito di Unghia Marina – a una sfortunata dispersione. Allo stesso tempo, sarà possibile approfondire aspetti tecnici e tipologici dei tre *sectilia* – fornendo inoltre degli "identikit" del reperto disperso – e ricostruire i contesti d'origine alla luce di informazioni inedite. Nelle pagine seguenti, a ogni pavimento saranno dunque dedicate tre schede d'approfondimento, relative rispettivamente alla procedura di trasferimento, alla tipologia e alla ricostruzione del contesto di provenienza.

G.D.M

Il pavimento dalla proprietà Catuogno in contrada Valentino

I documenti d'archivio e la procedura di acquisto e trasferimento

Il pavimento rinvenuto in località Valentino si trova oggi, come detto, nell'anticamera dell'alcova di Francesco I e Maria Isabella di Borbone (*fig. 3*). La vicenda del rinvenimento ha inizio il 30 gennaio 1824, quando l'intendente di Napoli Giuseppe de' Medici principe d'Ottajano informa il ministro di Casa Reale Girolamo Ruffo del ritrovamento, casuale e pressappoco contemporaneo, di due diversi rivestimenti antichi da parte di altrettanti contadini capresi: il primo di loro, Natale Catuogno, aveva rinvenuto «alla profondità di palmi quattro nel luogo detto Valentino un pavimento formato a quadrotti di marmo»; il secondo, Francesco Salvia, aveva invece scoperto «nella contrada detta Santa Maria a Soccorso un pavimento detto alla musaica nella profondità di palmi undici».[17] Sappiamo che l'intendente fu allertato da Giuseppe Feola, sindaco di Capri e corrispondente locale del soprintendente Arditi,[18] e che venne seguita alla lettera la procedura dei Regi Decreti del 13 e 14 maggio 1822.[19]

Ricevuta la segnalazione, il re Ferdinando I, per tramite del suo ministro Ruffo, assegna alla Commissione di Antichità e Belle Arti[20] l'incarico di stilare una perizia sulle nuove scoperte e di esprimersi su un eventuale acquisto.[21] Per raccogliere informazioni utili, la Commissione decide, dunque, di affidare allo stesso Feola la redazione di un'analisi autoptica.[22]

La bellezza del pavimento fu immediatamente evidente, benché ne fosse stata dissotterrata solo una piccola parte e fossero presenti numerose lacune. Feola chiese, quindi, a Natale Catuogno e ai suoi figli di continuarne lo scavo, fino a che si mostrassero almeno due lati finiti, e di preservare in casa propria i frammenti marmorei che si erano accumulati nel terreno, al fine di poterli integrare in un futuro restauro. Lo stesso rapporto ricorda, inoltre, la realizzazione di un disegno da parte del Feola. Esso è identificabile con un documento, suddiviso in due schizzi, che si conserva all'Archivio di Stato di Napoli[23] (*fig. 4*): nel primo, con didascalia «disegno in grande del pavimento marmoreo scoverto da Natale Catuogno», si delinea lo schema geometrico dell'*opus sectile* con un *focus* su tre riquadri; in due di questi si indica, inoltre, la varietà dei marmi adoperati: «Giallo», «Saravazza», «Porta Santa» e «Africano». Non sappiamo se queste indicazioni, apposte con tratto calligrafico, siano attribuibili sempre al Feola o ad altra mano, eventualmente intervenuta sul documento dopo l'invio. Il secondo schizzo ritrae, invece, un numero maggiore di riquadri su due file da sette ed è provvisto della didascalia «Strisce due in piccolo dell'intero pavimento». La Biblioteca della Società Napoletana di Storia Patria, d'altro canto, conserva una diversa rappresentazione del pavimento, tra le carte della collezione Vincenzo Cuomo (*fig. 5*):[24] anch'essa fu realizzata senza dubbio dal Feola, ma presenta un'aggiunta di mano diversa, forse dello stesso Cuomo, che la mette erroneamente in relazione con un ulteriore rapporto scritto di Feola, conser-

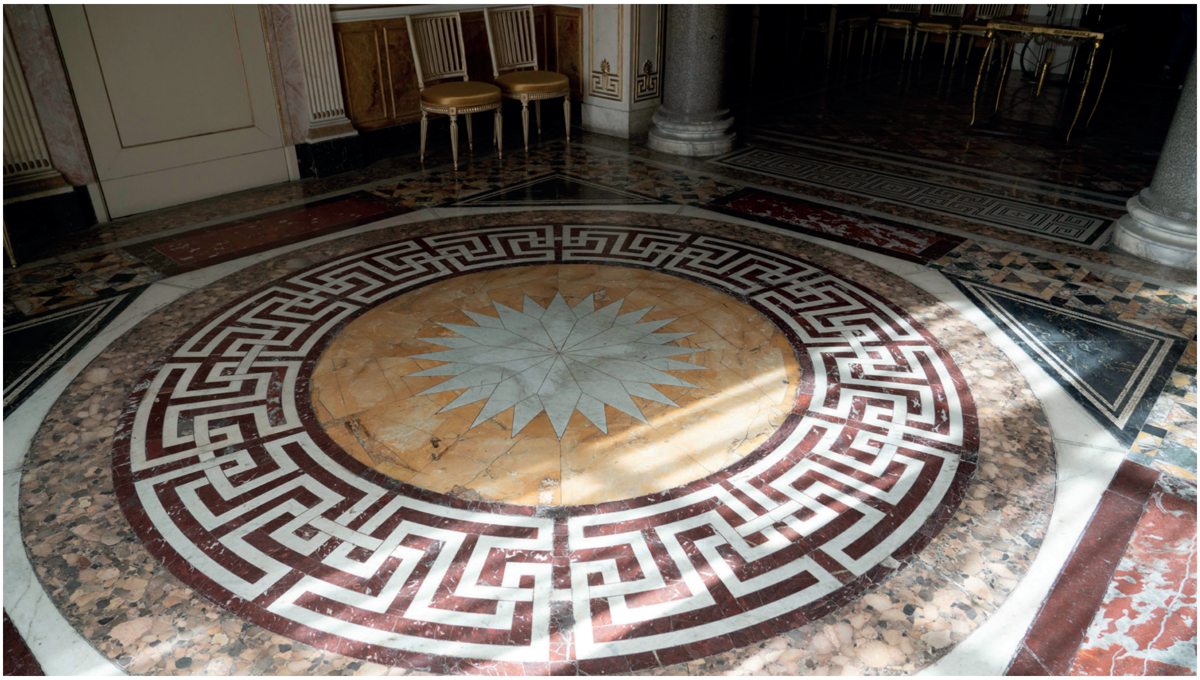

Fig. 3. Napoli, Reggia di Capodimonte. L'anticamera dell'alcova di Francesco I e Maria Isabella di Borbone, cosiddetto "Salottino alla pompeiana".

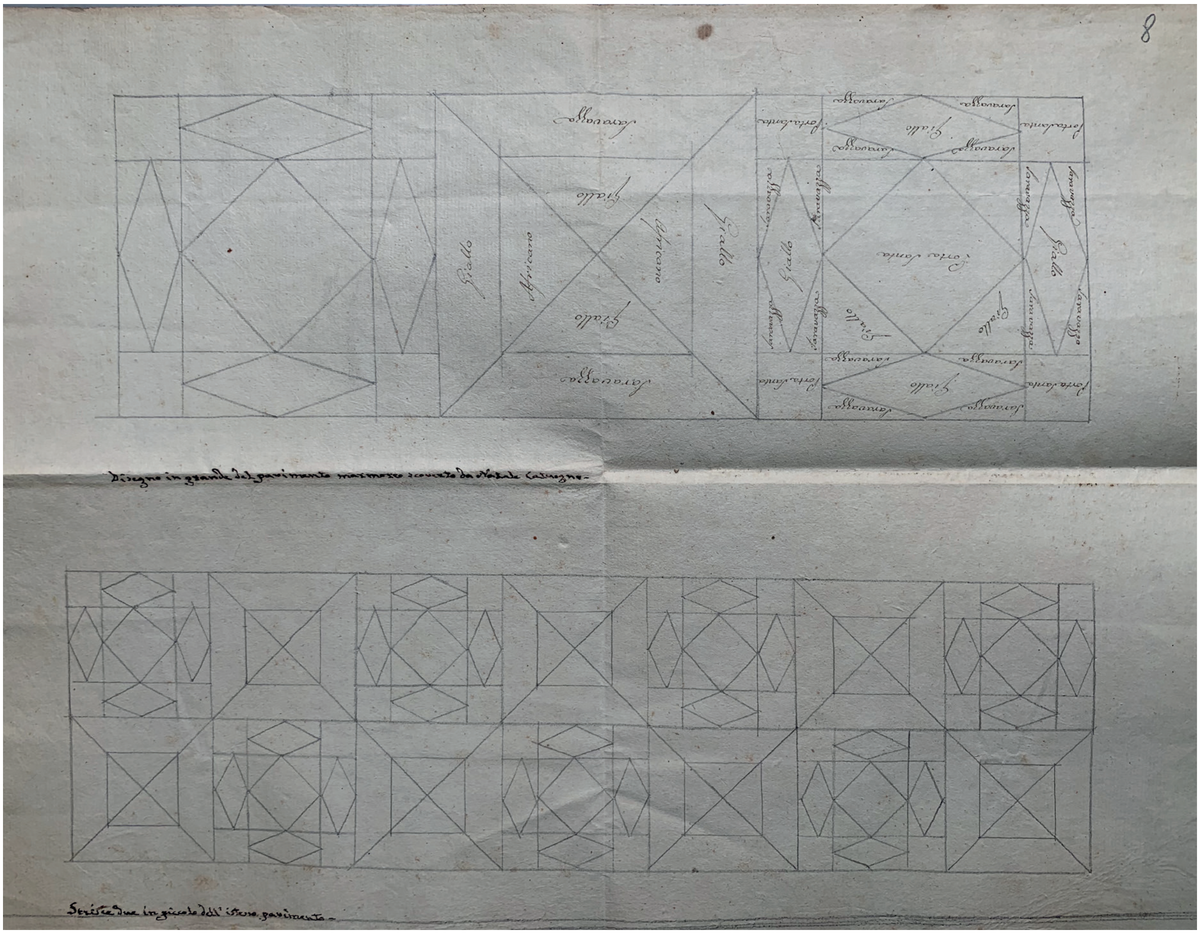
8
Saravazza
Giallo
Africano
Porta Santa
Disegno in grande del pavimento marmoreo scoverto da Natale Catuogno –
Striscie due in piccolo dell'istesso pavimento –

Fig. 4. Giuseppe Feola (1824), disegno del "pavimento Catuogno" (ASN, Ministero degli Affari Interni, II inventario, busta 2038, fasc. 49, c. 8r).

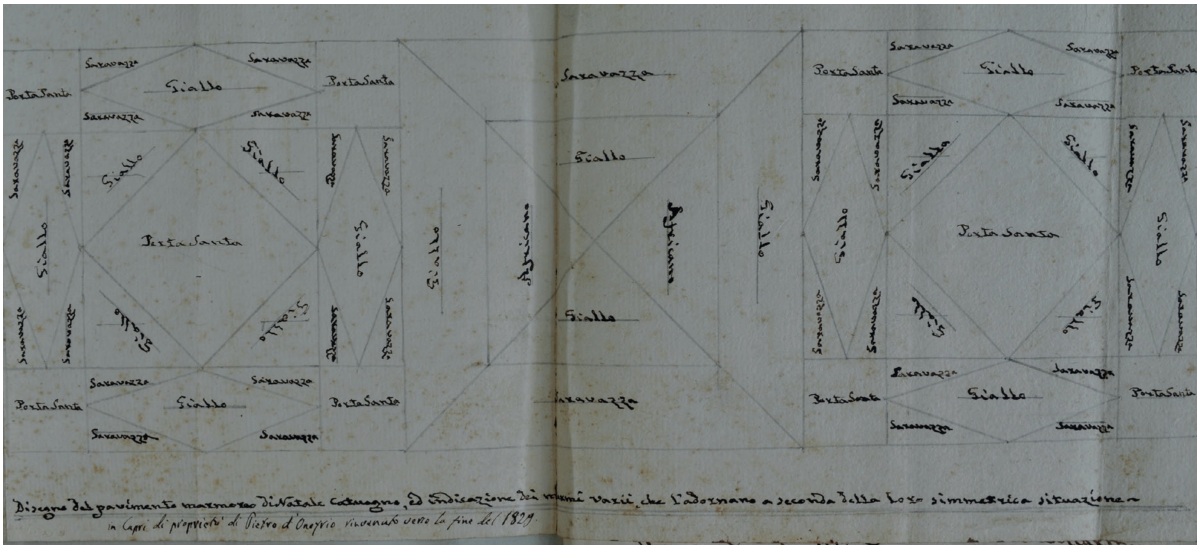
Saravazza
Giallo
Porta Santa
Africano
Disegno del pavimento marmoreo di Natale Catuogno, ed indicazione dei marmi varii, che l'adornano a seconda della loro simmetrica situazione –
in Capri di proprietà di Pietro d'Onofrio rinvenuto verso la fine del 1829.

Fig. 5. Giuseppe Feola (1824?), disegno del "pavimento Catuogno" (SNSP, Fondo Cuomo, 1. 4. 11).

vato nel medesimo fondo, ma concernente il "pavimento D'Onofrio" da Unghia Marina.[25] Il disegno della Società di Storia Patria, inoltre, fu ricopiato da Alfonso Carelli[26] agli inizi del Novecento; tale copia, oggi nell'archivio del Centro Caprense Ignazio Cerio,[27] è stata edita di recente (*fig. 6*).[28] Per completezza d'informazione, si segnala, infine, un ulteriore disegno acquerellato all'Archivio di Stato: esso è di autore ignoto e mette a confronto il partito geometrico del "*sectile* Catuogno" con lo schema del pavimento dalla proprietà Arcucci a Truglio, sul quale torneremo in seguito (*fig. 7*).[29]

La Commissione di Antichità e Belle Arti, a fronte del disegno e del rapporto di Feola, è quindi in condizione di formulare il suo parere, suggerendo l'acquisizione del solo *opus sectile* in proprietà Catuogno, secondo l'opinione espressa dal corrispondente locale.[30] Per stimare il valore del reperto e il suo trasporto, la Commissione chiede[31] e ottiene[32] l'autorizzazione di inviare a Capri il mosaicista del Museo, Raffaele Atticciati:[33] questi, come da suo rapporto,[34] si reca sull'isola con Raffaele Piedimonte, dal 20 al 22 settembre, facendo tappa prima sulla sommità del Monte Tiberio,[35] e poi nella contrada di Valentino per valutare il più importante pavimento a lastre.

Alla fine delle operazioni, la stima dei costi di scavo e trasporto ammonta a 101 ducati,[36] approvata dal re, a patto che il pavimento, una volta scavato, fosse in buono stato conservativo.[37] Tali clausole vengono, pertanto, inserite in un apposito "brevetto", un atto notarile stipulato il 12 dicembre 1824 dal notaio Michele Alberino e firmato da Natale Catuogno e Feola.[38]

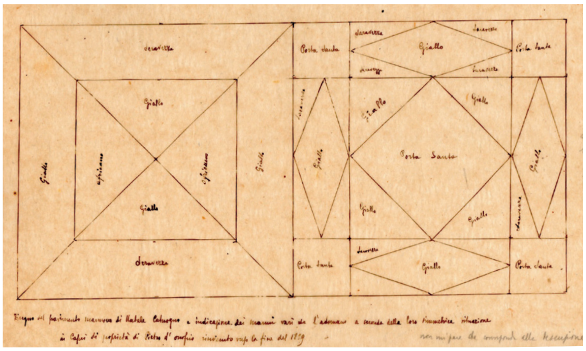

Fig. 6. Alfonso Carelli (primi anni del Novecento), copia del disegno di G. Feola in fig. 5 (CCIC, Archivio Carelli, fasc. 34) (da Di Martino 2018).

Il pavimento in proprietà Catuogno viene scavato nel febbraio 1825: Atticciati ne verifica dunque l'integrità, organizzandone il trasporto a Napoli,[39] che si concretizza il 20 marzo con l'ingresso al Real Museo e la presa in consegna dell'architetto Antonio Niccolini.[40] Il reperto, per disposizioni del nuovo re Francesco I, succeduto al padre il 4 gennaio 1825, rimane quindi nell'officina di Atticciati al Museo per il restauro, in attesa che il sovrano ne stabilisca l'uso. Una decisione, in realtà, fu presa abbastanza presto: il re dispose, infatti, che il pavimento fosse conservato presso il «Real Palazzo», quando il restauro fosse stato ultimato.[41] Girolamo Ruffo, conseguentemente, comunica tale risoluzione al Niccolini[42] e al maggiordomo della Real Casa Antonio Lucchesi-Palli principe di Campofranco[43] con ministeriale del 29 settembre 1825. Il restauro, alla morte di Raffaele Atticciati, è portato avanti dal figlio Luigi. Il "pavi-

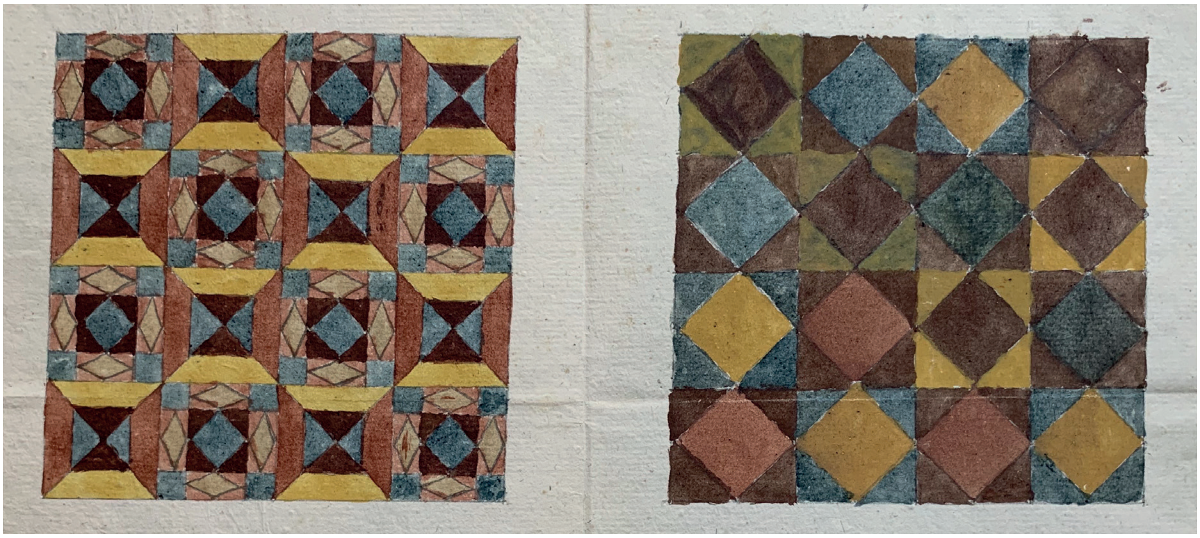

Fig. 7. Anonimo (anni Venti dell'Ottocento), disegno acquerellato con schemi compositivi del "pavimento Catuogno" (sinistra) e del "pavimento Arcucci" (destra) (ASN, Ministero degli Affari Interni, II inventario, busta 2072, fasc. 98).

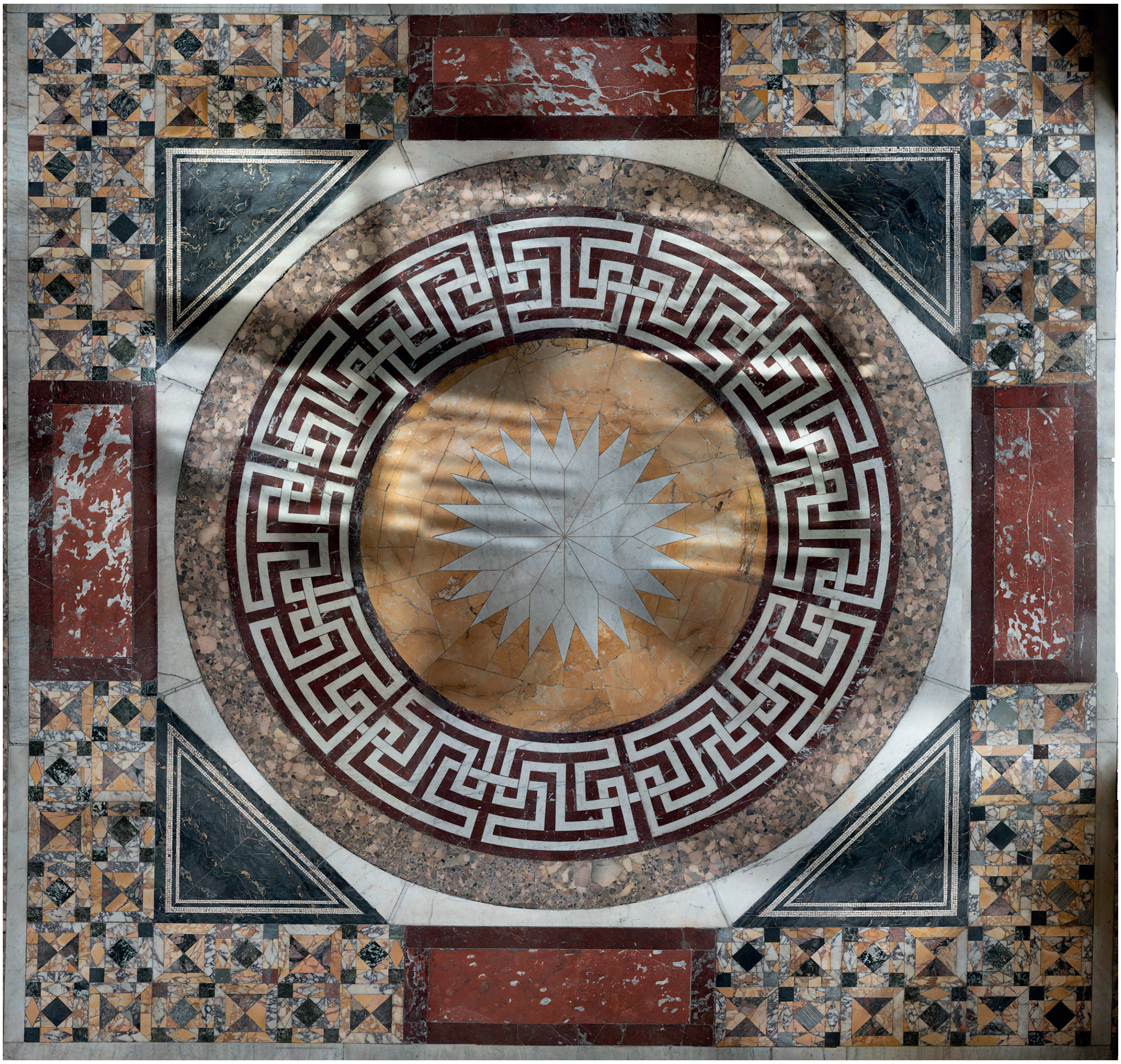

Fig. 8. Fotomosaico della pavimentazione, antica e moderna, posta nell'anticamera dell'alcova di Francesco I e Maria Isabella di Borbone; agli angoli il "pavimento Catuogno".

mento Catuogno", insieme all'*opus sectile* rinvenuto l'anno dopo in proprietà Arcucci, viene quindi selezionato per decorare il nuovo appartamento reale di Capodimonte (*fig. 8*). Il progetto è affidato allo stesso Niccolini, che ne avrebbe eseguito il reimpiego nel 1830.[44]

L.D.F.

L'opus sectile *e il suo inquadramento tipologico*

L'interesse dimostrato, sin dai primi momenti della scoperta, per il pavimento in proprietà Catuogno è strettamente legato alla preziosità del materiale impiegato, così come alla ricercatezza dei motivi utilizzati. I rivestimenti marmorei di Capri noti alla storia dell'arte si sono, infatti, generalmente distinti per l'utilizzo di motivi geometrici insoliti, nuovi o poco utilizzati, che non ritroviamo in contesti privati di minor caratura.[45] Il pavimento (*fig. 9*) è infatti composto da moduli organizzati secondo due motivi alternati, rientranti nel sistema classificatorio elaborato da Federico Guidobaldi.[46] Il primo schema (modulo 1) è costituito da un motivo QkQ, ossia un quadrato di base con quattro trapezi isosceli disposti a cornice intorno a un quadrato centrale con motivo a clessidra. I materiali utilizzati sono giallo antico e africano nel settore centrale, pavo-

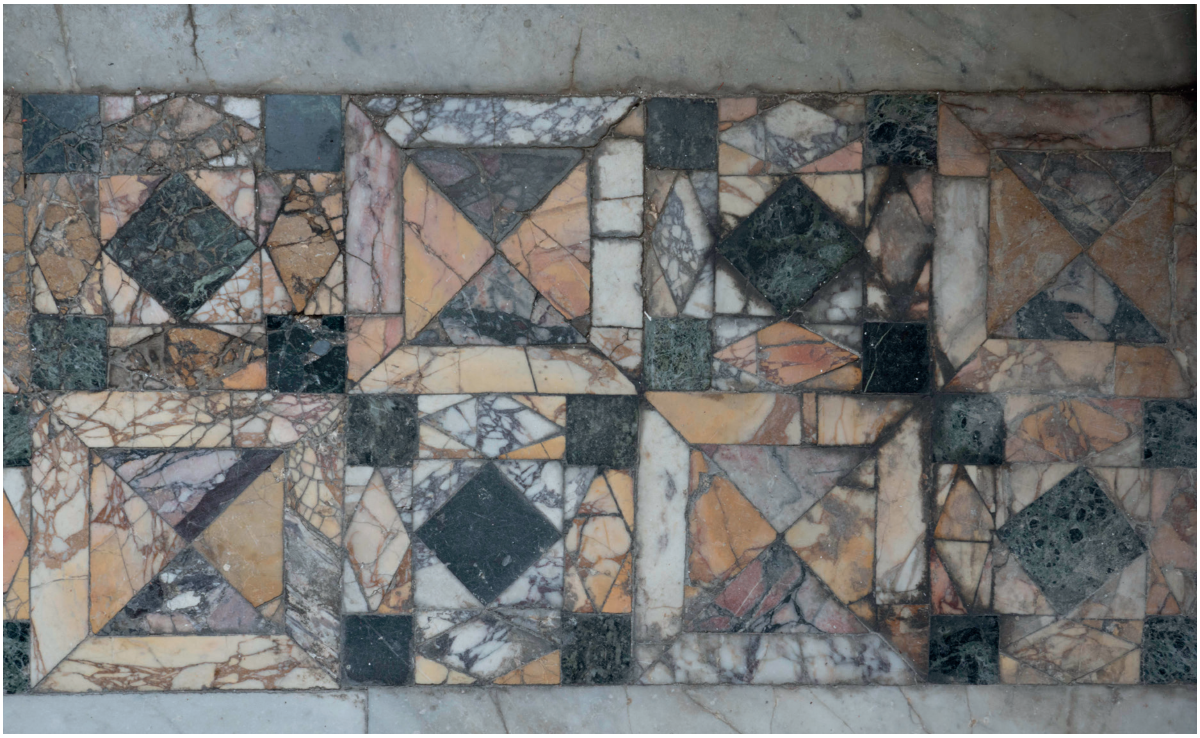

Fig. 9. Dettaglio del "pavimento Catuogno".

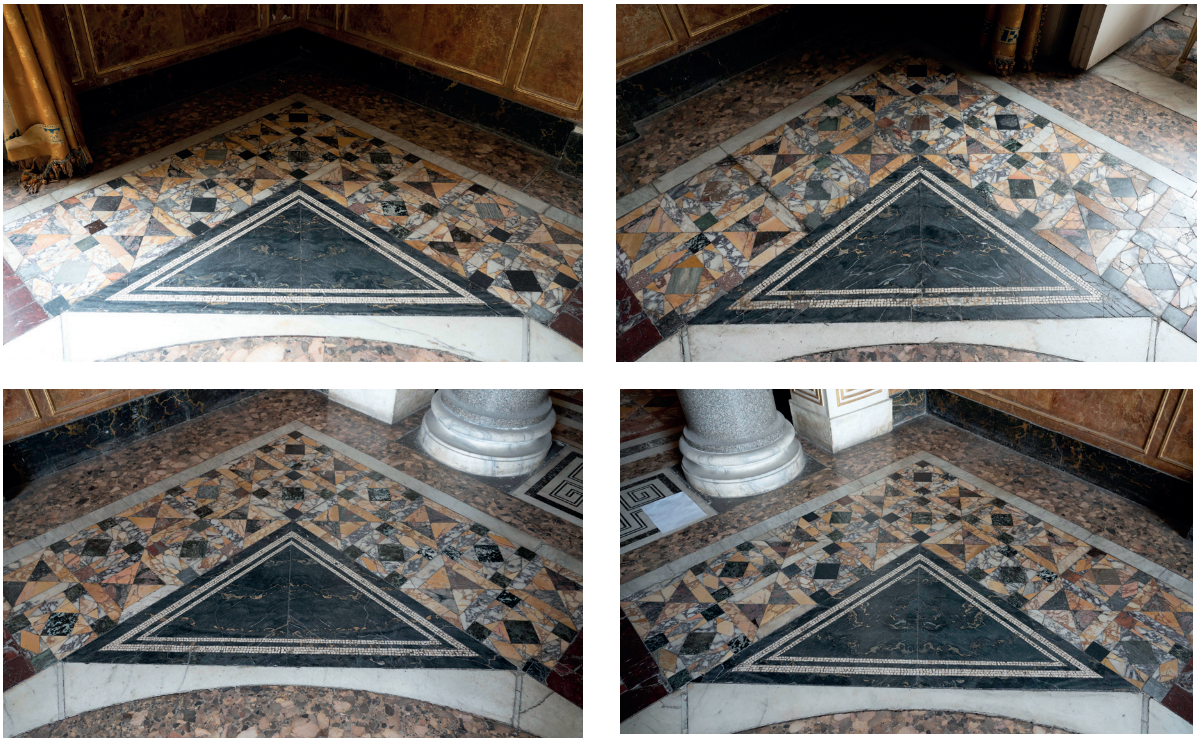

Fig. 10. Angoli dell'anticamera dell'alcova di Francesco I e Maria Isabella di Borbone, dove è reimpiegato il "pavimento Catuogno".

nazzetto[47] e giallo antico nei trapezi laterali.[48] Il motivo è attestato in soli altri tre casi editi, tutti provenienti da contesti campani e residenziali databili fra il periodo flavio e l'inizio del II sec. d.C.[49] Rispetto a questi, si nota però una maggiore articolazione del motivo decorativo. Il modulo QkQ riguarda difatti la sola divisione del quadrato in trapezi isosceli, mentre l'ulteriore arricchimento del motivo a clessidra nella porzione centrale è esclusivo del pavimento caprese. I litotipi impiegati nel segmento centrale sono inoltre disposti in maniera chiastica, così da richiamare i contrasti cromatici presenti nel secondo schema compositivo (modulo 2).

Quest'ultimo è costituito da un modulo quadrato reticolare, con quadrato centrale decorato da un motivo Q2, ossia un quadrato di base con iscritto un secondo ruotato di 45°, rettangoli laterali campiti da losanghe e quadrati nei punti d'incrocio. I materiali utilizzati sono giallo antico e pavonazzetto nei quadrati di maggiori dimensioni, nei rettangoli e nelle losanghe. Il quadrato disposto in diagonale e quelli nei punti d'incrocio sono realizzati invece in pietre e marmi di colore scuro.

La misura espressa al momento della scoperta è di moduli lunghi un palmo napoletano, corrispondente all'attuale dimensione, vale a dire singoli quadrati di 27 cm per lato. Un'indicazione circa l'originaria dimensione dell'intero rivestimento marmoreo è fornita dalla descrizione del restauratore Raffaele Atticciati, che indica in 20 palmi la lunghezza totale della decorazione, corrispondente a 5,40 m. Il pavimento non era però conservato integralmente, cosa che avrebbe giustificato la scelta di utilizzarlo come elemento di cornice a una pavimentazione di marmi moderni, piuttosto che quale elemento principale della decorazione dell'ambiente. Nell'attuale collocazione il *sectile* risulta infatti scomposto in quattro singoli elementi a "L" con entrambi i bracci lunghi 1,63 x 0,54 m (*fig. 10*), cui si aggiunge una fascia posta sul lato della balconata di 2,18 x 0,54 m (*fig. 11*). Dobbiamo quindi ipotizzare un intervento di restauro che ha probabilmente comportato la scelta di utilizzare i moduli meglio conservati provenienti da settori diversi del pavimento; così come l'integrazione delle sezioni danneggiate con frammenti provenienti con ogni probabilità dalla stessa area di scavo. Allo stato attuale con i moduli superstiti, che ammontano a 96, è possibile ricostruire un pavimento di lunghezza 5,40 m (come descritto nei documenti d'archivio) e di larghezza 1,35 m.

C.D'A.

Il contesto di rinvenimento. Aree residenziali, impianti termali e strutture idrauliche sul pendio del Castiglione

Per la forte crescita urbanistica del centro di Capri, risulta oggi difficile posizionare con precisione l'area di scavo degli anni 1823-1825. In ogni caso, le fonti scritte attestano numerosi rinvenimenti lungo il pendio del Castiglione, fornendo una descrizione che, per quanto vaga, risulta utile a comprenderne la vocazione funzionale.

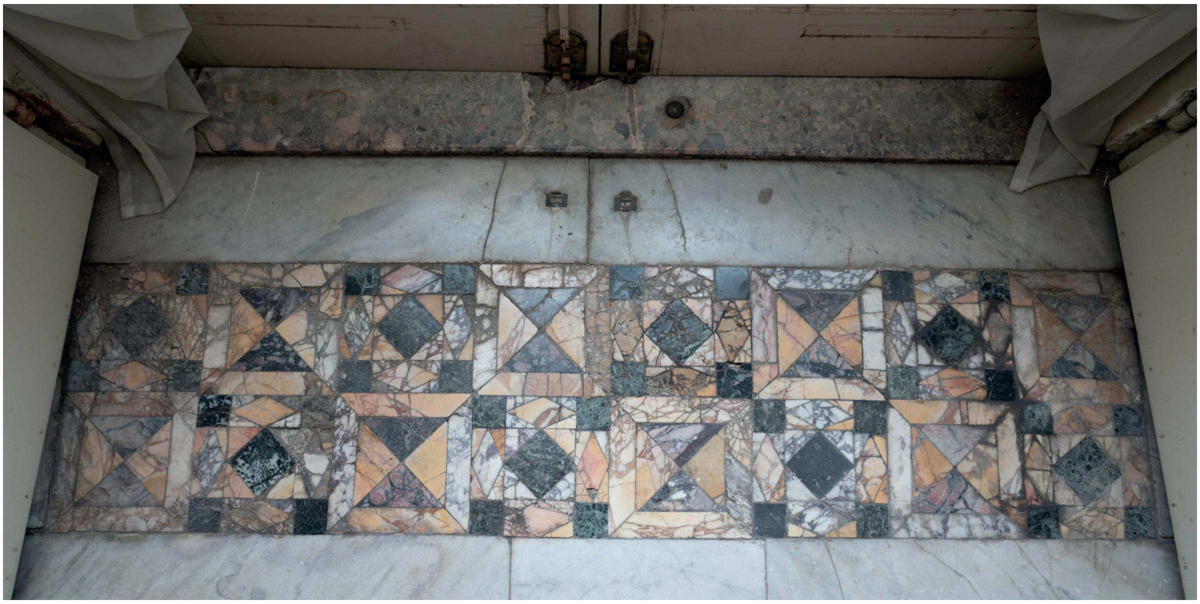

Fig. 11. Ulteriore sezione del "pavimento Catuogno", reimpiegata presso la balconata del "Salottino alla pompeiana".

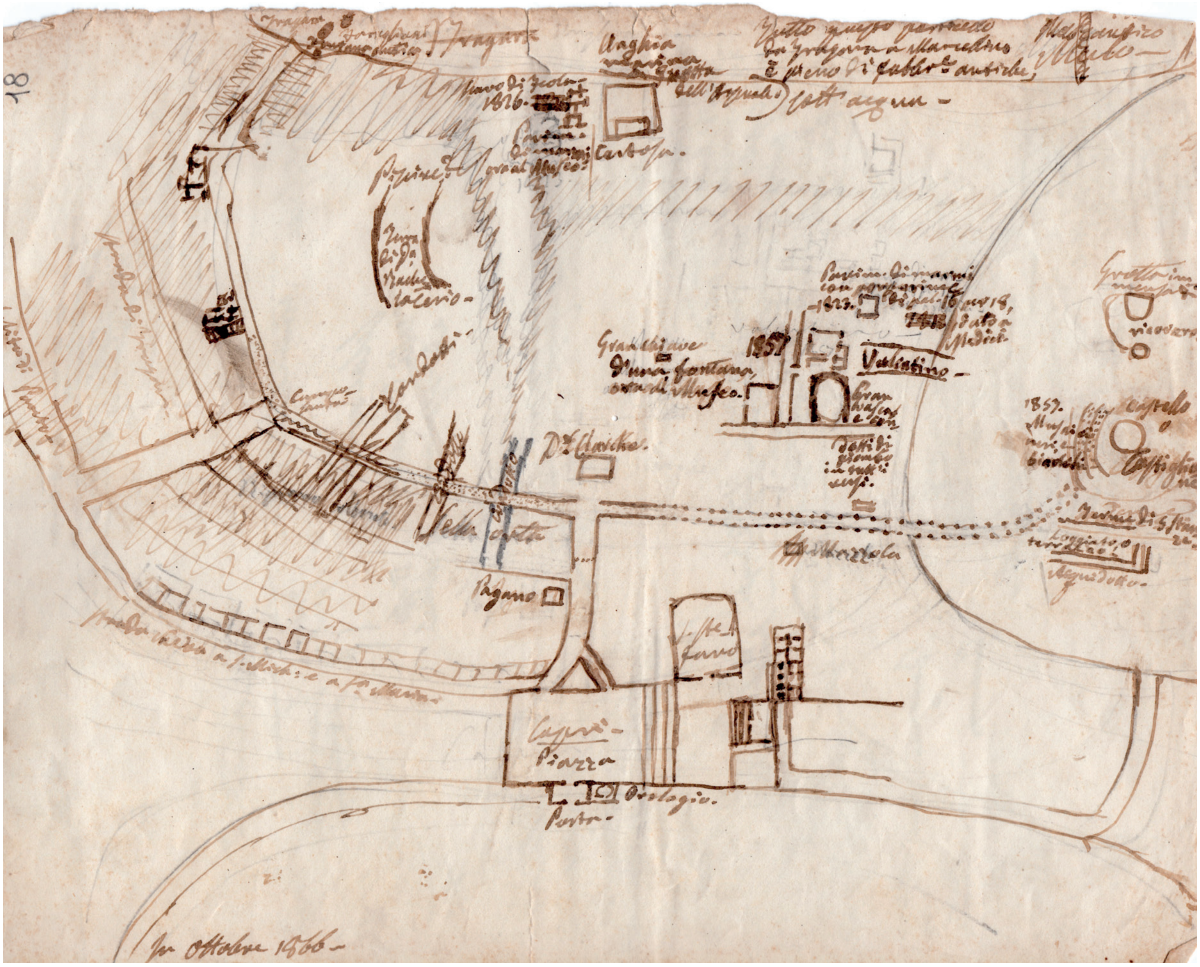

Fig. 12. Carlo Bonucci (1866), schizzo dell'area di Capri centro con la pianta delle strutture antiche in località Valentino (al centro) e dei resti di Unghia Marina (in alto) (da Di Martino 2019).

Piuttosto prossimo alla sommità del colle – dove ancora nel 1998 vengono registrati scarsi lacerti murari e una bocca di pozzo[50] – dovrebbe collocarsi un intervento di Carlo Bonucci (1857), che restituì una gradinata antica e alcuni pavimenti a mosaico, «presso il Castello ad oriente»[51]; ancora alla parte alta del pendio vanno, inoltre, riferiti il sito d'origine di alcuni bronzi acquistati da Luigi Giraldi (1772-4)[52] e quello degli scavi Hadrawa[53] (1786-91), che misero in luce il complesso a vocazione termale da cui proviene il sopra citato *opus sectile* oggi nel Salone della Culla.

Alla metà del pendio, dove peraltro sono stati recentemente segnalati ulteriori «ambienti pavimentati con marmi tiberiani»,[54] va invece posizionata l'area dello scavo in oggetto. Non possediamo notizie dettagliate sugli altri rinvenimenti avvenuti nel "fondo Catuogno" in occasione delle operazioni di recupero del pavimento,[55] ma lo stesso sito fu esplorato anche in seguito da Carlo Bonucci (1856), quando la proprietà era ormai passata da Natale Catuogno a suo figlio Arcangelo.[56] In quest'occasione, furono rinvenuti «condotti numerati, anche di piombo», provenienti da varie direzioni per riempire d'acqua «una grande natazione», insieme a una «gran chiave di bronzo» che, a detta del Bonucci, «conferiva tuttavia l'acqua, che vi restò chiusa da tanti secoli»; vennero inoltre alla luce «alcune stanze con musaici e lastre di marmo, e nella più grande dipinta di giallo, n. 700 lastre di marmi sfrangiati e in frammenti per pavimenti, architravi, cornici, stipiti di porte, […] appartenenti ad altre diverse e numerose stanze».[57] Lo stesso Bonucci, nel 1866, avrebbe poi realizzato uno schematico schizzo del centro di Capri, riportandovi in pianta i resti murari visibili a Valentino (*fig. 12*).[58] Per quanto privo di riferimenti metrici e topografici precisi, questo dise-

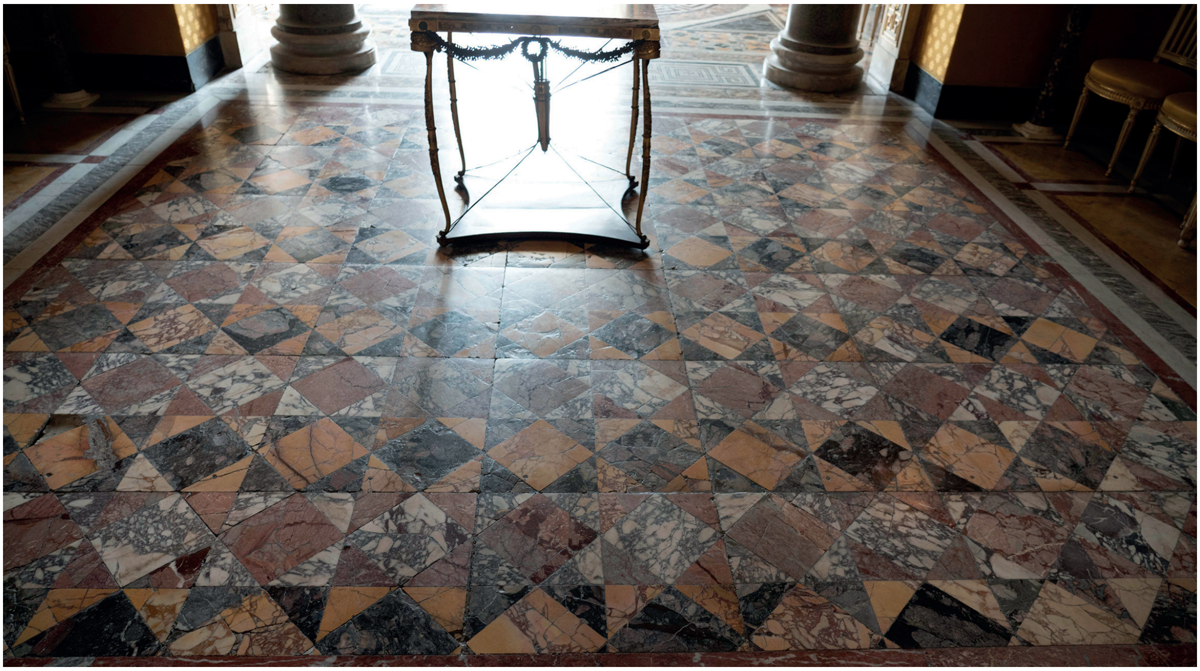

Fig. 13. Napoli, Reggia di Capodimonte. La camera interna dell'alcova di Francesco I e Maria Isabella di Borbone, cosiddetto "Salottino alla pompeiana".

gno conferma come le due imprese di scavo avessero effettivamente interessato il medesimo sito, consegnandoci inoltre un'approssimativa restituzione planimetrica degli ambienti. D'altra parte, anche successivamente l'area avrebbe restituito «muri in mattoni ed un pavimento in mosaico», ma, questa volta, nel «fondo De Maria», che avrebbe poi preso il nome di "Villa Aida".[59] Ancora più a valle, infine, in corrispondenza dell'Hotel San Felice, nella vicina località Li Campi, Paolino Mingazzini segnala il ritrovamento di ulteriori «cisterne e frammenti di marmi colorati».[60]

Due linee conduttrici accomunano, con evidenza, i ritrovamenti del pendio del Castiglione: da un lato la presenza di infrastrutture legate alla gestione delle acque, sia con pozzi e cisterne per l'immagazzinamento sia con strutture suntuarie, che vengono interpretate come terme e *natationes*; dall'altro la ricorrenza di ambienti decorati con ricchi apparati marmorei, plausibilmente riconducibili alla committenza imperiale. Consce di questa situazione, le fonti erudite hanno più volte ipotizzato che i diversi siti di scavo potessero essere in collegamento fra loro, riferendoli a un solo, vasto complesso imperiale;[61] più recentemente – ma non per motivazioni specifiche se non per la vastità dell'area interessata – si è, invece, ritenuto che essi potessero costituire singole residenze di personaggi del seguito imperiale.[62] In ogni caso, oltre a tener per assodata la vocazione residenziale dell'area, l'attestazione di un complesso sistema idrico, che le fonti interpretano come una singola rete di accumulo, smistamento e rifornimento, potrebbe deporre in favore di un intervento costruttivo unitario.

G.D.M.

IL PAVIMENTO DALLA PROPRIETÀ ARCUCCI IN CONTRADA TRUGLIO

I documenti d'archivio e la procedura di acquisto e trasferimento

Anche il secondo dei pavimenti in esame si trova oggi nel "Salottino Pompeiano" di Capodimonte, precisamente nella stanza più interna, che costituiva la vera e propria alcova di Francesco I e Maria Isabella di Borbone (*fig. 13*). Il prezioso *sectile* emerge dal suolo di Capri sul finire del 1825, ma solo un più tardo rapporto del ministro di Casa Reale Girolamo Ruffo al re Francesco I (agosto 1826) permette di comprendere come esso fosse stato donato al sovrano da Michele Arcucci, proprietario del fondo di rinvenimento in contrada Truglio:[63] questi aveva, infatti, colto l'occasione di una visita del re all'isola, per accompagnare al dono la supplica di trasferire un suo figlio, dipendente del Ministero di Grazia e Giustizia, da Salerno a Napoli. Ad ogni modo il

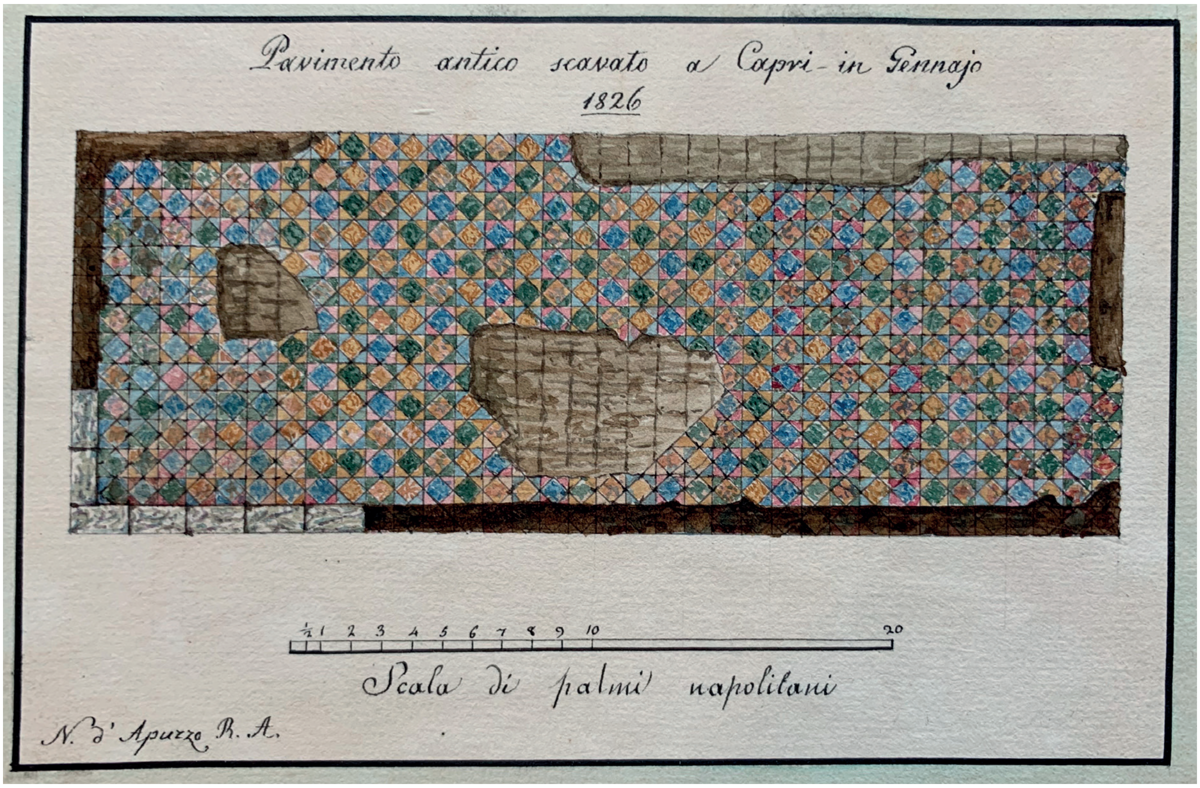
Pavimento antico scavato a Capri - in Gennajo
1826
½ 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 20
Scala di palmi napolitani
N. d'Apuzzo R. A.

Fig. 14. Nicola d'Apuzzo (1826), disegno acquerellato del "pavimento Arcucci" in località "Truglio" (ASN, Ministero degli Affari Interni, II inventario, busta 2072, fasc. 98).

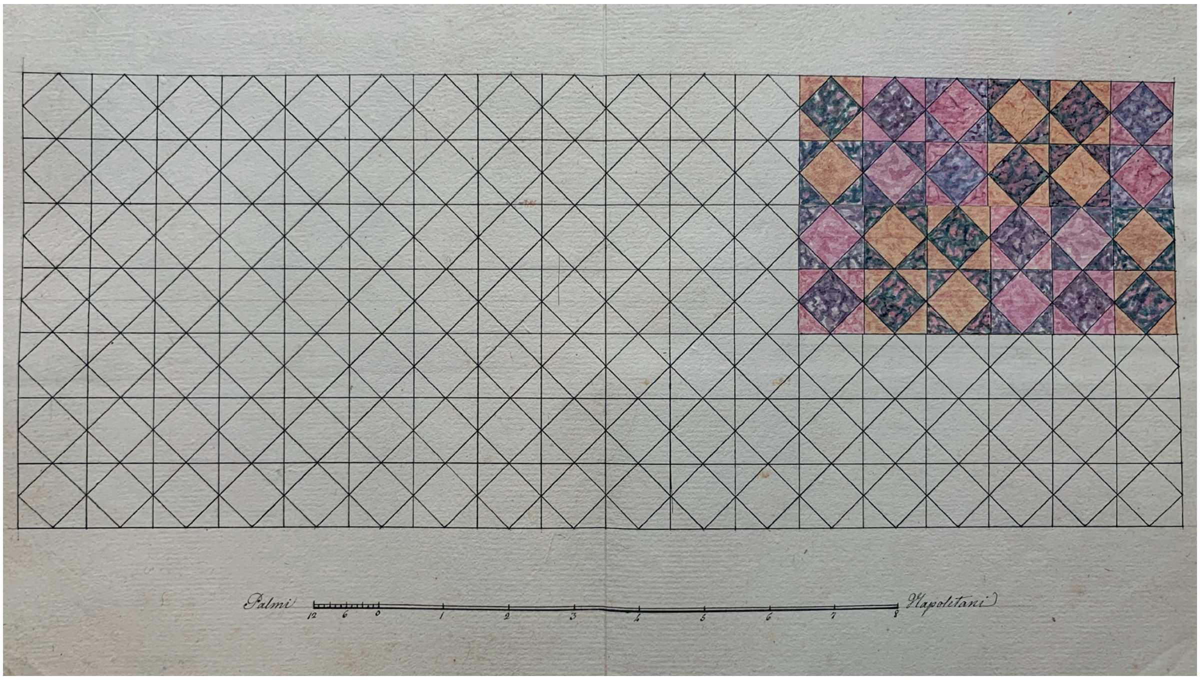
Palmi
12 6 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
Napolitani

Fig. 15. Luigi Atticciati (1826), disegno acquerellato del "pavimento Arcucci" in località "Truglio" (ASN, Ministero degli Affari Interni, II inventario, busta 2072, fasc. 98).

re prescrive di demandare all'architetto Nicola d'Apuzzo, all'epoca direttore degli Scavi di Pompei, l'acquisizione del nuovo pavimento, dal momento che questi si sarebbe comunque dovuto recare a Capri per conto proprio del Ministero di Grazia e Giustizia.[64] Nel gennaio 1826 d'Apuzzo chiede quindi ad Arditi di farsi coadiuvare da Luigi Atticciati,[65] che intanto stava ultimando il restauro del "pavimento Catuogno". Conseguentemente, il re asseconda anche questa richiesta, fattagli pervenire da Arditi,[66] autorizzando il sopralluogo di Atticciati, che raggiunge Capri insieme allo scalpellino Raffaele Piedimonte.[67] Rispetto a quanto detto finora, bisogna tuttavia segnalare che, anche in questo frangente, Feola doveva conoscere il sito di scavo almeno dal 1823, poiché nel suo *Rapporto al Vicario Politi* egli aveva registrato in «un piccolo buco cavato allato ad alcune piante un principio di pavimento figurato di antichi ricercati marmi».[68] Il d'Apuzzo, in ogni caso, rendiconta il 31 gennaio con una dettagliata relazione sullo scavo.[69]

Il pavimento fu immediatamente staccato, riposto all'interno di casse e spedito al Real Museo Borbonico[70], mentre al rapporto di d'Apuzzo fanno seguito due ulteriori relazioni ad Arditi, una di Feola,[71] l'altra di Luigi Atticciati.[72] Arditi nel ragguagliare il ministro sull'operazione di trasporto a Napoli,[73] allega due splendidi disegni acquerellati.[74] Il primo,[75] firmato Nicola d'Apuzzo (*fig. 14*), rappresenta il pavimento all'interno della stanza di pertinenza, documentandone lo stato conservativo: lacune sono presenti lungo il bordo superiore, nel mezzo e sul lato sinistro, dove si riproduce persino lo strato di preparazione della pavimentazione con le impronte lasciate dai *sectilia*. Il secondo disegno[76] (*fig. 15*) non restituisce invece una documentazione dello stato conservativo, ma una schematizzazione del partito decorativo, in cui è campita solo la porzione superiore destra. Questa seconda rappresentazione, di mano diversa, deve probabilmente attribuirsi a Luigi Atticciati, che pure era stato incaricato dall'Arditi di documentare il pavimento.[77]

Secondo la relazione di d'Apuzzo, lo scavo del podere Arcucci mise in luce anche un torso di statua in marmo e due tronchi di colonna in giallo antico, che – a differenza del pavimento – rimasero in un primo momento a Capri. La successiva ministeriale del 4 marzo 1826,[78] però, ordina all'Arditi di curare non solo il trasferimento del pavimento nei magazzini del Real Palazzo, ma di provvedere anche al trasporto della statua e dei frammenti di colonna al Real Museo. Entrambi gli ordini, tuttavia, dovettero attendere non poco prima di essere eseguiti.

Quanto al pavimento, fu da subito necessario posticipare le operazioni:[79] il maggiordomo maggiore il principe di Campofranco aveva infatti incaricato Carlo Falco, capo della Real Tappezzeria, di prendere in consegna il reperto,[80] ma questi si era trovato davanti soltanto i riquadri di marmo sconnessi, restaurati quindi anch'essi dall'Atticciati[81]. Il ripristino fu ultimato soltanto nel maggio 1827,[82] ma in tempo perché il "pavimento Arcucci" entrasse nei progetti di Niccolini: nel 1830, infatti, esso venne reimpiegato nell'alcova di Francesco I e Maria Isabella (*fig. 16*).[83]

Il torso e le colonne, invece, nell'agosto del 1826 giacevano ancora nella vigna di Michele Arcucci.[84] Francesco I, pertanto, dispose «di far eseguire senza ulteriore dilazione il trasporto de' mentovati oggetti», che, trovandosi in aperta campagna, sarebbero rimasti «esposti a soffrire de' guasti».[85] A tal fine, il trasferimento viene affidato al controloro Giuseppe Campo, mentre Feola, interpellato a sua volta, palesa la necessità di inviare Raffaele Piedimonte per l'esecuzione del trasporto.[86] Lo scalpellino consegnerà i materiali a Giuseppe Campo nell'ottobre 1826,[87] redigendo anche un verbale,[88] purtroppo povero di informazioni sulla statua. I marmi vi sono, infatti, così indicati: «un antico torso di statua lungo pal. cinque, e due pezzi di colonna di giallo antico, il primo lungo pal. quattro e 9/12, di diametro pal. uno e 5/12». Fortunatamente, maggiori dettagli sono forniti da Feola nel suo *Rapporto* al soprintendente del 1830, successivamente edito da Ignazio Cerio,[89] dove si specifica come il torso fosse non solo colossale, ma anche «ornato di ammirabili bassirilievi».[90] Una simile descrizione suggerisce, dunque, di identificare il reperto con una statua loricata, unico caso in cui un torso possa effettivamente presentare dei bassorilievi. Sembra plausibile, di conseguenza, collegare l'ipotesi a una tavola de *Le antiche ruine di Capri* di Francesco Alvino e Bernardo Quaranta, dove compare una statua loricata decorata con Vittorie alate adornanti un trofeo. La tavola, disegnata da Alvino e incisa da Filippo Morghen, assegna a diversi oggetti una provenienza da Villa Jovis.[91] Sembra tuttavia probabile che il dato di origine sia stato frainteso: l'Alvino poté infatti vedere il torso soltanto al Museo, evidentemente tra altri reperti assegnati alla residenza tiberiana.[92] Il torso loricato, alto 1,24 m – corrispondenti ai 5 palmi dei documenti – e perfettamente fedele al disegno di Alvino, è stato recentemente rintracciato al Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, mentre la sua associazione all'inv. 6213 costituisce prova della ricostruzione prospettata.[93]

L.D.F.

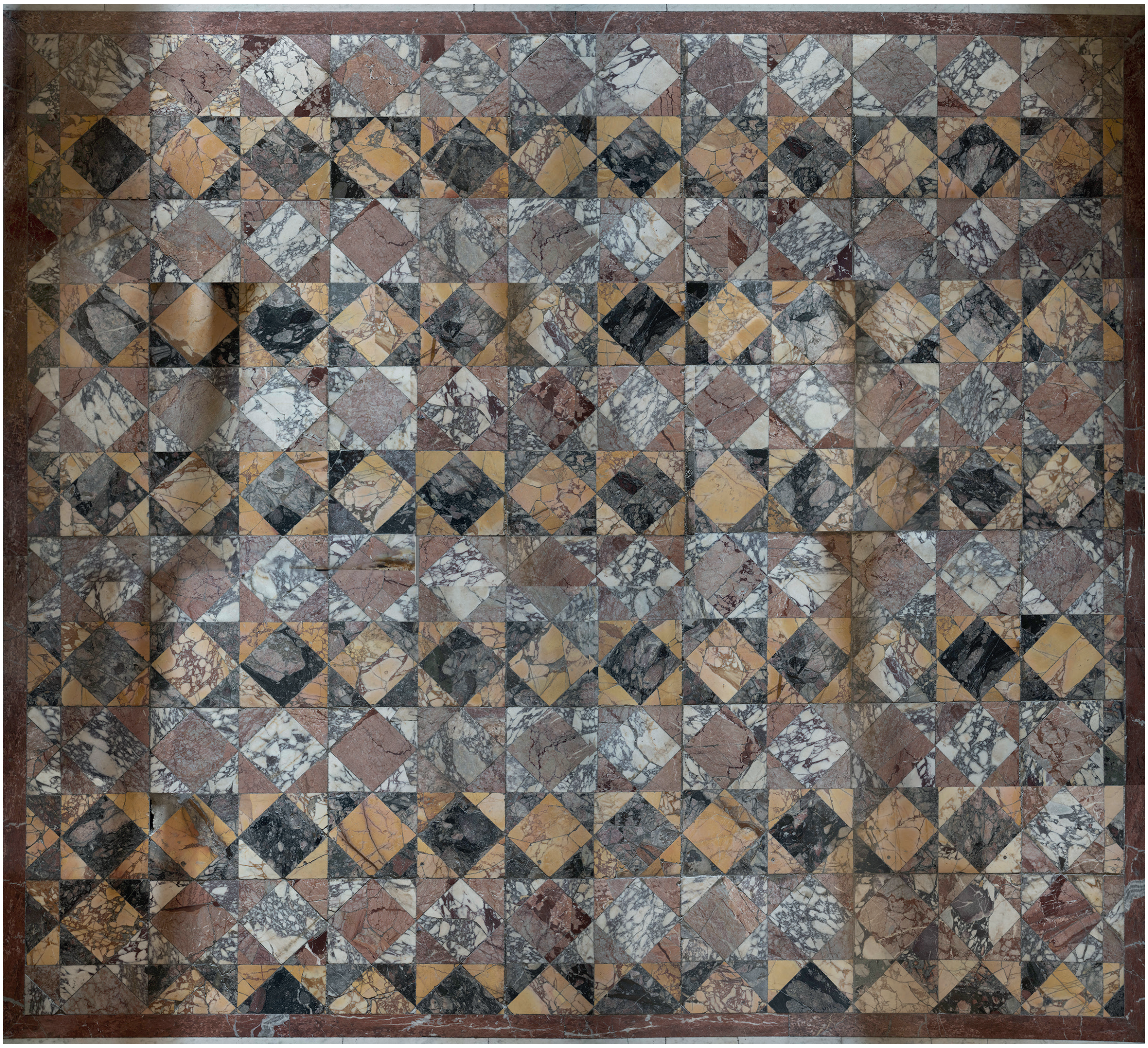

Fig. 16. Fotomosaico della pavimentazione, antica e moderna, nella camera interna dell'alcova di Francesco I e Maria Isabella di Borbone; al centro il "pavimento Arcucci".

L'opus sectile *e il suo inquadramento tipologico*

Il *sectile* ritrovato in proprietà Arcucci venne presumibilmente scelto per il buono stato di conservazione, che ne avrebbe consentito l'utilizzo su di un'ampia area pavimentale (3.60 x 3.30 m), senza dover necessariamente intervenire con delicati interventi di integrazione.[94]

Rispetto al rivestimento della proprietà Catuogno e al perduto "pavimento D'Onofrio", il *sectile* utilizza uno schema compositivo molto diffuso e noto anche da numerosi contesti vesuviani.[95] Il pavimento è composto da un unico modulo di 28,5 cm per lato inquadrabile nello schema Q2: un quadrato di base con un altro inscritto in dia-

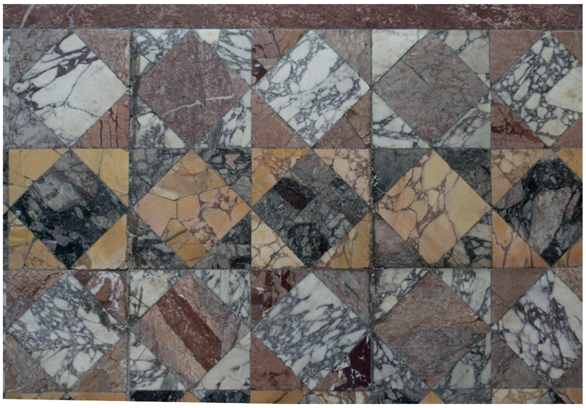

Fig. 17. Dettaglio del "pavimento Arcucci".

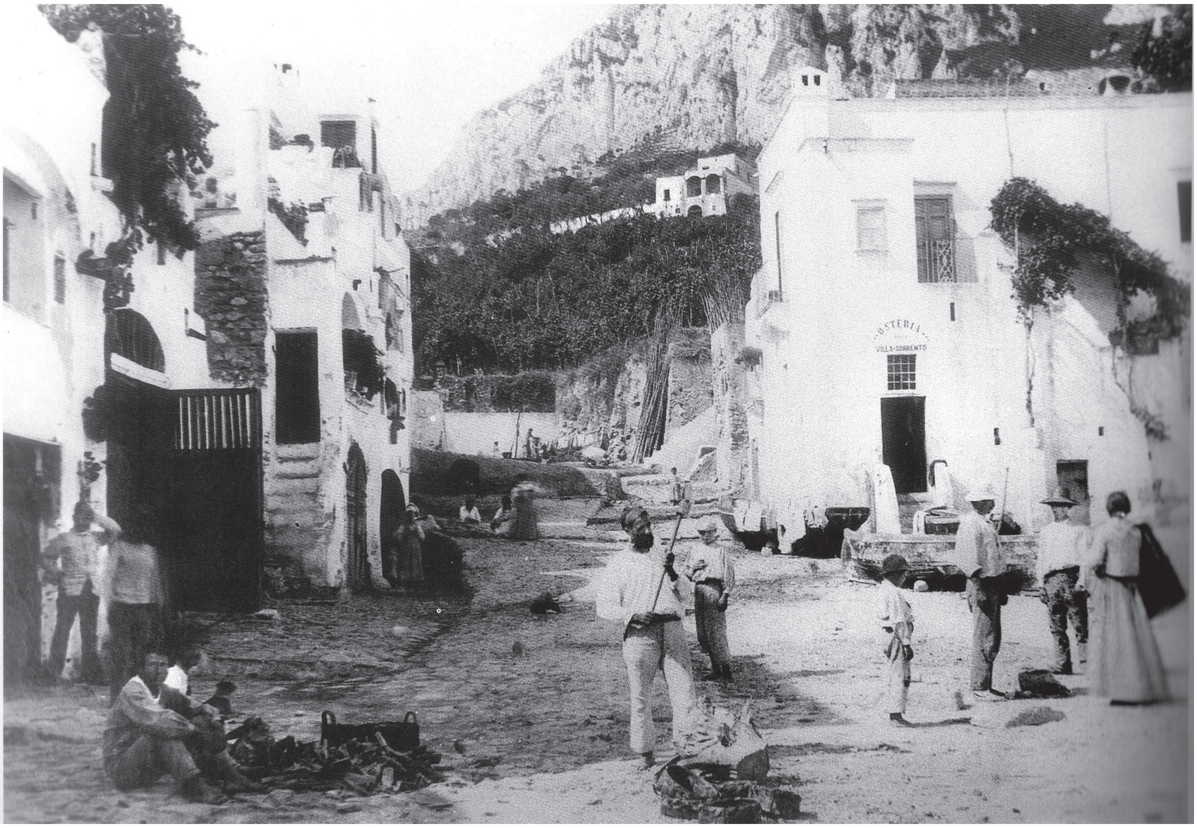

Fig. 18. Anonimo (tardo Ottocento), veduta fotografica dell'area di Truglio (da Oliviero 2013).

gonale (*fig. 17*). I litotipi scelti sono ancora una volta il marmo africano, il giallo antico, il portasanta e il pavonazzetto, in alternanza cromatica. Nei documenti relativi alla scoperta viene menzionato anche il serpentino[96], e il disegno redatto da Nicola d'Apuzzo[97] (*fig. 14*) sembra richiamare proprio le tonalità verdi tipiche di questo marmo, di cui però non vi è traccia nell'attuale composizione. L'altro disegno noto, realizzato da Luigi Atticciati (*fig. 15*),[98] ripropone colorazioni più vicine a quelle reali, ma non del tutto combacianti con quanto visibile oggigiorno. Nella sua collocazione attuale si osserva, infatti, un netto contrasto fra le sezioni in giallo antico e africano e quelle costituite in portasanta e pavonazzetto. Tale distinzione cromatica è assente in entrambe le raffigurazioni e, a meno di non voler ipotizzare un totale sconvolgimento dello schema compositivo da parte del restauratore, dobbiamo dunque ipotizzare che i due disegnatori si siano arrogati una certa libertà nella colorazione degli acquerelli.

La presenza della stessa qualità di litotipi nel "pavimento Catuogno" e in quello Arcucci indusse presumibilmente il Niccolini a utilizzare entrambi nel più generale progetto decorativo del "Salottino Pompeiano", i cui colori dovevano costituire un *fil rouge* che l'architetto segue anche nella scelta dei marmi moderni da impiegare in associazione alle due pavimentazioni antiche.[99]

Il pavimento, al momento della scoperta, misurava 36 palmi napoletani di lunghezza per 14 di larghezza. Tale misura corrisponderebbe attualmente a 9,36 x 3,64 m ed è stata dunque la misura della larghezza a condizionare il taglio del pavimento, che risulta attualmente quasi quadrato e riutilizzato in maniera più tradizionale, come un prezioso tappeto marmoreo posto al centro dell'ambiente.

C.D'A.

Il contesto di rinvenimento. Ambienti di pregio d'età romana e la "fontana di Truglio"

Il sito di scavo del fondo Arcucci non è posizionabile con precisione sul territorio, per via della forte crescita urbanistica che ha coinvolto la baia di Marina Grande. Le carte d'archivio, in ogni caso, rimarcano come la proprietà fosse vicina alla costa settentrionale, presso «la fontana pubblica sita alla Marina»,[100] mentre le *Ricerche topo-*

grafiche di Mangoni ne ribadiscono la prossimità a una fontana «poco di lungi dal mare vicino al luogo dove si tirano le barche», aggiungendo come quest'ultima fosse allora definita «di Truglio», con lo stesso «nome […] di un'antica villa romana».[101] Questa polla storica non è immediatamente collegabile alla fontana, alimentata dall'acquedotto moderno, che oggi campeggia a "Largo Fontana", ma non dovette essere neanche troppo lontana dalla sua controparte contemporanea, come potrebbe testimoniare una foto d'epoca dove, in secondo piano, sembrano scorgersi alcune lavandaie all'opera (*fig. 18*).[102]

In letteratura, le rovine di Truglio sono usualmente confuse coi resti di Soprafontana, pure collocati in una proprietà Arcucci sul versante settentrionale dell'isola, ma ben più arretrati dalla linea di costa, in corrispondenza di un complesso di cisterne romane all'incrocio fra via Marucella e via Corigliano.[103] Fra i testi eruditi su Capri, fonte primaria su Truglio è costituita dal Mangoni, che scrive a pochi anni dai fatti, col contributo diretto del corrispondente locale Feola.[104] Al netto delle interpretazioni proposte – che sono, comunque, piuttosto condivisibili – e di occasionali fraintendimenti,[105] il capitolo XVI delle *Ricerche topografiche* va, quindi, considerato fededegno e atto a integrare la documentazione archivistica, che si concentra, invece, quasi esclusivamente sui beni passati al patrimonio della Corona.

In tal senso, oltre al "pavimento Arcucci", alla colonna marmorea in due tronconi e al loricato al Museo di Napoli, dei quali si è già detto, secondo Mangoni sarebbero riemerse «a non molta profondità le rovine di un appartamento, che si riconobbe essere parte di grandioso edificio». I lavori di conversione del fondo a vigneto bastarono per mettere in luce «molte camere l'una di presso all'altra», con le volte crollate e le mura distrutte. Tale nucleo costruttivo, oltre che dal "pavimento Arcucci", era rivestito da mosaici, mentre altre camere attigue conservavano avanzi di *sectilia*, composti dai medesimi litotipi dell'esemplare a Capodimonte, ma «rotti e conquassati» e dunque estratti «a più cantaia», senza recuperarne lo schema. Il sito restituì, inoltre, molte sculture: accanto a quelle note dalle carte, Mangoni ricorda come trasferita a Napoli per disposizione regia anche una statua «in succinto abito elegantemente scolpita», rappresentante «un giovane guerriero», mentre una figura più piccola, con un mazzetto di fiori in mano, sarebbe stata «venduta dal coltivatore ad un Inglese»; altre due sculture, ridotte in pessimo stato di conservazione, rimasero invece nel podere.[106] Una di esse, recante la firma d'artista *Iulius Salius fecit*,[107] avrebbe nondimeno dovuto raggiungere il Museo in anni posteriori, accompagnata da Carlo Bonucci (1856).[108] A integrazione del quadro, si segnala, infine, come ulteriori strutture furono registrate successivamente da Mingazzini, sia presso «l'officina elettrica della funicolare», dove erano visibili resti di un muro e di un ambiente voltato, sia «fra il mare e la fontana del Truglio», dove potevano ancora apprezzarsi resti di un ambiente in *opus reticulatum*.[109] D'altra parte, la presenza di strutture verosimilmente antiche in immediata prossimità della costa trova un interessante riscontro in una veduta tardo-ottocentesca[110] (*fig. 19*).

Per lo sfarzo dell'apparato decorativo, Mangoni ritenne che il podere di Truglio avesse ospitato una delle dodici ville degli imperatori e gli autori successivi – che dal suo scritto dipendono con forza – concordano sostanzialmente con lui. Per altri versi, va tuttavia considerato come molti elementi rimarchino la funzione idrica dei luoghi. Spingono, infatti, in tal senso non solo la fontana ottocentesca – che risulta documentata pure nei secoli precedenti[111] – ma anche l'attestazione del toponimo "Capaccio", in disuso da secoli, ma ben più eloquente di "Truglio" nel rimandare a un "capo delle acque",[112] probabilmente non scindi-

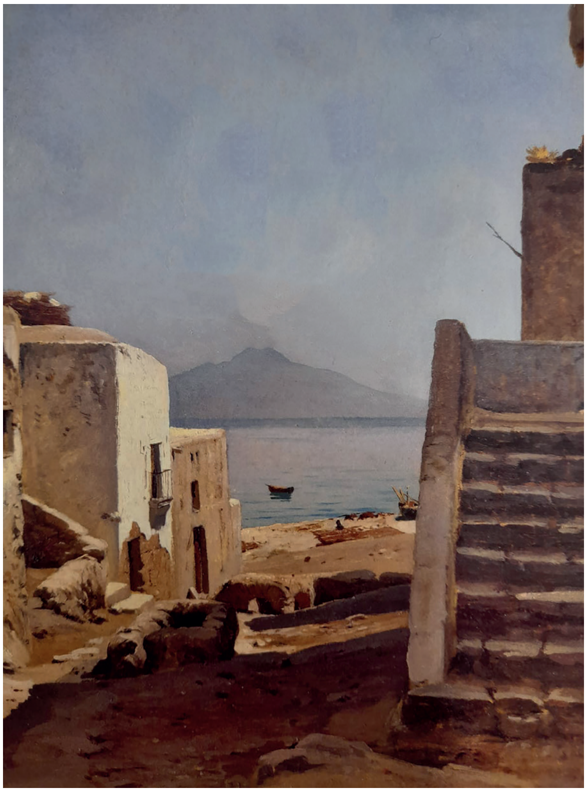

Fig. 19. Anonimo (tardo Ottocento), acquerello dell'area di Truglio, con strutture antiche in direzione del mare. Collezione privata.

bile dalla medesima fontana storica. In tal senso, un'interessante testimonianza è offerta da Norman Douglas, che evidentemente toccava ancora con mano le strutture identificate col nome di "Fontana di Truglio". Nella sua trascrizione dell'*Historia Neapolitana* di Fabio Giordano, egli correda infatti la lezione «Trullos»,[113] messa a testo come nome della fontana, con una lunga nota esplicativa, in cui leggiamo: «Le acque lievemente saline di questo serbatoio contengono anguille locali, che possono aver trovato la loro strada dal mare attraverso crepacci sotterranei».[114]

Spiegare una fontana descrivendo un serbatoio non pare certo fuori luogo se si pensa alla struttura delle "fontane", ancora in funzione, di Marucella[115] e Soprafontana:[116] si tratta sostanzialmente di cisterne – forse primo-imperiali, come suggerisce l'uso del *reticulatum* nel secondo caso – in cui, più che convogliare l'acqua piovana, sono intercettati rivoli sotterranei. A Soprafontana, in particolare, tale strutturazione è testimoniata da un episodio raccolto da Harold Trower, in occasione di un'inusuale stagione di secca.[117]

Allo stato delle conoscenze, che la fontana di Truglio potesse essere costruita secondo simili modalità, per giunta in età primo-imperiale, rimane una proposta indiziaria ma forse non peregrina. Del resto, sebbene alla stesura delle *Ricerche Topografiche* il "contesto Arcucci" risultasse largamente obliterato dalla nuova vigna, tra gli avanzi rimasti in vista si segnalava un «acquedotto» antico, che – secondo Mangoni – avrebbe servito la villa,[118] mentre, ancora nel 1906, Trower poteva indicare al lettore il sito degli "scavi Arcucci" additandogli proprio un acquedotto, «in the middle of the Piazzetta of the Marina Grande».[119] In aggiunta, bisogna segnalare come ulteriori strutture idrauliche, sicuramente romane, siano state osservate, più di recente, in prossimità del sito: così per una cisterna a tre ambienti, segnalata nel 1998,[120] e per alcuni resti emersi nel 1984, probabilmente ancora interpretabili come cisterna, nell'area del demolito fortino napoleonico.[121]

Come per l'area di Valentino sul pendio del Castiglione, anche in località Truglio assistiamo, dunque, alla giustapposizione di complessi decorati con materiali tanto pregiati da avvalorare la tradizionale ipotesi della committenza imperiale, a strutture per il controllo delle acque anche piuttosto ramificate. A fronte dei dati raccolti, rimane condivisibile l'ipotesi tradizionale di un intervento costruttivo unitario, mentre la funzione residenziale per gli imperatori – un po' secondo il modello tangibile di Villa Jovis – è senz'altro plausibile,[122] anche se non più verificabile. Assodata, di converso, è la funzionalità idrica di molte costruzioni: a Capri, la realizzazione di cisterne e condotti idraulici risponde alle necessità di un territorio naturalmente povero di acqua; se si accetta, tuttavia, l'ipotesi sopra prospettata, ancor più che per il caso di Valentino-Castiglione, occorrerà tener conto di un implicito corollario.

L'estrema vicinanza delle strutture idrauliche romane alla costa deve, infatti, suggerire che esse fossero a servizio delle attività di sbarco; né va dimenticata la posizione di questo punto di approvvigionamento, collocato in uno dei rari approdi all'isola prima della movimentata Bocca piccola[123] e dunque, potenzialmente, utile alla navigazione costiera come lo fu, secoli dopo, la "fontana di Truglio". Si potrebbe senz'altro obiettare che, almeno in origine, quest'acqua potesse essere gravata da una qualche forma di restrizione, tanto più che l'isola, passando al *patrimonium principis*[124], soggiaceva necessariamente a una condizione giuridico-amministrativa diversa dalla terraferma campana, presumibilmente esacerbata, nella sua condizione di alterità, dalle dinamiche del *secessus* tiberiano.[125] Nonostante tale criticità, pare tuttavia improbabile che il rifornimento idrico fosse del tutto interdetto, tanto più se si pensa a quanto accaduto in Campania con la costruzione dell'*aqua Augusta*, un'opera che si inserisce a pieno nella politica infrastrutturale del Principato augusteo, decisamente votata alla valorizzazione dell'uso pubblico dell'acqua e non priva di riflessi propagandistici, che trovano inoltre riscontro nell'ammirazione unanime degli autori antichi per le imprese di ingegneria idraulica.[126] Del resto, anche Capri, per quanto marginale rispetto alla popolosa costa del "Cratere", possedeva un abitato,[127] da ben prima dell'arrivo della corte imperiale, e dunque almeno un'utenza locale di fronte alla quale riesperire, sia pure con le particolarità del caso, le politiche di terraferma.

G.D.M.

Il pavimento dalla proprietà D'Onofrio in contrada Unghia Marina

I documenti d'archivio e la procedura di acquisto e trasferimento

Con il volgere del 1826 emerge dal suolo di Capri un terzo pavimento in *opus sectile*, questa volta sul versante meridionale dell'isola, in località Unghia Marina, nella proprietà di Pietro D'Onofrio. A darne notizia è, come sempre, l'attentissimo Feola con un rapporto del 30 gennaio 1827.[128] Qui vengono *in primis* segnalati numerosi laterizi bollati, con iscrizione *Yacinthi Iuliae Augustae*, che indussero il sindaco a chiamare l'antica residenza romana "Villa Giulia". Subito dopo aver citato altri reperti, tra cui lastre pavimentali in marmo di forma quadrata e resti di muri, il testo si concentra, poi, sullo splendido pavimento.

Il Feola, inoltre, allega al rapporto un disegno attualmente non rintracciabile. Di fronte al suo sollecito, in ogni caso, il compito di visionare il nuovo pavimento viene demandato all'architetto Antonio Bonucci,[129] che era parallelamente impegnato nell'esplorazione di Villa Jovis.[130] Bonucci arriva a Capri il 4 maggio 1827 e, dopo essersi recato al palazzo di Tiberio sul promontorio orientale dell'isola, si sposta a Unghia Marina, seguendo un percorso alquanto disagevole. Dà, quindi, conto delle sue osservazioni in un rapporto del maggio 1827, dove si ricorda l'esecuzione di un suo, più preciso, disegno del "pavimento D'Onofrio" e la rappresentazione di «altri pezzi sciolti», appartenuti alla medesima pavimentazione o ad altri esemplari, di cui il sindaco Feola conservava frammenti.[131] Purtroppo, anche questa documentazione grafica non ci è pervenuta. A ogni modo, in base alla stima e al disegno di Bonucci, il re decide di acquistare il pavimento per 15 ducati con ministeriale del 14 luglio 1827,[132] per quanto il proprietario D'Onofrio avesse manifestato la volontà di offrirglielo in dono.[133] Tornano quindi sull'isola Luigi Atticciati e Raffaele Piedimonte, con l'incarico di staccare il pavimento e trasportarlo a Napoli[134]. Sbarcano il 6 agosto 1827 e le loro attività sono dettagliatamente riassunte in un rapporto con annesso verbale di consegna da parte di Feola.[135] Ad oggi, purtroppo, i due diversi schemi che componevano il pavimento in proprietà D'Onofrio non sono stati rintracciati, né i documenti d'archivio aiutano a comprendere se, dove e quando siano stati reimpiegati. Tuttavia, nel citato disegno di Carlo Bonucci del 1866 (*fig. 12*), in corrispondenza del sito di Unghia Marina viene appuntato: «pavimento di marmi ora al Museo». È, dunque, possibile che il reperto fosse ancora conservato al Museo archeologico, a circa quarant'anni dalla scoperta.

L.D.F.

*L'*opus sectile *e il suo inquadramento tipologico*

Il pavimento individuato nella proprietà D'Onofrio, in assenza di riproduzioni grafiche, risulta quello di più complessa ricostruzione, anche in virtù della descrizione fattane, che sembra indicare l'esistenza di un rivestimento con motivo centralizzato, circondato da una peculiare decorazione geometrica. Partendo dalla sezione centrale è stato ricostruito un modulo di 2 palmi (corrispondente a circa 52,6 cm) caratterizzato dalla presenza di un quadrato centrale in marmo portasanta, sui cui lati sono costruiti dei rettangoli composti da losanghe in marmo nero africano, alle quali si accostano formelle triangolari realizzate alternativamente in giallo antico e pavonazzetto. I triangoli isosceli risultanti, che chiudono un quadrato di 4 palmi, sono alternativamente in giallo antico e pavonazzetto (*fig. 20*). La ricostruzione proposta è l'unica che sembri soddisfare al meglio la descrizione del Feola, in virtù dell'esigenza di far passare le diagonali del quadrato maggiore (4 palmi) per gli angoli dei rombi. L'alternanza dei colori delle lastre è ovviamente solo ipotetica, ma basata sulla necessità, fortemente sentita dagli artigiani, di non posizionare mai due lastre dello stesso colore in sequenza.

Il motivo individuato corrisponde a uno schema, il QOr(b)Q[136], attestato esclusivamente in un contesto imperiale, ovvero la Villa di Domiziano a Sabaudia.[137] La grandezza del modulo complessivo del pavimento e il confronto con l'unico esemplare noto, potrebbero dunque indurre a proporre una cronologia più bassa per questo rivestimento, pur non potendo però escludersi che il modello derivi dalle ville imperiali dell'isola e sia stato da qui esportato.[138]

La peculiarità dell'esemplare, che lo renderebbe un *unicum*, risiede però nella fascia di bordura, che raggiungeva la lunghezza di circa 26 palmi (circa 4,3 m). Su di essa è riproposta l'alternanza fra le losanghe di africano circondate da triangoli in pavonazzetto e giallo antico e il quadrato in portasanta, a cui si aggiunge un ulteriore modulo in africano con un peculiare motivo "alla greca". Tale definizione, accompagnata dalla specifica che trat-

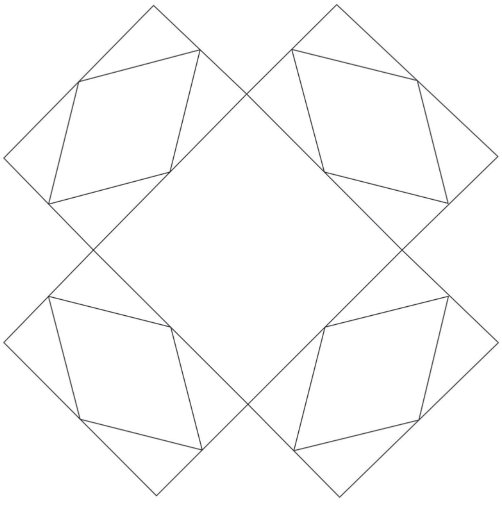

Fig. 20. Restituzione grafica del modulo centrale del "pavimento D'Onofrio", secondo la descrizione di Giuseppe Feola (elaborazione C. D'Anna).

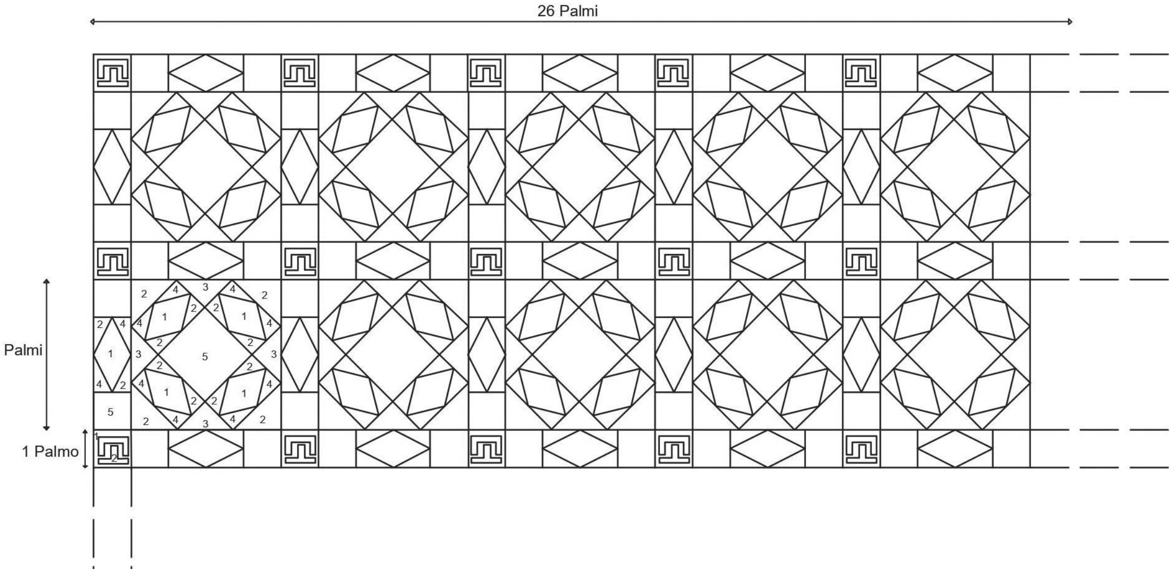

Fig. 21. Possibile restituzione grafica del "pavimento D'Onofrio", secondo la descrizione di Giuseppe Feola (elaborazione C. D'Anna). Legenda: 1 - Africano; 2 - Giallo Antico; 3 - Rosso Antico; 4 - Pavonazzetto; 5 - Portasanta.

tasi di lastre in forma di π e τ, non può che indicare un disegno a meandro, costruito utilizzando listelli di giallo antico su un fondo di africano, che richiamano il colore dei singoli rombi.

Non è possibile escludere che la fascia di bordura circondasse anche i singoli quadrati, oltre che il pavimento nella sua interezza, data l'ambiguità del termine scelto dal Feola nella descrizione, ovvero «striscia marmorea che vincola gli indicati quadrati» (*fig. 21*).

La proposta ricostruttiva del disegno è assolutamente ipotetica, non essendo documentate soluzioni decorative simili in area italica. L'unica attestazione di un motivo a meandro, sviluppato però con il disegno a svastiche, si trova a Cirene,[139] in contesti abitativi di III sec. d.C. Risulta infine interessante l'osservazione del motivo scelto per la decorazione della sezione centrale del pavimento del "Salottino Pompeiano" di Capodimonte, costituito appunto da un *sectile* a meandro. I litotipi utilizzati consentono di escludere che si tratti dell'originario pavimento D'Onofrio, ma è possibile che Niccolini avesse presente il pavimento caprese nella progettazione generale della stanza.

C.D'A.

Il contesto di rinvenimento. Resti e decorazioni della "villa Giulia Augusta"

Analogamente agli altri siti in esame, il contesto d'origine del "pavimento D'Onofrio" è noto solo dalle carte d'archivio e da brevi resoconti editi in letteratura.[140] Per tale motivo, anch'esso è posizionabile sul territorio in modo approssimativo. Le fonti scritte riferiscono che le scoperte degli anni Venti avvennero in contrada "Unghia Marina", toponimo ancora in uso per indicare il litorale a est della Certosa di San Giacomo, alto sul mare di fronte a un omonimo scoglio. A "Unghia Marina" va associato, inoltre, l'alternativo "Occhio Marino", oggi impiegato come odonimo per indicare una strada che dall'attuale via Camerelle si diparte verso sud-est, in direzione della citata falesia costiera. Da alcuni passaggi di Feola, si evince come il fondo D'Onofrio fosse prossimo alla scarpata, ma non immediatamente sul ciglio.[141] Del resto, nel descrivere l'orografia di Capri, anche Mangoni sottolinea come il colle fosse «rinomato per una villa Augusto-tiberiana anticamente eretta a mezza piaggia del medesimo».[142] In tal senso, va inoltre segnalato come il *Catasto provvisorio*, censisca un uliveto a "Discopoli" tra i fondi di Emanuela D'Onofrio,[143] probabilmente da identificare con l'area di scavo:[144] il toponimo "Discopoli", infatti, è tutt'oggi preservato da una villa in stile moresco di tardo Ottocento, sita grossomodo alla metà del colle, e accessibile dalla parte iniziale di via Tragara.[145] A valle di tale proprietà, a questo punto forse non casualmente, registriamo infine il significativo odonimo "via Campo di Teste".

Il sito archeologico del fondo D'Onofrio, oltre al *sectile* trasferito a Napoli, restituì ulteriori reperti di interesse artistico, tra cui «pregiati numerosi marmi degli interni usci, […] intonachi dipinti di vivi coloriti, ed anche con figure di uccelli, […] più pavimenti intieri tessellati»,[146] alcuni dei quali furono demoliti per impiantare la nuova vigna già prima del sopralluogo del Feola.[147] Le strutture che recavano tali decorazioni, tuttavia, furono descritte in modo assai sommario: Feola quasi le ignora, mentre Mangoni specifica soltanto che «molte camere, avvegnachè quasi interamente distrutte, furono ritrovate, tutte in fila ed ordinatamente disposte e ben architettate».[148] A suo dire, gran parte del contesto giaceva sottoterra già alla fine dei lavori di conversione agricola, con solo «pochi brani di fabbriche romane» a emergere ancora dal suolo.[149] Almeno questi, in ogni caso, dovevano tuttavia essere ancora visibili negli anni Sessanta dell'Ottocento, quando Bonucci li incluse nello schizzo del centro di Capri citato più volte (*fig. 12*),[150] annotandovi, inoltre, l'area di scavo del pavimento.

In ogni caso, oltre che per l'apparato decorativo, il sito si segnalò per la scoperta di «una prodigiosa quantità di rottami di mattoni», tra cui alcuni recavano il bollo *Yacinthi / Iuliae / Augustae.*[151] Il tipo epigrafico, in realtà, va riferito a una delle officine possedute in Campania da Livia[152] e costituisce, di conseguenza, un termine cronologico importante per datare il contesto – o almeno una sua fase costruttiva – all'età tiberiana. Solo dal 14 d.C., infatti, Livia fu universalmente nota come Giulia Augusta.

Probabilmente collegabili al medesimo sito sono, infine, i ritrovamenti segnalati dal Sogliano nel 1886,[153] per quanto si ignori se essi occorsero nello stesso punto del fondo D'Onofrio o in un podere attiguo. Il terreno delle nuove scoperte apparteneva al dott. Giuseppe Fischetti,[154] che praticò quattro piccoli scavi, due presso un burrone, gli altri poco più a est, restituendo frammenti di mosaico, intonaco e stucco, pezzetti di marmi colorati – tra cui listelli in rosso antico – e un frammento di *tegula mammata*. In questi anni, più autori tendono, infine, a ipotizzare un collegamento tra le rovine di Unghia Marina e una presunta fase romana al di sotto della Certosa di San Giacomo.[155] Alla luce dei dati raccolti, non sembra sussistere motivo per opporsi all'interpretazione tradizionale del contesto archeologico in quanto residenza, plausibilmente imperiale, se non in merito al problema di Giulia Maggiore.

G.D.M.

NOTE

[*] Si ringraziano Alessandra Rullo per l'accoglienza al museo di Capodimonte, l'archivio storico del MANN per l'aiuto fornito durante la raccolta dei materiali documentari, Marika Griffo per la composizione dei fotomosaici, Giovanni Schettino per il contributo alla realizzazione delle foto e le interessanti discussioni.

[1] Per una presentazione del progetto "Masgaba. Una carta archeologica per l'isola di Capri", vd. Demma et. al. 2020.

[2] Una selezione delle pratiche conservate in ASMANN fu pubblicata in Ruggiero 1888; i materiali editi su Capri, parzialmente corrispondenti alle carte in esame, si leggono alle pagine 68-86. Per brevità, si è scelto di omettere in questa sede le nuove trascrizioni, riservando loro un'edizione di dettaglio.

[3] La cronistoria dello scavo è puntualizzata in Di Franco 2020a; un ulteriore commento in Di Martino 2020, 162-167.

[4] Sul caso specifico, vd. Di Martino 2020, 163, 166-167.

[5] Sotto quest'ottica, i casi in oggetto sono stati esaminati in Di Martino 2020, 157-162 (vendita del pavimento dal sito di Valentino), 168-172 (donazione dei pavimenti dai siti di Truglio e Unghia Marina).

[6] Hadrawa fu segretario della legazione austriaca a Napoli e autore dei *Ragguagli di varii scavi, e scoperte di antichità fatte nell'Isola di Capri* (Hadrawa 1793). Per qualche dato biografico, vd. Di Martino 2020, 146, nota 44.

[7] Hadrawa 1793, 101-103, 110-115.

[8] Hadrawa 1793, tavv. III, VII (commentate in D'Anna 2020, 189-191). Tali tavole non dovettero passare inosservate, come testimonia il caso dell'architetto Friedrich Weinbrenner, che ne realizzò una copia (Mangone 2020, 73-74, fig. 5, tav. IV, 2).

[9] Alcuni esemplari sono presentati in Fusco 2011.

[10] Vd. Rezzonico in Romanelli 1816, 11.

[11] La presenza di Trasillo a Capri, al seguito di Tiberio, è tramandata in Suet. *Aug*. 98.4. Per riferimenti su tale figura, vd. Federico/Miranda 1998, 485, T. 20 (E. Savino); Casaburi 2002, 25-27.

[12] Così alla scoperta del pavimento in località Valentino. Il collegamento è ribadito in ASMANN, IV D 6, 3, Rapporto di Giuseppe Feola alla Commissione di Antichità e Belle Arti. Capri, 20 maggio 1824 (copia in ASN, Ministero degli Affari Interni, II inventario, busta 2038, fasc. 49, cc. 10r-17r), parzialmente trascritto in Ruggiero 1888, 71-74. Da qui deduciamo, inoltre, come altri avessero riferito le pavimentazioni in *opus sectile* di Capri a «qualche allievo dell'architetto Vitruvio».

[13] Augusto Chialvo curò il trasferimento da Resina a Napoli, redigendo il testo dell'epigrafe, riportato anche in Chialvo 1877, 14. I vari spostamenti del reperto, da Capri, a Resina, a Capodimonte, sono ripercorsi in Di Franco 2020b, 112.

[14] Sul quale, vd. Giannetti/Muzii 1997.

[15] Tali visite sono schematizzate in Di Martino 2020, 162.

[16] Sul tema, vd. Di Martino 2020, 160-162, 168.

[17] ASMANN, IV D 6, 3, Rapporto di Giuseppe de' Medici principe d'Ottajano a Girolamo Ruffo. Napoli, 30 gennaio 1824.

[18] In realtà parrebbe che Feola conoscesse già il sito dello scavo nel 1823, come si legge nel suo Rapporto del 1830 (Feola 1894, 12). Sul personaggio, vd. Di Martino 2020, 156-157.

[19] Sul quadro normativo, vd. D'Alconzo 1999, 131-133.

[20] Sulla Commissione, vd. Milanese 2014, 21-28.

[21] ASMANN, IV D 6, 3, Ministeriale di Girolamo Ruffo alla Commissione di Antichità e Belle Arti. Napoli, 4 febbraio 1824.

[22] Il rapporto si conserva in ASMANN, IV D 6, 3 (per ulteriori riferimenti archivistici, vd. *supra* nota 12). Il

testo è, inoltre, parzialmente trascritto in Ruggiero 1888, 71-74.

[23] ASN, Ministero degli Affari Interni, II inventario, busta 2038, fasc. 49. Edito in D'Anna 2020, 191, fig. 3a.

[24] SNSP, Fondo Cuomo, 1. 4. 11. Edito in D'Anna 2020, 191, fig. 3b. Secondo Di Martino 2020, 159, nota 169, questo manoscritto sarebbe rimasto in possesso del Feola, per poi pervenire nella collezione Cuomo.

[25] Di tale documento si parlerà successivamente, nel paragrafo 3.1.

[26] Si rinvengono poche notizie sul personaggio. Per qualche riferimento, vd. Di Martino 2018, 36, nota 223.

[27] CCIC, Archivio Carelli, fasc. 34.

[28] Di Martino 2018, 9, fig. 4.

[29] ASN, Ministero degli Affari Interni, II inventario, busta 2072, fasc. 98. Il disegno è edito in D'Anna 2020, tav. X, 1.

[30] ASN, Ministero degli Affari Interni, II inventario, busta 2038, fasc. 49, c. 9r, Rapporto della Commissione di Antichità e Belle Arti a Girolamo Ruffo. Napoli, 30 giugno 1824.

[31] ASN, Ministero degli Affari Interni, II inventario, busta 2038, fasc. 49, cc. 20r-v, Rapporto della Commissione di Antichità e Belle Arti a Girolamo Ruffo. Napoli, 31 agosto 1824.

[32] ASMANN, IV D 6, 3, Ministeriale di Girolamo Ruffo alla Commissione di Antichità e Belle Arti. Napoli, 3 settembre 1824.

[33] Qualche notizia sul personaggio in Milanese 1996-1997, 405.

[34] ASMANN, IV D 6, 3, Rapporto di Raffaele Atticciati alla Commissione di Antichità e Belle Arti. Napoli, 28 settembre 1824 (parte del testo è trascritta in Ruggiero 1888, 74).

[35] Secondo una necessità espressa dalla Commissione in ASN, Ministero degli Affari Interni, II inventario, busta 2038, fasc. 49, cc. 20r-v). Atticciati realizzò, infatti, un rilievo del mosaico da Villa Jovis, edito in D'Anna 2020, 192, fig. 4 (conservato in ASN, Ministero degli Affari Interni, II inventario, busta 2038, fasc. 49, c. 7r); del resto, la normativa del 1822 prevedeva la possibilità di eseguire disegni anche per reperti di interesse minore, da non acquisire al patrimonio regio (Milanese 2014, 18).

[36] ASN, Ministero degli Affari Interni, II inventario, busta 2038, fasc. 49, cc. 23r-24r, Rapporto della Commissione di Antichità e Belle Arti a Girolamo Ruffo. Napoli, 23 ottobre 1824.

[37] ASMANN, IV D 6, 3, Ministeriale di Girolamo Ruffo alla Commissione di Antichità e Belle Arti. Napoli, 4 novembre 1824 (estratti in Ruggiero 1888, 74).

[38] ASMANN, IV D 6, 3, Atto notarile di Michele Alberino relativo alla scoperta del pavimento in proprietà Catuogno. Anacapri, 12 dicembre 1824.

[39] ASMANN, IV D 6, 4, Rapporto di Giuseppe Feola alla Commissione di Antichità e Belle Arti. Napoli, 25 febbraio 1825.

[40] ASMANN, IV D 6, 4, Verbale di consegna di Antonio Niccolini relativo al pavimento già in proprietà Catuogno. Napoli, 20 marzo 1825 (estratto in Ruggiero 1888, 74-75).

[41] ASN, Ministero degli Affari Interni, II inventario, busta 2038, fasc. 49, c. 44r, Rapporto di Girolamo Ruffo al re. Napoli, 13 agosto 1825 (nota posta a margine del rapporto con la minuta della volontà del re).

[42] ASMANN, IV D 6, 4, Ministeriale di Girolamo Ruffo a Michele Arditi. Napoli, 29 settembre 1825 (estratto in Ruggiero 1888, 75).

[43] ASN, Ministero degli Affari Interni, II inventario, busta 2038, fasc. 49, c. 45r, Minute di ministeriali di Girolamo Ruffo a Antonio Lucchesi-Palli principe di Campofranco, a Michele Arditi e ad Antonio Niccolini. Napoli, 29 settembre 1825.

[44] Documentazione sul reimpiego a Capodimonte dei due pavimenti è in ASN, Maggiordomia Maggiore e Soprintendenza di Casa Reale, III inventario, fasc. 489. In particolare, l'argomento ricorre in una lettera del 3 febbraio 1830 di Niccolini al maggiordomo maggiore il principe di Campofranco, in cui si nomina solo uno dei due pavimenti, probabilmente l'esemplare Arcucci, reputato ottimale per la camera interna. Una lettera del 18 luglio 1830 del ministro di Casa Reale Ruffo al nuovo maggiordomo maggiore, il principe di Bisignano, menziona poi il "pavimento Catuogno", che lo scrivente ritiene adatto per il «giro della stanza precedente all'Alcova della stanza da letto di S.M. la Regina». Tali documenti sono editi in Giannetti/Muzii 1997, 182-183.

[45] Sui pavimenti in *opus sectile* di Capri, in un'ottica generale legata alle residenze imperiali, vd. Guidobaldi 1999; più nello specifico, vd. Esposito/Betori 2001; per una prima raccolta dei dati antiquari, vd. Pisani 2003.

[46] Guidobaldi 1985.

[47] Il marmo pavonazzetto è indicato dagli scopritori come Saravezza, dal nome di una delle cave all'epoca più conosciuta.

[48] I litotipi utilizzati nella composizione del pavimento sono tra i più attestati nei *sectilia* capresi, su cui vd. Esposito/Betori 2001, 516-517; Di Franco/D'Anna cds.

[49] Un esemplare proviene dall'area del cd. Scoglio di Virgilio, nel contesto residenziale del *Pausylipon* (Gunther 1913, 247, fig. 154.5; Guidobaldi 1985, 183, fig. 4); il secondo dall'*oecus* 20 della Casa dell'Alcova a Ercolano (Guidobaldi et al. 2014, 207-210, tavv. CXXXIII, CXL, 189); il terzo è invece stato riconosciuto solo dalle impronte lasciate in negativo sulla malta pavimentale, e proviene dal contesto delle cd. Terme di Baia (Esposito 1997, 607-620).

[50] Federico/Miranda 1998, 200 (R. Belli).

[51] C. Bonucci, in Di Martino 2019, 277. Per un aggiornato profilo di Bonucci, vd. Iovinella 2019, 29-42.

[52] Mangoni 1834, 178-179, discusso in Di Franco 2020b, 104-105, che corregge la data di scoperta dei bronzi (1777) data da Mangoni.

[53] Hadrawa 1793, 8-11, commentato in Di Franco 2020b, 111-113.

[54] Tali evidenze sarebbero visibili all'interno di "Villa Giardini" (De Angelis Bertolotti 1990, 191).

[55] Dallo stesso sito, contestualmente allo scavo Feola o in tempi di poco posteriori, sarebbero, in ogni caso, emersi i seguenti reperti: «lapidi marmoree di diverse fatture per ornati di camere, delle medaglie imperiali, ed ancora […] statue di bronzo furtivamente tolte da' coltivatori e vendute a forestieri» (Mangoni 1834, 178), oltre all'iscrizione funeraria *IG* XIV, 899, commentata in Federico/Miranda 1998, 314-315 (P. Lombardi).

[56] Il rapporto di filiazione tra i due è comprovato da ASN, Catasto provvisorio della Comune di Capri, f. 907.

[57] Bonucci, in Di Martino 2019, 275-276.

[58] Il disegno è edito in Di Martino 2019, 301-302; le didascalie di Bonucci alla pianta sono trascritte a pagina 298.

[59] Mingazzini 1931, 41.

[60] Mingazzini 1931, 41.

[61] Così, ad esempio, per Feola 1894, 12, e Mangoni 1834, 177, che collegano le strutture emerse dagli sterri

Hadrawa a quelle degli scavi Feola. Anche Bonucci, successivamente, propende per un'unitarietà di strutturazione idrica e residenziale, ampliando, inoltre, la connessione del sistema Castiglione/Valentino alle Camerelle (Bonucci, in Di Martino 2019, 275). Queste ultime, vengono intese sia come una strada sia come un acquedotto, alimentante i complessi imperiali a Tragara e presso la Certosa (cioè la cosiddetta "Villa Giulia" del fondo D'Onofrio, su cui vd. *infra* par. 3.3), nonché gli approdi di Mulo e Tragara presso i Faraglioni (Bonucci, in Di Martino 2019, 277).

[62] De Angelis Bertolotti 1990, 191.

[63] ASN, Ministero degli Affari Interni, II inventario, busta 2072, fasc. 98, Rapporto di Girolamo Ruffo al re. Napoli, s.d. [ante 25 agosto 1826].

[64] Disposizioni contenute in ASMANN, IV D 6, 4, Ministeriale di Girolamo Ruffo a Michele Arditi. Napoli, 10 novembre 1825. Tra l'altro, d'Apuzzo fu incaricato di recarsi anche a Villa Jovis, per riferire al ministro sullo stato dei ruderi, parzialmente ricadenti nel fondo, condotto da Francesco Salvia. Per riferimenti sulla contemporanea esplorazione di Villa Jovis, vd. *supra* nota 3.

[65] ASMANN, IV D 6, 6, Rapporto di Nicola d'Apuzzo a Michele Arditi. Capri, 20 gennaio 1826.

[66] ASN, Ministero degli Affari Interni, II inventario, busta 2072, fasc. 98, Rapporto di Michele Arditi a Girolamo Ruffo. Napoli, 21 gennaio 1826.

[67] ASMANN, IV D 6, 6, Ministeriale di Girolamo Ruffo a Michele Arditi. Napoli, 25 gennaio 1826.

[68] Il testo originale si conserva in CCIC, Fondo Feola, *Borro di rapporto nel 1823 a forma di Lettere su le antichità istoriche dell'Isola di Capri sì civili che chiesastiche e di Tiberio specialmente. Fatta al Vicario Politi in quella epoca*. Per praticità si cita la copia: CCIC, Archivio Carelli, *Rapporto al Vicario Politi*, c. 22.

[69] ASMANN, IV D 6, 6, Rapporto di Nicola d'Apuzzo a Michele Arditi. Napoli, 31 gennaio 1826 (copia in ASN, Ministero degli Affari Interni, II inventario, busta 2072, fasc. 98, Copia di Rapporto di Nicola d'Apuzzo a Michele Arditi. Napoli, 31 gennaio 1826). Un estratto del testo si legge in Ruggiero 1888, 75. Si segnala, inoltre, come in ASMANN, IV D 6, 6 esistano due diversi rapporti di d'Apuzzo ad Arditi del 31 gennaio; il secondo di essi dà conto del contemporaneo incarico a Villa Jovis (su cui, vd. *supra* nota 3).

[70] Come si apprende da: ASMANN, IV D 6, 6, Rapporto di Luigi Atticciati a Michele Arditi. Napoli, 4 febbraio 1826; ASN, Ministero degli Affari Interni, II inventario, busta 2072, fasc. 98, Rapporto di Michele Arditi a Girolamo Ruffo. Napoli, 6 febbraio 1826.

[71] ASMANN, IV D 6, 6, Rapporto di Giuseppe Feola a Michele Arditi. Capri, 3 febbraio 1826.

[72] ASMANN, IV D 6, 6, Rapporto di Luigi Atticciati a Michele Arditi. Napoli, 4 febbraio 1826.

[73] ASN, Ministero degli Affari Interni, II inventario, busta 2072, fasc. 98, Rapporto di Michele Arditi a Girolamo Ruffo. Napoli, 12 febbraio 1826.

[74] Conservati in ASN, Ministero degli Affari Interni, II inventario, busta 2072, fasc. 98.

[75] Solo questo è già edito in *Le istituzioni* 1997, 102-103, n. 12. Ora anche in D'Anna 2020, tav. XI, 1.

[76] Ora in parte edito, in D'Anna 2020, tav. X, 2.

[77] Come lui stesso afferma nel rapporto del 4 febbraio (vd. *supra* nota 72).

[78] ASMANN, IV D 6, 6, Ministeriale di Girolamo Ruffo a Michele Arditi. Napoli, 4 marzo 1826 (estratto in Ruggiero 1888, 75).

[79] ASMANN, IV D 6, 6, Rapporto di Antonio Lucchesi-Palli principe di Campofranco a Michele Arditi. Portici, 10 maggio 1826.

[80] ASMANN, IV D 6, 6, Rapporto di Antonio Lucchesi-Palli principe di Campofranco a Michele Arditi. Napoli, 10 marzo 1826.

[81] Stima dei costi: ASMANN, IV D 6, 6, Rapporto di Luigi Atticciati a Michele Arditi. Napoli, 17 maggio 1826; conferimento dell'incarico: ASMANN, IV D 6, 6, Ministeriale di Girolamo Ruffo a Michele Arditi. Napoli, 3 luglio 1826.

[82] Come comunicato da Giuseppe Campo: ASMANN, IV D 6, 7, Rapporto di Giuseppe Campo a Michele Arditi. Napoli, 20 maggio 1827.

[83] Per la documentazione archivistica sul reimpiego, vd. *supra* nota 44.

[84] Come il ministro segnala al re in ASN, Ministero degli Affari Interni, II inventario, busta 2072, fasc. 98, Rapporto di Girolamo Ruffo al re. Napoli, s.d. [ante 25 agosto 1826].

[85] ASMANN, IV D 6, 6, Ministeriale di Girolamo Ruffo a Michele Arditi. Napoli, 25 agosto 1826.

[86] ASN, Ministero degli Affari Interni, II inventario, busta 2072, fasc. 98, Rapporto di Michele Arditi a Girolamo Ruffo. Napoli, 5 settembre 1826.

[87] ASMANN, IV D 6, 6, Rapporto di Giuseppe Campo a Michele Arditi. Napoli, 13 ottobre 1826.

[88] ASMANN, IV D 6, 6, Verbale di consegna di un torso e una colonna dalla proprietà Arcucci a Giuseppe Campo. Napoli, 13 ottobre 1826 (estratto in Ruggiero 1888, 75-76).

[89] Il manoscritto da cui fu tratta l'edizione a stampa (Feola 1894) si conserva in CCIC, Fondo Feola, *Rapporto sullo stato dei ruderi augusto-tiberiani*.

[90] Feola 1894, 51. Anche in Mangoni 1834, 190-191 si parla dei rinvenimenti di Truglio.

[91] Alvino/Quaranta 1835, tav. III. La didascalia specifica, infatti: «cose particolari rinvenute nella Villa detta di Giove».

[92] Per la provenienza corretta del rilievo con Pan su mulo, in realtà da Ercolano, vd. Di Franco 2017, 426-428, cat. 22.

[93] Ruesch 1911, 170-171, n. 591. La statua è edita in Picard 1957, tav. 25 ed elencata in Stemmer 1978, 174, n. 306.

[94] Non sappiamo quale tecnica sia stata adottata per il trasporto a Napoli ma in altri contesti, per la movimentazione di pavimentazioni musive, è stato documentato l'uso di lastre di ardesia, sulle quali venivano adagiati i rivestimenti in attesa della collocazione definitiva.

[95] Oltre ai poderosi volumi di Pompei pitture e mosaici (*PPM*), si veda la più recente edizione di tutti i pavimenti di Ercolano, Guidobaldi et al. 2014.

[96] Così nel più volte citato rapporto di d'Apuzzo ad Arditi del 31 gennaio 1826. Per riferimenti, vd. *supra* nota 69.

[97] Per riferimenti, vd. *supra* note 74, 75.

[98] Edito in D'Anna 2020, tav. X, 2. Per riferimenti, vd. *supra* nota 74.

[99] Sulla personalità artistica di Antonio Niccolini e il suo rapporto con l'antico, vd. Giannetti/Muzii 1997, 22-24.

[100] Cfr., ad esempio, ASMANN, IV D 6, 4, Ministeriale di Girolamo Ruffo a Michele Arditi. Napoli, 27 ottobre 1825.

[101] Mangoni 1834, 19, 189.

[102] La fotografia, di autore ignoto e datata al 1890 circa, è edita in Oliviero 2013, 54.

[103] Le occorrenze di Truglio sono raccolte in Federico/Miranda 1998, 166 (V. Carsana). Si segnala, tuttavia, come anche qui debbano espungersi il passo di Rezzo-

nico in Romanelli 1816, 70-71, 103-104 nonché Feola 1894, 50-51, riferendoli al fondo di Soprafontana, su cui, invece, vd. Federico/Miranda 1998, 159-161 (V. Carsana). La sovrapposizione fra i due siti sembra originarsi con Feola 1894, 50-51, che posiziona erroneamente a Truglio il ritrovamento di una «colossale statua dello imperatore Tiberio», avvenuta, invece, ai tempi di Hadrawa nel podere di Gennaro Arcucci a Soprafontana. Il passo in oggetto presenta, inoltre, un evidente errore di trascrizione dal manoscritto alla stampa, dal momento che gli scavi di Truglio sono riferiti al 1806 e non al 1826. La differente ubicazione dei due fondi in proprietà Arcucci, in ogni caso, è suffragata dalle carte catastali commentate in Di Franco 2020b, 109-110 (fondo Arcucci a Soprafontana), Di Martino 2020, 169 (fondo Arcucci a Truglio).

[104] Su tale dinamica, vd. Di Martino 2020, 174; su Mangoni e Capri si segnala, inoltre, Federico 2008.

[105] Nel caso in esame, ad esempio, si registra il trasporto a Napoli di due pavimentazioni in *opus sectile* in luogo di una soltanto (Mangoni 1834, 190), come, invece, risulta dalle carte.

[106] Le citazioni nel testo sono tratte da Mangoni 1834, 189-190.

[107] *CIL* X, 6806. Commentata in Federico/Miranda 1998, 344 (E. Miranda).

[108] Così secondo ASMANN, IV D 6, 12, Nota di spesa del 21 agosto 1856. Rispetto alla previsione di questo documento, si rinvengono, tuttavia, notizie contrastanti: Adolf Klügmann, che ricavò il calco dell'iscrizione inviato a Henzen (*BdI* 1867, 133) e visto da Mommsen (*CIL* X, 6806), la disse a Capri, in una «masseria vicina alla marina grande»; anche secondo Beloch 1890, 286, essa era sull'isola. Reinhold Schoener la colloca a Villa Il Fortino (Schoener 1892) nella collezione Haan (su cui, vd. Di Franco 2018), dove, per il momento, non si è riusciti a rintracciarla.

[109] Mingazzini 1931, 46. Vengono qui raccolte, inoltre, testimonianze orali sulla scoperta di un muretto semicircolare (forse un'esedra) con pitture amaranto e resti marmorei, nei pressi della stessa officina elettrica al momento della sua costruzione nel 1907.

[110] Il quadro, di mano anonima e databile alla seconda metà dell'Ottocento, è stato battuto dalla Casa d'aste Bassenge, Auktion 108, lotto 6136, 25 novembre 2016 (si ringrazia Giovanni Schettino per l'informazione).

[111] Secondo Federico/Miranda 1998, 167 (V. Carsana), nella *Tabula Rogeriana* al-Idrisi potrebbe fare riferimento proprio alla fontana di Truglio. Tale identificazione rimane incerta, visto che il testo parla di una «polla d'acqua» nel mezzo della città, ma è forse indicativo che – subito dopo – venga citato «un picciolo porto a levante» dell'isola (così nella traduzione di Amari/Schiaparelli 1883, 18-19). Né bisogna dimenticare, in favore dell'identificazione, la prospettiva "da navigante" propria del geografo arabo, come osservato in Federico 2007, 51, nota 16. La fontana di Truglio, d'altra parte, dovrebbe comparire con sicurezza nell'*Historia Neapolitana* di Fabio Giordano, in un passo del manoscritto sulle fontane di Capri e il loro nome. Qui Norman Douglas trascrive «Imas Trullos, supremas Aquas Vivas et Marucellam appellant» (Douglas 1985, 74), mentre, più di recente, Giuseppina Rea legge «Imas Tolos supremas Aquas Viuas ac Marucellarum appellant» (Rea 2011-12, 600). L'identificazione è, certo, più agevole se si accoglie la lezione di Douglas, che trova peraltro confronto nella «Truglifons» citata da Giulio Cesare Capaccio (Capaccio 1607, 558), ma non sembrerebbe comunque inficiata dalla nuova trascrizione, visto che l'opposizione tra fontana nel punto più basso – comunque la si chiami – e fontane in alto rimane necessariamente circoscritta al versante settentrionale di Capri, incombente su Marina Grande.

[112] "Capaccio" è documentato dal controverso passo Feola 1894, 50 (su cui, vd. *supra* nota 103), ma compare anche in Mangoni 1834, 189. La genesi dell'idronimo è spiegata in Federico 2007, 55-58, insieme al meno immediato "Truglio", che pure viene ricondotto alla presenza di un canale per l'acqua.

[113] Su questa lezione del testo manoscritto e le problematiche connesse, vd. *supra* nota 111.

[114] Douglas 1985, 96, nota 42.

[115] La fontana di Marucella, che ancora conserva un piccolo lavatoio esterno, è caratterizzata da una volta a botte e murature in cementizio rivestito in signino, cfr. Federico/Miranda 1998, 160 (V. Carsana); nel 2007 è stata oggetto di un restauro, abbastanza invasivo, che non permette più di leggere le strutture antiche dall'esterno.

[116] Per riferimenti, vd. *supra* nota 103.

[117] Trower 1906, 202.

[118] Mangoni 1834, 191.

[119] Trower 1906, 201.

[120] Le strutture sono al civico 19 di via Truglio, vd. Federico/Miranda 1998, 167 (V. Carsana).

[121] In Federico/Miranda 1998, 168 (V. Carsana), si sintetizzano tali notizie, tratte dall'Archivio corrente della Soprintendenza.

[122] Cfr. Di Franco cds.

[123] Di un "mare importuoso" si parla, del resto, in Tac., *Ann.*, IV 67.

[124] Strab., V.4.9 tramanda l'acquisizione augustea dell'isola. Per un commento al passo, vd. Federico/Miranda 1998, 500, T 60 (E. Federico) nonché, a livello più ampio, Federico/Miranda 1998, 421 (E. Savino).

[125] Sul tema, vd. Federico/Miranda 1998, 426-431 (E. Savino); Edwards 2011.

[126] Rimanendo su fonti contemporanee, esemplificativo è il giudizio – pieno d'ammirazione – formulato da Strab., V 3, 8 sull'attività di Agrippa a Roma. Il tema del rapporto con l'acqua, del suo uso (e abuso) nel mondo romano, che l'ottica degli autori antichi collega ai concetti di *utilitas* e *necessitas* in riferimento ad acquedotti e ingegneria idraulica, è approfondito in Bruun 2016.

[127] Per un quadro delle fonti, vd. Federico/Miranda 1998, 418-419 (E. Savino).

[128] Non è stato possibile rintracciare il documento in ASMANN. Il testo sopra riportato è desunto da Ruggiero 1888, 77-79 e integrato da un manoscritto in SNSP, Fondo Cuomo, 1. 4. 11. Si ignora come questo documento sia finito in possesso di Vincenzo Cuomo e da quale archivio provenga: esso potrebbe costituire sia una copia personale di Feola, poi passata a Cuomo, sia la stessa carta trascritta da Ruggiero, confluita nella collezione Cuomo per vie ignote.

[129] ASMANN, IV D 6, 7, Ministeriale di Girolamo Ruffo a Michele Arditi. Napoli, 1° febbraio 1827. Per un cenno su Antonio Bonucci, vd. Garcia y Garcia 1998, 216.

[130] Su cui, per riferimenti, vd. *supra* nota 3.

[131] ASMANN, IV D 6, 7, Rapporto di Antonio Bonucci a Michele Arditi. Napoli, 29 maggio 1827.

[132] ASMANN, IV D 6, 7, Ministeriale di Girolamo Ruffo a Michele Arditi. Napoli, 14 luglio 1827.

[133] ASN, Ministero degli Affari Interni, II inventario, busta 2068, fasc. 34, Rapporto di Girolamo Ruffo al re. Napoli,

s.d. [ante 9 luglio 1827]; ASN, Ministero degli Affari Interni, II inventario, busta 2068, fasc. 34, Supplica di Pietro D'Onofrio al re. Napoli, s.d. [ante 14 settembre 1827].

[134] ASMANN, IV D 6, 7, Rapporto di Michele Arditi a Giuseppe Campo. Napoli, 14 luglio 1827.

[135] ASMANN, IV D 6, 7, Rapporto di Giuseppe Feola a Giuseppe Campo. Capri, 10 agosto 1827; Verbale di consegna del pavimento in proprietà D'Onofrio a Luigi Atticciati e Raffaele Piedimonte. Capri, 10 agosto 1827 [allegato al precedente].

[136] Guidobaldi 1985, 183, fig. 4.

[137] Guidobaldi 1985, 188.

[138] Vedi le ancora validissime conclusioni in Guidobaldi 1999, 640-641.

[139] Guidobaldi 2003, 43-47, figg. 50-52.

[140] Per un quadro delle occorrenze nell'edito, vd. Federico/Miranda 1998, 203 (R. Belli).

[141] Rapporto del 30 gennaio 1827. Per riferimenti, vd. *supra* nota 128.

[142] Mangoni 1834, 12. Nei passaggi dello scritto esplicitamente dedicativi, il sito viene invece posizionato con approssimazione. Qui, il toponimo "Unghia Marina" viene, infatti, riferito anche all'area soprastante la Grotta dell'Arsenale, che è a occidente – non a oriente – della Certosa di San Giacomo (Mangoni 1834, 145-146).

[143] Si tratta, probabilmente, della sorella del Pietro citato dalle carte d'archivio. Entrambi ebbero, infatti, un padre di nome Gennaro (cfr. Di Martino 2020, 171).

[144] Cfr. ASN, Catasto provvisorio della Comune di Capri, ff. 106-107. Le scoperte di Unghia Marina, come quelle di Truglio, avvennero in un uliveto, nel momento della sua conversione a vigneto (Ruggiero 1888, 77), secondo una dinamica riscontrabile in molti altri siti isolani.

[145] Su "Villa Discopoli", vd. Fiorani 1996.

[146] Feola 1894, 18.

[147] Ruggiero 1888, 79.

[148] Mangoni 1834, 1.

[149] Mangoni 1834, 148.

[150] Per riferimenti, vd. *supra* nota 58.

[151] *CIL* X, 8042, 60. Commentato in Federico/Miranda 1998, 375, n. E 51 (E. Miranda).

[152] Su questo tipo di bollo, vd. la recente sintesi in Medaglia 2016, 50 (con bibl. prec.).

[153] Sogliano 1886, 458.

[154] Fischetti fu medico condotto e sindaco di Capri.

[155] Per le occorrenze del presunto sito della Certosa, vd. Federico/Miranda 1998, 204 (R. Belli).

Abbreviazioni Archivi

ASMANN = Archivio Storico del Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli.
ASN = Archivio di Stato di Napoli.
CICC = Centro Caprense Ignazio Cerio.
SNSP = Società Napoletana di Storia Patria.

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BABESCH 97 (2022), 219-224. doi: 10.2143/BAB.97.0.3290541

Review Article
Une collection comme prétexte, des objets sans contexte
La publication de la collection Sciclounoff

Thibault Girard

Abstract

This review of Jacques Chamay's publication on Pierre Sciclounoff Collection (1926-1997) is an opportunity to emphasize the importance of the context in Archaeology and, consequently, on the problems raised by the traceability of ancient artefacts in the art market.

Jacques Chamay, Céramiques de Grande Grèce et autres antiquités. Pierre Sciclounoff collectionneur et mécène - 1926-1997. Genève : Éditions Slatkine, 2021, 240 pages, 24 x 28 cm (Collection Hellas et Roma vol. 19). – ISBN 9782051028677.

Il y a des livres qui touchent au plus profond de l'âme. Il y en a d'autres qui révèlent des passions pour les plus jeunes. Beaucoup même qui laissent indifférent. Et certains autres qui provoquent une sorte de sidération. Ces derniers comme les premiers doivent être commentés pour que des leçons soient tirées. L'ouvrage de Jacques Chamay, ancien conservateur en chef du département d'Archéologie au Musée d'Art et d'Histoire de Genève, sur l'ex-collection de Pierre Sciclounoff, mérite qu'on s'y attarde, car non seulement il soulève des problèmes de forme et de fond, mais interpelle encore plus profondément sur le métier d'archéologue, sur la façon dont nous – les archéologues – le percevons et sur la manière dont nous l'expliquons au grand public. Mais avant d'entrer dans le vif du sujet : qui était Pierre Sciclounoff ? Homme de loi originaire de Bulgarie, P. Sciclounoff (1926-1997) a tout d'un *selfmademan*. Immigré en Suisse dès son enfance, mélomane et amateur d'art, il poursuit brillamment ses études de droit, et s'impose très vite comme un avocat talentueux. La renommée l'accompagne rapidement : les mondanités, les célébrités, les belles demeures ... tout ce que l'argent attire et permet d'acquérir, P. Sciclounoff en jouit comme chacun pourrait en jouir, d'autant plus quand c'est à son travail acharné qu'on le doit. Cet accomplissement comme avocat et la richesse qui va de pair, P. Sciclounoff en a profité pour s'entourer de belles choses, d'objets d'artisanat raffinés, d'œuvres d'art moderne et d'antiques. C'est ainsi qu'au fil des années, il s'est constitué une collection importante d'objets provenant de Grande Grèce, et qu'il a fait vivre toute sa vie par le truchement d'achats et de ventes, comme tout collectionneur. À sa mort, sa collection a été dispersée de par le monde, entre héritier unique, association et particuliers *via* les maisons de vente.

Les Éditions Slatkine et Jacques Chamay sont coutumiers des beaux livres. En 2014, leur collaboration a déjà produit un premier ouvrage collationnant les articles de presse que J. Chamay avait alors fait paraître dans la *Tribune des Arts*. Sur ce volume, intitulé *Antiquité. 180 articles de presses* (coll. Hellas et Roma vol. 15), il n'y a rien à dire d'un point de vue scientifique : c'est une compilation d'articles de vulgarisation, amusants parfois, qui éclairent un événement, un objet ou un thème en quelques lignes à la manière d'une rubrique. Pour être utile, il aurait fallu indiquer la date initiale de parution de chaque article, afin que le lecteur puisse contextualiser. *Per se*, ce livre, qui n'a donc rien de scientifique, ne peut pas être vu autrement qu'une compilation de brèves. En revanche, mis côte-à-côte avec l'ouvrage paru en 2021 sur la collection de Pierre Sciclounoff, il aide à porter un regard singulier sur ce dernier.

Ce qui relie cette première parution et la dernière en date, outre les Éditions Slatkine, c'est donc l'hommage qu'elles rendent à Pierre Sciclounoff. Et quel hommage lui est rendu par ce dernier livre ! Le volume paru dans la collection *Hellas et Roma* consacré à la collection de l'avocat et homme d'affaires genevois est un chef-d'œuvre d'édition. Comme objet, l'ouvrage est somptueux. Le papier est de qualité supérieure, la typographie – en gros caractère – est soignée à l'instar de la mise en page où alternent le texte et les images, souvent en regard. Les images, justement, sont globalement en haute définition. Quelques-unes en revanche sont médiocres et auraient sûrement mérité de ne pas être agrandies autant (84, 87, 118 et surtout 138).[1] Mais dans l'ensemble, et à l'exception de deux coquilles repérées dans le texte (9 : deux appels de note n° 1 ; 157, « turbe », au lieu de « tube »), l'ouvrage est magistral dans sa forme. Le « Graal » que tout archéologue aimerait atteindre.

Le livre est divisé en deux parties. La première, biographique, reprend par l'anecdote la vie et l'œuvre de Pierre Sciclounoff. Pourquoi par l'anecdote ? Parce qu'à l'exception des quelques pages sur l'enfance et sur la famille de cet homme pour lesquelles l'auteur ne peut pas apporter de témoignages directs, J. Chamay empile les anecdotes sur sa relation amicale, mondaine et professionnelle avec P. Sciclounoff. On y apprend les bons moments que J. Chamay a passés en sa compagnie (23, 25, 27, 34), à quel point ils aimaient manger ensemble (p. 29) et surtout les bons conseils qu'il lui a prodigués en matière d'achats d'antiques (35) – nous y reviendrons. D'un point de vue purement formel, la construction du texte en dit beaucoup sur l'auteur. Chaque paragraphe - ou peu s'en faut - a une structure singulière et identique : à la suite d'une phrase d'introduction générale sur Pierre Sciclounoff (son action, ses passions, sa vie professionnelle), le discours est ramené sur J. Chamay.[2] Exemple frappant : dans la partie « Un magazine à son image » (37), P. Sciclounoff qui, d'après le texte, n'a rien à voir avec la création ou le comité de rédaction de la *Tribune des Arts*, devient le prétexte à une digression de l'auteur sur son opportunité d'écrire dans ce magazine. Et, par la même occasion, de renvoyer aux contributions « considérables » rassemblées dans le volume édité en 2014. On n'en saura pas plus en revanche sur les thèmes abordés par le magazine qui balayent pourtant tous les champs artistiques que ses créateurs (G. Tortella et J.-C. Pittard) affectionnaient. On pourrait ainsi multiplier les exemples. Une fois lues la quarantaine de pages biographiques, le lecteur a la sensation étrange de ne pas savoir à qui ce livre est dédié. Est-ce à Pierre Sciclounoff comme le titre le laisserait comprendre ? Ou bien sont-ce les mémoires de J. Chamay à propos de l'avocat genevois ? Au final, on en apprend autant sur le biographe que sur Pierre Sciclounoff – ce qui est tout de même déconcertant pour un ouvrage qui répond « à un impérieux devoir de mémoire » (9). L'auteur n'a toutefois pas osé se placer au côté de son ami dans l'album photographique qui conclut la partie biographique : une retenue que l'on ne s'explique toujours pas.

La seconde partie, scientifique, s'intéresse à la collection privée de P. Sciclounoff et dresse « une sorte de catalogue raisonné ». En vérité, c'est seulement une partie réduite de sa collection qui nous est présentée car, comme J. Chamay le signale en préambule de cette partie (78), les œuvres vendues de son vivant ont été écartées. Pourquoi ? L'auteur paraît se cacher derrière le manque de documentation et l'absence de photographies utilisables, pour finalement se justifier par l'absence totale d'inventaire et d'archives. Difficile à croire : chaque vente et chaque achat d'antiques, si la transaction est encadrée, est traçable. Le travail nécessaire à la constitution d'un catalogue raisonné induit un effort d'enquête qu'un aveu d'impuissance ne saurait faire oublier. Il est par conséquent impossible pour le lecteur de connaître l'ampleur de la collection, ni de savoir quand elle a été commencée, ni où elle a été conservée, ni comment elle a été composée. Un brouillard épais s'installe ...

Ce ne sont donc que 36 objets archéologiques qui sont ainsi examinés par une notice dédiée. Et là encore, la confusion est grande pour le lecteur. Est-ce un livre grand public ? Est-ce un ouvrage scientifique ? Les deux à la fois, et ni l'un, ni l'autre. Tout en contradictions encore, J. Chamay voudrait qu'il soit à la fois scientifique et à destination de l'amateur éclairé, tout en se justifiant pour l'absence de références bibliographiques « hormis le strict nécessaire ». Strict nécessaire qui, on l'aura compris, n'omet quasiment jamais les publications de l'auteur – y compris les plus banales vulgarisations. Pourquoi la notice n° 3 sur la coupe attique représentant le châtiment d'Ixion renvoie-t-elle par trois fois à J. Chamay (1984, 1985 et 2014), alors que la référence au Beazley Archives (n° 8713) synthétise efficacement les références bibliographiques fondamentales ? Pourquoi n'avoir pas également évoqué l'inscription présente sur la coupe *ho paîs kalós* qui mériterait elle aussi un commentaire ?[3] Le copier-coller de l'article de presse présent dans l'*Antiquité. 180 articles de presse* (55-56) laisse comprendre que l'auteur n'est pas allé plus loin que ce qu'il avait déjà vulgarisé. De la même façon, les notices n° 31 et n° 32 ne sont que des para-phrases – parfois même abrégées – des articles de presse réédités en 2014 (129-131 et 44-47). À l'inverse, certaines notices comme les n^{os} 12 et 16 donnent des références très pointues : que peut bien faire l'amateur éclairé (et sans doute francophone) des articles en allemand de K. Schauenburg et A. Kossatz-Deissmann parus dans les années 80 ? N'existe-t-il pas de monographies récentes et francophones sur la céramique italiote, qui pourraient compléter utilement les notices délaissées ?[4] Et que dire des références qui n'ont aucun rapport avec le sujet : la notice n° 16, qui n'a rien à voir avec Chamay 2014 (471-473), ainsi que la notice n° 11, qui n'est en rien éclairée par Chamay 2014 (90-92) ? La bibliographie, étrangement longue pour cette dernière notice, se termine d'ailleurs sur un « etc. » presque méprisant. On est bien loin donc du strict nécessaire.[5] La sensation étrange qui nous habite dans la première partie est donc confirmée dans la seconde : c'est à Jacques Chamay que ce livre rend hommage. En l'état, ce n'est toutefois pas flatteur.

Sur les notices elles-mêmes, qui n'ont d'autres qualités que de décrire sans discussion scientifique, on ne pourra rien dire de concret, à l'instar du volume paru en 2014. Le lecteur déjà ballotté entre des références bibliographiques inégales est confronté, au mieux à une description, au pire à des affirmations péremptoires. Ainsi peut-on lire, p. 33 : « Il est vrai que les vases en question (c'est-à-dire, italiotes) sont de qualité très inégale, mais, quand on sait faire le tri, ils peuvent concurrencer ceux d'Attique. » Que signifie « faire le tri » ? Par quel rite initiatique ou quelle divination est-il possible d'atteindre, pour un amateur éclairé ou pour un archéologue, la possibilité de faire le tri ? Difficile de ne pas croire cette phrase sortie du XIXe siècle ! On sera surpris tout autant par la notice n° 8. Pour le cratère en calice du Peintre de Darius (115), on apprend que la figuration de trois personnages en-dessous de l'assemblée des dieux est issue de façon certaine d'un drame théâtral.[6] La seule présence des trépieds apolliniens sur les colonnes qui encadrent la scène en serait la preuve irréfutable. On ne peut donc pas interpréter différemment le cratère en calice de Milan (ST6873) du Peintre de Lycurgue, le cratère à volutes de Munich (3296) du Peintre des Enfers et le cratère en calice de Melbourne (Coll. Geddes A 5:8). Christian Aellen, jadis co-auteur du *Catalogue de Genève* avec J. Chamay et A. Cambitoglou,[7] avait pourtant expliqué la présence de cet assemblage comme une solution iconographique conçue par les peintres pour signifier un espace sacré.[8] À tout le moins, si nous n'adhérons pas au point de vue philodramatique retenu,[9] il eût été souhaitable que J. Chamay ne fasse pas comme s'il en était l'inventeur.[10] Cet exemple met en lumière une autre déficience : aucune comparaison archéologique ou bibliographique n'est utilisée comme support d'argumentation. C'est pourtant l'une des bases des études iconographiques, travailler par comparaisons. La pauvreté des quelques notes en est la triste illustration. L'amateur éclairé, à qui semble destiné ce livre, n'a pas la matière première pour se faire une idée par lui-même. A. Furtwängler et J.D. Beazley savaient communiquer les pensées et les concepts les plus subtils de l'Antiquité avec les mots de l'homme de la rue et très peu de notes. Tout le monde n'en est pas capable. Simple ne signifie pas simpliste – amateur éclairé ne rime pas avec novice. La distinction est subtile, mais essentielle.

Établir le commentaire d'une image à l'appui d'autres, c'est aussi tenter de retrouver un contexte pour des documents qui n'en ont plus. Contexte temporel, géographique, culturel, iconographique et parfois même contexte archéologique : la comparaison permet d'aboutir à des hypothèses qui font avancer la science. Ne vaut-il pas la peine, pour un livre destiné à des amateurs éclairés, d’élever le niveau ? À l'intérieur du livre, par exemple, quatre vases (n^{os} 6, 9, 11 et 14) s’ornent d’un élément iconographique similaire. Ce sont des cornes, soit de chèvre, soit de génisse, qui émergent de la chevelure des têtes féminines situées sur le col ou les mascarons des vases. L'auteur, qui fait remarquer qu'A.D. Trendall n'a pas remarqué ces petits appendices,[11] rapporte l'interprétation que cet éminent savant a proposée pour les cornes de génisses (n^{os} 11 et 14). Ce serait Io, la jeune fille que Zeus, amoureux, a métamorphosée en génisse selon le mythe. Pourquoi Io ? Quel est le sens de sa figuration dans le contexte iconographique ? Encore une fois, aucune réponse ni hypothèse n'est donnée au lecteur. Une multitude de vases apuliens sont pourtant porteurs de ce type de décor.[12] Io, dans la mythologie, se distingue par son ascension céleste, son catastérisme : elle devient une constellation. À l'instar de Callisto, constellation de l'Ourse après sa métamorphose,[13] la montée au ciel d'Io est voulue par Zeus lui-même.[14] Sa figuration dans le contexte funéraire auxquels appartiennent les vases – contexte évoqué par J. Chamay – lui confère par conséquent une dimension eschatologique : elle est l’objet d’une renaissance, comme les rinceaux dans lesquels les têtes cornues sont insérées. Sa figuration sur la partie supérieure du vase (col et/ou volutes) rappellerait de surcroît sa dimension stellaire. Plus encore : sur le vase du Peintre des Enfers (notice n° 11), la métamorphose d'Io entre en résonance avec le mythe de Mélanippé figuré sur la panse. En effet, dans la partie basse de la composition, Hippé est représentée dans sa métamorphose complète – c'est assez rare pour être souligné[15] – en cheval. Même si l'hypothèse que nous développons mériterait d'être plus amplement argumentée, il n'en reste pas moins qu'elle a le mérite de contextualiser les images entre elles. Que l'auteur ne s'y soit pas aventuré est d'autant plus regrettable que ce genre de thèmes, par le contexte qu'ils créent, donneraient de la cohérence non seulement au livre mais aussi, et surtout, à la collection, qui en manque cruellement.

Le volume se termine sur un index de deux pages. Les entrées renvoient aux notices, non au numéro de page – choix peu judicieux, car trop imprécis. De surcroît, si l'index ne rassemble que les personnages mythologiques, J. Chamay omet bon nombre d'entrées[16] et oublie les renvois pour quelques autres.[17]

Pour revenir à la cohérence du livre, il reste à dire que le dialogue entre les deux parties, biographique et pseudo-scientifique, est également rendu difficile, car truffé de contradictions. Si l'on en croit l'ancien conservateur, le *lébès gamikos* du Peintre de Naples (notice n° 25) a immédiatement été mis à la disposition du Musée d'Art et d'Histoire de Genève après son achat (36, n. 2 et 194). Que fait-il alors exposé dans la vitrine de l'appartement de l'avocat (65, fig. 27) ? De la même façon, le numéro d'inventaire HR310, qui renvoie directement à l'association *Hellas et Roma*, ne devrait-il pas être celui du Musée, n° A 2003-0007/dt. ? L'observation doit être généralisée à l'ensemble des objets prêtés par l'association au Musée de Genève. Il nous est dit (p. 9) que, de par ses statuts, l'association *Hellas et Roma* n'est que dépositaire des œuvres léguées par P. Sciclounoff et que le Musée d'Art et d'Histoire en est le vrai propriétaire. Pourtant, plus loin, à la p. 107, puis p. 157, il est affirmé dans le corps du texte que l'association en est propriétaire. Qui est donc le véritable propriétaire ? La question se pose également à propos de la statuette d'Héraklès Épitrapézios : d'après Chamay 2021, on a perdu la trace de l'original, alors que Chamay 2014 (131, n. 4) nous signale son acquisition par un grand musée, sans dévoiler lequel. La notice n° 2 n'est pas en reste. Une recherche dans la base de données Beazley Archives du Classical Art Research Centre d'Oxford (n° 12967) permet de connaître, non seulement la bibliographie concernant cette amphore à col à figures noires,[18] mais surtout les différentes étapes d'acquisition du vase. Ainsi, après être passée par Genève, Londres, Fribourg et New York, l'amphore a finalement été achetée par le non moins célèbre Musée de la Villa Giulia à Rome (inv. n° CSA5). Oublis fâcheux ou fait exprès ? Plus encore que le caractère pseudo-scientifique des textes, toutes ces approximations, ces contradictions et ces hésitations laissent un arrière-goût amer au lecteur. L'auteur n'a manifestement pas voué le soin et l'attention qu'une collection de cette envergure nécessite. Face à ce qu'on doit considérer comme un premier jet, on ne peut qu'être en colère de constater une telle distance entre la beauté du livre et son contenu médiocre.

De fil en aiguille, les questions sur la propriété des objets amènent naturellement à se demander d'où ils proviennent. C'est là le nœud du problème du livre consacré à la collection Sciclounoff : d'où ces objets proviennent-ils ? Jamais l'origine n'est mentionnée. Il faut d'ailleurs attendre la dernière notice sur les deux chapiteaux romains (n° 36), pour que le mot apparaisse noir sur blanc dans le texte – bien entendu pour dire qu'elle est inconnue. Vraiment ? Dans ce cas précis, il y avait pourtant une réponse. Chamay 2014 (65) nous apprend qu'ils ont appartenu à une collection anglaise, puis ont été acquis par une galerie suisse. Il était donc possible de retracer la provenance, au moins d'une collection à l'autre, de ces deux monuments. Pour le reste de la collection, les quelques éléments bibliographiques mentionnent au mieux la première publication de l'objet, soit scientifique, soit marchande.[19] Certaines notices n'apportent aucun élément de réponse (n^os^ 17, 19, 22, 24, 26, 28, 29, 34, 35). Pour les autres, des catalogues de vente aux enchères, parfois juste le nom d'une galerie… Pêle-mêle : Christie's, Sotheby's, Tajan, la galerie Nefer, Ascona, Casa Serodine et Max Knoll Antiquités sont cités comme autant de provenances dont le lecteur doit se satisfaire. Ces indications lacunaires ne peuvent répondre aux exigences d'une provenance archéologique contextualisée. D'après les dates de mise en vente, le collectionneur semble avoir été pris d'une frénésie d'achat au début des années 1980.[20] Coïncidence : c'est durant cette décennie que le plus gros scandale de pillage archéologique a mis sur le banc des accusés de grandes institutions mondiales. Dès lors comment ne pas envisager le pire ? Le marché de l'art et des antiques est inondé d'objets spoliés, issus de fouilles clandestines, qui transitent par des voies détournées et des marchands peu scrupuleux. Certains noms (celui de l'auteur n'y échappe pas) sont incriminés dans des affaires d'ampleur internationale sur le trafic d'artefacts anciens. Les livres de P. Watson et C. Todeschini, de L. Flutsch et D. Fontannaz, incriminent directement J. Chamay et son association.[21] Malgré ces précédents, l'auteur ne paraît pas s'émouvoir de l'obscurité qui entoure la provenance de cette collection. Pour un archéologue rigoureux, l'absence soulève plus qu'un malaise – une véritable nausée.

À ses débuts de collectionneur, Pierre Sciclounoff n'avait pas d'intérêt pour les objets antiques. Il « visait d'abord et surtout à orner ses appartements », « il s'agissait d'occuper les murs » (33). Sûrement ces achats servaient-ils également de placements financiers – pratique courante chez les collectionneurs d'art. Peut-être par la suite les a-t-il aimés, soit par habitude, soit parce qu'il leur trouvait un charme, une beauté ou une émotion que beaucoup de gens éprouvent en voyant des artefacts des civilisations anciennes. Sa collection reflète, quoi qu'il en soit, ses goûts, mais aussi les moyens qu'il pouvait mettre en œuvre pour entretenir cette passion. Grand bien lui fit ! En revanche, que l'auteur, par les publications qu'il produit en hommage, ferme les yeux sur la provenance des objets, là se trouve le réel scandale de ces livres. Il y a un problème de déontologie quand on enseigne l'archéologie et l'histoire de l'art antique à l'université, que l'on est conservateur en chef des antiquités d'un musée, que l'on assume les plus hautes responsabilités au sein d'une association visant à promouvoir l'héritage antique (*sic !*), alors que, dans le même temps, on conseille (7, 35)[22] un collectionneur, si puissant soit-il, pour ses achats d'antiques, sans pouvoir certifier la provenance des objets. Pire encore : faut-il être à ce point déconnecté de la réalité dans son propre domaine pour dire d'un vase italiote qu'il fait partie du « patrimoine genevois » (formule répétée deux fois, 35 et 194) ?[23] Cette considération en dit long sur l'idée que se fait l'auteur de l'archéologie et du métier d'archéologue. Que ce soit dans ce livre ou dans le précédent, le contexte n'a aucun crédit aux yeux de l'ancien conservateur en chef.[24] Un comble pour un soi-disant archéologue.

NOTES

[1] En outre, le détourage hâtif de la photographie du skyphos apulien du Peintre de Liverpool de la notice no 17, 160-161, qui se voit tronqué de l'intégralité de sa base et d'une partie des anses sur tous les clichés est regrettable. On s'interrogera aussi sur la reproduction de seulement trois faces des paires de canthares qui occupent les notices nos 18 et 19.

[2] De la page 9 à 43, onze fois (23, 25, 26, 27, 29, 34, 36, 37, 43), les formules « je me souviens... » ou « on m'a rapporté... » sont utilisées.

[3] L'inscription de la notice suivante, no 4, est, quant à elle, commentée.

[4] L'absence systématique de la monographie de Th. Morard, Horizontalité et verticalité. Le bandeau humain et le bandeau divin chez le Peintre de Darius, Mayence 2009, est des plus regrettables. Voir notices no 8 (= Morard 2009, cat. 27), no 9 (= id., pl. 104.1), no 10 (= id., cat. 52), no 11 (= id., cat. 40), no 14 (= id., cat. 57).

[5] Et on ne parle pas des notices sans référence bibliographique ! Par exemple : la phiale à ombilic et la coupe à emblème monétaire d'Aréthuse, toutes deux campaniennes, (nos 28 et 29), bien qu'inédites, ne sont pourtant que des objets produits en série à partir de moules, si ce n'est identiques, du moins semblables, et dont bon nombre de publications font mention. Ainsi, pour la notice no 28, on se reportera volontiers au Catalogue des vases peints de la Bibliothèque nationale (Paris 1901-1902, no 1135, 638) d'A. De Ridder, même si la référence est ancienne. La phiale décrite du Cabinet des Médailles (inv. De Ridder.1135) est de surcroît mentionnée par J. Chamay dans la notice, mais avec un numéro d'inventaire obsolète (inv. 65.4782). Pour la notice no 29, les ouvrages de R. Pagenstecher, Die calenische Reliefkeramik (Berlin 1909, 16) et J.-P. Morel, Céramique campanienne : les formes (Paris 1981, 296) restent fondamentaux. On trouvera des comparaisons pertinentes au musée du Louvre (MNC 205 (H 206) et surtout MNC 204 (H 205), manifestement du même atelier, au Museum of Fine Art de Budapest (inv. 2005.12.A) et au Musée national de Cracovie (MNK XI-1466, manifestement du même atelier également). Sur le type monétaire employé pour l'empreinte, voir BMC Greek (Sicily) 176.201/204/205/207.

[6] On se trouve face à la même affirmation à la notice no 11. La représentation du mythe de Mélanippé serait inspirée, voire sous influence, de la pièce d'Euripide (130). L'interprétation de Chr. Aellen dans le Catalogue de Genève (Chr. Aellen / A. Cambitoglou / J. Chamay, Le Peintre de Darius et son milieu. Vases grecs d'Italie méridionale, coll. Hellas et Roma 4, Genève 1986, 193-195) a pourtant écarté de façon définitive une figuration inspirée du drame.

[7] Cf. supra n. 5. Notons au passage que, pour ce volume qui fait date, J. Chamay a assumé la tâche de regroupement des textes produits par ses « co-auteurs » (cf. Avant-propos, 5).

[8] Chr. Aellen, À la recherche de l'ordre cosmique. Forme et fonction des personnifications dans la céramique italiote, Kilchberg/Zürich 1994, 74.

[9] Sur les différentes interprétations que suscite l'origine des représentations sur les vases italiotes, voir J.-M. Moret, Les Iconocentristes, les Philodramatistes et les Arbitres, BABesch 88 (2013), 171-189.

[10] Cf. O. Taplin, Pots & Plays, Malibu 2007, 43.

[11] 103, 121, 131 et 147. L'auteur aime à souligner ce que Trendall n'a pas vu : voir aussi 126.

[12] Dans le livre même, probablement aussi le cratère à volutes du Peintre de Darius (no 7), même s'il ne nous a pas été possible de vérifier sur pièce – l'objet n'étant pas au Musée d'Art et d'Histoire. Voir aussi, entres autres, les cratères à volutes suivants : Peintre de Darius, Naples H 3253 (inv. 81947) ; id. Naples H 3254 (inv. 81393) ; Peintre de Baltimore, collection privée allemande ; Peintre de Ganymède, collection privée anglaise ; Peintre de la Patère, Getty Museum 77. AE.114. Io, comme thème principal : hydrie apulienne du Groupe de la Péliké de Moscou (Berlin F 3164) et amphore panathénaïque lucanienne du peintre des Cloéphores (jadis collection Coghill, aujourd'hui perdue).

[13] Sur le rapport étroit entre Io et Callisto, J.-M. Moret a dit l'essentiel dans son article sur Io dans la céramique attique (Io apotauroumenè, RA 1990, 24-25).

[14] Voir l'hydrie de la collection Levy & White 247 – cf. Aellen 1994, supra n. 8, cat. 107, pl. 132.

[15] Voir Catalogue de Genève, supra n. 6, 195.

[16] Agamemnon = 115, no 8 ; 136, no 12 ; 189, no 24 / Aiolos = 129, no 11 / Alphée = 205, no 29 / Alphésibée = 139, no 13 / Antilochos = 136, no 12 / Asclépios = 156, no 16 / Boéotos = 129, no 11 / Calchas = 115, no 8 / Charybde = 183, no 23 / Chiron = 199, no 27 / Clytemnestre = 115, no 8 ; 189, no 24 / Coré = 205, no 29 / Crétheus = 130, no 11 / Égisthe = 189, no 24 / Hippé = 129-130, no 11 / Hippodamie = 184, no 23 / Hippolyte = 115, no 8 / Machaon = 156, no 16 /Marsyas = 125, no 10 / OEnomaos = 184, no 23 / Okyr-

rhoé = 129, no 11 / Patrocle = 136, no 12 / Pélops = 184, no 23 /Phèdre = 115, no 8 / Phénix = 139, no 13 / Podalirios = 156, no 16 / Pholos = 199, no 27 / Séléné = 136, no 12 / Silène = 86, no 2 / Smyrna = 139, no 13 / Ulysse = 156, no 16.

[17] Achille = 155, no 16 /Aphrodite = 161, no 17 ; 163, no 18 ; 197, no 26 / Artémis = no 29 / Déméter = 205, no 29 / Érinye = 189, no 24 / Hermès = 102, no 6 ; 120, no 9 / Niké = 136, no 12 ; 205, no 29 / Zeus = 89, no 3 ; 130, no 11 ; 147, no 14 ; 193, no 25.

[18] Voir l'importante publication d'E. Kunze-Goette, Der Kleophrades-Maler unter Malern schwarzfiguriger Amphoren. Eine Werkstattstudie, Mayence 1992, pl. 45.3-4.

[19] Dans tous les cas, rien avant les années 80. Exception pour le lébès gamikos no 25, avec la publication dans AK 21 (1978) de J.-M. Moret et, plus remarquable encore, pour la notice no 32 qui évoque une vente par la maison Guido Tavazzi en 1932 (E Casa di Vendite G. Tavazzi, Rome, Collezioni Simonetti: quadri, mobili e oggetti d'arte (25 Aprile al 6 Maggio 1932), n° 242, pl. 83) ! On ne peut qu'admirer la capacité d'investigation que J. Chamay a déployée pour cet objet en particulier.

[20] De l'aveu même de l'auteur, en tant qu'administrateur de Sotheby's, P. Sciclounoff était bien placé pour « faire des trouvailles » et connaissait « les bonnes galeries » (34). Tous ces sous-entendus, qui laissent planer les doutes, n'augurent rien de licite.

[21] P. Watson / C. Todeschini, The Medici Conspiracy. The Illicit Journey of Looted Antiquities, New York, 2006 ; L. Flutsch / D. Fontannaz, Le pillage du patrimoine archéologique. Des razzias coloniales au marché de l'art, un désastre culturel, Lausanne, 2010. Voir aussi : F. Isman, I predatori dell'arte perduta. Il saccheggio dell'archeologia in Italia, Milan, 2009 et D. Graepler / M. Mazzei, Fundort: unbekannt. Raubgrabungen zerstören das archäologische Erbe, Munich, 1993.

[22] Déjà en 1986, dans le Catalogue de Genève (15), J. Chamay évoque son rôle de conseiller auprès des collectionneurs genevois, « depuis plus de 15 ans ».

[23] O. Reverdin, dans le portrait qu'il dresse du collectionneur suisse Jean Lauffenburger (Coll. Hellas et Roma III), termine son avant-propos en ces termes : « L'Association saisit l'occasion de cette publication pour exprimer au Docteur Lauffenburger sa reconnaissance pour plusieurs belles pièces dont il lui a fait don, qui sont déposées au Musée, et qui resteront ainsi à Genève, souvenir tangible d'une collection dont on eût souhaité qu'elle y demeurât tout entière. » L'expression « patrimoine genevois » de J. Chamay, n'est-elle qu'un essai maladroit de faire comme « Reverdin » ?

[24] Sentiment corroboré par les propos de Jacques Chamay recueillis par Étienne Dumont (le 4 mars 2010) pour la Tribune de Genève en ligne, suite à la publication du livre de L. Flutsch et D. Fontannaz (voir n. 21) : « La manière dont ils (c'est-à-dire, les vases italiotes) ont été découverts est importante, certes, mais n'est pas tout. » Même ici, Jacques Chamay trahit sont incompréhension du mot « contexte » en le confondant avec la « méthode » qui a servi à découvrir les objets – archéologie ou pillage.

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BABESCH 97 (2022), 225-254. doi: 10.2143/BAB.97.0.3290542

Reviews

ALEXANDRA DARDENAY, NICOLAS LAUBRY (eds.), Anthropology of Roman Housing. Turnhout: Brepols, 2020. 324 pp., 47 b/w ill. + 10 colour ill., 30 b/w tables + 5 colour tables; 23,5 cm (Antiquité et sciences humaines 5). - ISBN 978-2-503-58860-5.

In June 2018 a conference was held at the Ecole Française de Rome, with the title *Anthropologie de l'habitat romain / Anthropology of Roman Housing*. The papers of this conference have been collected in the present book, edited by Alexandra Dardenay (University of Toulouse) and Nicolas Laubry (Ecole Française de Rome).

The introduction by both editors describes the state of affairs in the field of the anthropology of Roman houses. Special attention is paid to the anthropological methodology in the study of Roman living space, which allows for new interpretations by way of combining archaeology and anthropology, and also leads to the revision of older material, for example analyses of the layout of the Roman house. Among other things, the Moroccan house is looked at as a comparison to see if that can help to reconstruct the Roman, read Mediterranean, experience of a house. An anthropological view of Roman houses also contributes to the deconstruction of the Vitruvian framework of interpretations. Also important is the application of new techniques such as 3D reconstructions, in particular in the 'Vesuvia' project in Herculaneum.

Sandra Zanella outlines the studies that have been carried out in the field of the archaeology of domestic space in Pompeii. She sketches the history of the rediscovery of the Roman house, partly due to the excavations in Pompeii, and the terminology of its rooms, for which J. Overbeck and A. Mau are largely responsible (on the basis of the layout of Pompeian houses combined with the texts of Vitruvius). She then describes the methodological revolution that was achieved at the end of the last century by the studies of P. Allison and A. Wallace-Hadrill. We should think of, for example, Allison's groundbreaking views on the redefinition of spaces, in which she refrains from the commonly used Latin terminology. Zanella concludes with an overview and critical discussion of some individual anthropological studies of Pompeian houses.

Antonella Coralini discusses the study of household archaeology and also different ways to look at Pompeii, e.g., how we can better reconstruct the situation of AD 79 on the basis of excavation material and archives. What is particularly important is new research in the archives, for example in the case of the publication of Insula IX. 8 (Insula del Centenario) by Antonella Coralini: *Pompei. Insula IX 8. Vecchi e Nuovi Scavi (1879-)*, Bologna 2017. From the archival material, some new conclusions can be drawn about the relationships within the *insula* between residential functions and production and commercial functions. Methodologically, her work connects to studies by P. Allison, J. Berry and R. Berg. The study of the excavation reports of Ins. IX.8 shows, among other things, that not all finds were carefully excavated, but on occasion were gathered to be excavated 'by chance' in the presence of high guests.

James Andrews deals with the upper floors at Herculaneum, focusing on spatial hierarchy, accessibility and visibility, as well as seasonal effects. He has examined seventy-eight houses – see his (still unpublished) dissertation 'The use and development of upper floors in houses at Herculaneum' (University of Reading 2006 - https://ethos.bl.uk/OrderDetails.do?uin=uk.bl.ethos.555339). Wall paintings are present almost everywhere, often of high quality. There are also colonnaded upper floor rooms that formed the more important areas of the house. In the rooms in houses such as Casa di Nettuno e d'Anfitrite one sees parts that were for staff and parts that seem to complement comparable quarters on the ground floor. In the Casa del Bel Cortile, access to the upper floor appears to have been consciously arranged so as to encourage visitors upstairs. In the large peristyle houses we see rented floors with residential function, such as Casa di Tramezzo di Legno and Casa dei Cervi, but also luxurious rooms for guests, for example in Casa d'Argo. Upper floors provide extra dynamics and seasonal usage also plays a major role: they are warmer in winter, and provide an open view in summer.

The study by Anna Anguissola on the south-west sector of Pompeii is partly based on the principles of Amos Rapoport concerning the meaning of the built environment (whether and how there are 'hidden' meanings in these houses/city villas). The ideology in this case is that there is an axiality or sequence in the Roman houses, which was sometimes imitated, for example with niches in the atrium, when side quarters were lacking, and which eventually were replaced by, for example, wall paintings. In the town houses the influence of the aristocratic villas is visible: water features and mythological landscape paintings, all focusing on *otium*, but also with the possibility to have conversations in 'cave'-like environments. The city villas, mostly terraced houses on the edge of the build-up area, differ from the other houses in Pompeii, because they were not hindered by all kind of constraints and could expand independently, for example with private baths and terraces. In some cases, a *piano nobile* was also set up.

Alain Bouet discusses latrines in domestic settings, based partly on his study of latrines on Delos and in Gaul. He thinks latrines were not important features and were not class bound - chamber pots (Latin: *matella, scaphium, lasanum*) were in general use. In his conclusion, Bouet briefly discusses cleanliness and hygiene: houses were maybe 'clean', but they were far from hygienic by our standards. This contribution provides a nice addition to the study of Roman toilets, for which the summary overview from 2011 (G.C.M. Jansen/A.O. Koloski-Ostrow/E.M. Moormann, *Roman toilets: their archaeology and cultural history* (Leuven – BABESCH Supplements 19)) is still indispensable.

Marin Mauger's research focuses on house altars and sanctuaries, more specifically on the way in which these religious elements may have influenced the layout of the houses. This especially holds good for the *Lararia*. For example, did the *Lararia* mark a certain living space, and do they indicate that such space is an independent unit? It is an interesting question, which is also used to review houses with upper floors and separate apartments (some examples from Herculaneum and Ostia).

Ria Berg discusses the location of female toiletry items in Pompeian houses, based on finds. She clearly shows the uncertainties of her results: objects are not always uniquely identifiable; finds are not always well documented; and the situation in 79 may not be entirely representative. In general, three categories of women's rooms are distinguished: 1) separate apartment complexes; 2) specific *cubicula;* and 3) reserved *triclinia, diaetae* or *oeci*. In her dissertation Berg already concluded that female toiletries were stored in cupboards and also in storage rooms, not in special women's quarters. In other words: this material evidence can say something about the storage pattern, not about usage patterns. In case studies she shows her research of objects in storage and in usage spaces, concluding that in smaller houses the *tablinum* was a mixed usage space for men and women, whereas in larger houses there were separate *oeci* for men and women, located next to the *tablinum*.

Polly Lohmann treats graffiti as a source for determining the use of spaces by men or women. In Pompeii, c. 5600 graffiti were examined, mentioning c. 4000 people; of these, only 612 are women, or 16%. The conclusions are that women as a social group remain largely hidden from archaeologists and that women are rarely the authors of the graffiti.

In the contribution of Mantha Zarmakoupi the 'Italian houses' of late Hellenistic/Roman Delos are examined, with special attention paid to the distinction in these houses between private and public spaces. One of the most striking elements is that the so-called Italian houses (after the Roman/Italian population that came to Delos after 167 BC) have *lararia* with paintings at the entrance (for the *Lares Compitales*). The graffiti in the houses are also studied, showing that these were mainly found in the passageways.

Another study of domestic buildings outside Italy is by Jesús Bermejo Tirado. He focuses on the social analysis of urban domestic architecture in Roman Celtiberia and examines the houses in eight Roman cities in Spain. He uses some special methods which work surprisingly well, such as the study of kinship relations (e.g., by onomastic formulations), 'space syntax' models of the houses and an analysis of the chronological evolution of households. It seems attractive to apply these methods elsewhere, wherever possible, also in the context of Roman cities in Italy, like Pompeii and Herculaneum.

The final contribution provides completely different, more social demographic input, by Nathalie Baills-Barré and Mélissa Tirel. They have studied the burials of young children in a domestic context in Roman Gaul. The study involves 200 sites and 866 cases and answers several questions about the social position of young children. Also, attention is paid to where and how they were buried within the domestic environment, possibly copying public adult funerals.

The book concludes with a place index and a source index. An overarching bibliography for all contributions is missing. The literature is listed in the footnotes to every article, according to the principle of author-short title. These references are on the one hand very tiring to use (where is the first entry of a title referenced, stating all the bibliographical details?), and on the other hand error-prone: in Ria Berg's article, for example, note 34 does not contain the full mention of L. Scatozza Horicht, *L'instrumentum vitreum di Pompei*, Roma 2012, which is described in the following references only as Scatozza, *L'instrumentum*. With a note system referring to a central bibliography, preferably using the author-year combination, this could have been prevented. Also, the contributions could have been stripped of all those repeated references to studies like the ones by Allison and Wallace-Hadrill. It would also have been a first thorough bibliography in the field of the anthropology of the Roman house. Now the reader has to assemble this himself by going through the individual contributions. A missed opportunity.

The book could be seen as merely a bundle of congress papers, but it has more to offer: it shows an appealing power to think off the beaten track of research and offers a multitude of new insights that can stimulate further research. It is therefore a must-have for those who are engaged in the study of the Roman house.

Richard de Kind

VOLKER MICHAEL STROCKA, SIMON HOFFMANN, GERHARD HIESEL (eds.), *Die Bibliothek von Nysa am Mäander*, with contributions by Karl Großschmidt, Fabian Kanz, Eva-Maria Kasubke, Nikolas Möller Figen Müller, Elsbeth Raming, Gerd Sachs, Hans Taeuber, Ralf von den Hoff and Rainer Warland. Darmstadt/Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 2012. 238 pp., 65 figs., 102 plates,. 19 plans, 24,4 x 35,2 x 2.4 cm. (Forschungen in Nysa am Mäander. Band 2). – ISBN 3805345887.

İDIL VEDAT, VOLKER MICHAEL STROCKA (eds.), *Das Gerontikon von Nysa am Mäander*, with contributions by Wolfgang Blümel, Yusuf Kağan Kadioğlu, Selma Kadioğlu, Canan Özbil and Rahşan Tamsü Polat. Darmstadt/Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 2014. 211 pp. 83 figs., 81 plates., 13 plans, 24,4 x 35,2 x 2.4 cm. (Forschungen in Nysa am Mäander. Band 3). – ISBN 3805348517.

The reviewer apologizes for the extreme lateness of these reviews.

Nysa on the Maeander might not compete with the most impressive archaeological sites of Asia Minor, such as Ephesus or Aphrodisias, in terms of architectural grandeur or the amount of archaeological research it has produced. Nonetheless, for a medium sized ancient polis the site boasts some impressively monumental remains of Roman period public buildings, including a spacious, fully-enclosed agora, a stadium and a tunnel-like bridge that connected the two parts of the town that were separated by a ravine. Many of Nysa's buildings have long been known but until recently none have been seriously studied.

The *Forschungen in Nysa am Mäander* series, thus far running to three volumes, represents the primary publication of three of these monuments. The first volume dealt with the theatre and its impressive series of reliefs depicting the birth of Dionysus, who was believed to have been born in the town. The two volumes reviewed here deal with the city's library and the so-called "Gerontikon" and represent the fruits of two separate research projects, both collaborations between German and Turkish scholars, carried out under the auspices of the University of Ankara in the first decade of the 21st Century.

Each book covers the full range of archaeological material found at the sites from architecture, sculpture, skeletal remains and small find material of various kinds in separate chapters written by individual experts. Both books pay considerable attention to detailed architectural analysis and the reconstruction of the buildings. The Library volume is written entirely in German, the Gerontikon volume mainly in German with some chapters in English. Both books contain helpful summaries in German, English and Turkish. The level of scholarship and production values are impressive though more could attention could have been paid to putting the buildings in their cultural, social and political context.

The Library of Nysa in many ways bears a strong resemblance to the far better known Library of Celsus at Ephesus, in terms of its appearance, size and date. The current volume dates the building at Nysa to c. 130 AD, so only two decades later than its famous Ephesian counterpart. Nysa lies some 90km east of Ephesus on the northern slope of the Maeander valley. Most striking, perhaps, is that both buildings served as tombs, in Celsus' case certainly and at Nysa presumably so, for the benefactors who paid for them. The authors here suggest the rather less likely interpretation that the two individuals buried in a sarcophagus in the library's vestibule had died during the building's construction.

The library at Nysa is connected to a 3rd C literary reference, preserved in a papyrus, to a library and archive building at Nysa. The authors make much of the double function of the building and perhaps too much of how its design was particularly suited to fulfill both roles. We cannot, of course, be sure if the building was constructed with a double purpose in mind or of how long it fulfilled the two functions. In Late Antiquity the building was heavily renovated and equipped with mosaic pavements in its vestibule. In the Byzantine period it was converted into a chapel. At some point, either before or after that it served as the burial place for some 34 individuals. It went out of use and collapsed some time in the 12th-14th centuries.

The Library volume includes a chapter on Roman library buildings, which raises hopes of a discussion of the cultural significance of libraries in the Empire in the 2nd Century that would contextualize the building at Nysa. Instead the chapter consists of detailed case-by-case discussions of individual buildings identified as libraries (some of them erroneously it is argued here) with a heavy focus on architecture. The discussion revolves around the expectation that Roman libraries should conform to a recognizable architectural type. That premise is questionable since providing space for storing and reading books would have allowed greater flexibility of design than buildings built for other functions such as public meetings. The section on the Library of Celsus is a rather arcane discussion of the minutiae of its architectural reconstruction that will only be of interest to those already deeply familiar with scholarship on the building, a readership that may not look for such a discussion here. This is a missed chance to consider the clear parallels between the two buildings and to address the possible influence of the one at Ephesus on the one at Nysa.

The so-called "Gerontikon" is the type of roofed, indoor theatre known throughout the ancient Greek world and normally identified as odeia and/or bouletueria. It was given its name early in the study of the site because Strabo, who knew Nysa intimately having studied there, mentions a "gerontikon" near the agora. Though the location fits the building is very unlikely to have been Strabo's gerontikon, as the authors of the volume readily acknowledge, since it dates to the second century AD. Excavations have, moreover, found no evidence for an earlier phase. The decision to retain the name for the publication is justified since it has become conventional. The authors' argument that the building was indeed the meeting place for Nysa's 'gerousia', however, seems rather pointless. For what it is worth we might note that in the 1929 Loeb edition H.L. Jones assumes that Strabo's 'gerontikon' was not a meeting place at all but a kind of gymnasium. Indeed, the authors spend rather too much energy in trying to pin down the building's function. While rightly stressing the flexibility of uses to which such buildings could be put their conclusion that it definitely did have a double function as an odeion and a political meeting place (for the boule and/or the gerousia) is really just an assumption. Ultimately the issue only serves to illustrate one of the greatest problems of Classical archaeology: ancient cities invested vast wealth and energy into erecting grand public buildings and we invest money and energy into excavating them yet all too often we have surprisingly little concrete evidence for how they were actually used.

One of the most interesting features of the building are the inscribed bases found within that attest to the setting up of statues within it by a member of the local elite, one Sextus Iulius Antoninus Pythodorus, in accordance with money bequeathed to the city in his mother's will. Combining fragments of sculpture found within the building with the bases the authors have convincingly reconstructed the statuary programme of the stage building, which mixed statues of this Pythodorus' family with those of the Antonine dynasty in a way that recalls other contemporary architectural facades such as that of the Nymphaion of

Herodes Atticus at Olympia. The book includes an evocative 3D computer reconstruction of the building's interior, which effectively shows how the statues would have been dwarfed by the architecture. It would have been helpful to have seen a similar reconstruction, whether computer generated or an artist's impression, for the library.

If the main goal of archaeological publication is the preservation and presentation of excavation data the books succeed in exemplary fashion. Both are as thorough and as detailed a translation of the material record to the printed page as could be hoped for. The precise and careful observations of architecture and finds are extensively supported with illustrations and photographs. At the same time, however, it is remarkable how little one actually learns about the society and culture of Roman Nysa from reading the fine-grained descriptions of building elements, vases, skeletons and potsherds. The discussion does little to alter existing views of the many larger issues this material connects to such as the political culture of Roman Asia Minor, the economy of Roman construction or the fate of the polis in Late Antiquity. Future scholars working on such larger issues, however, now have an excellent resource for integrating the evidence from Nysa into their discussions.

Christopher P. Dickenson

D. Piay Augusto, P.A. Argüelles Álvarez (eds.), *Villae Romanas en Asturias.* Rome/Bristol: «L'Erma» di Bretschneider, 2021. 324 pp., 55 ill. col., 27 ill. b/n, 114 pls., 24 cm (Studia Archaeologica 249) - ISBN 978-88-913-2253-1.

The past few years there is a rising interest in Roman *villae* on the Iberian Peninsula (e.g. R. Martínez González/T. Nogalez Basarrate/I. Rodà de Llanza*, Las villas romanas bajoimperiales de Hispania*, Palencia 2020). The book under review follows this tendency, providing the first study focusing solely on the twenty-six Roman *villae* discovered in the Asturian region presented in an extensive catalogue and preceded by five chapters written by experts on topics related to Roman *villae*. The book opens with a study of the classical sources on the *villa* in Roman times (chapter 1) and a historiography (chapter 2) by Diego Piay Augusto (DPA). The author rightly points out that the rural sites identified as *villae* often do not fit the concept of the *villa* as found in the classical sources. DPA treats these classical sources extensively, providing a good overview and a bibliography for the study of *villae*. In our modern literature on *villae*, authors tend to include many rural sites that could well have been *mansiones* or even small rural settlements. This devolves the terminology and impedes the study of the 'real' *villae*. Despite recognising this problem, DPA concludes that we can define *villae* by their richness of material, labelled as ´Roman´; this material sets them apart from other rural settlements. This broad definition is used to define *villae* in this book as "los restos de estructuras documentadas en el ámbito rural asociados a materiales romanos, localizadas en un emplazamiento topográfico compatible con lo expresado por los agrónomos latinos, serán considerados en este volumen evidencias de la presencia de una villa." (p. 37). From this point DPA continues with the historiography of the study of *villae* on the Iberian Peninsula, with a specific focus on the Asturian region. DPA not only introduces the modern literature but also treats the *villae* of the catalogue incorporated in the book. After this broad introduction of the subject, three thematic chapters follow.

The first thematic chapter, by the second editor Patricia Argüelles Álvarez (PAA), treats the road network of Asturias in antiquity, reconstructed through classical sources, and stretches still visible. PAA refers to the vicus viaria Lucus Asturum as the central node for this road network in the region (p. 57). Regrettably, the nature of this settlement and its relation to the *villae* is not treated in the book. Moreover, the map showing the road network leaves the reader with questions, as a legend is missing. There is no explanation for the difference in black and white roads. Nonetheless, the chapter shows how the roads connect the *villae* to the wider network, linking all up to the maritime port at Noega. The chapter would have benefitted from a broader view connecting these roads with the wider road network on the other side of the mountain range. The fourth chapter by José Ignacio San Vicente González de Aspuru, deals with the development of the *villae*, from the perspectives of numismatics. It clearly adds novel aspects to the important discussion on the chronology of *villae*. This chapter starts out with a short general overview on the development of *villae* from the early imperial period to late antiquity. From there we have a shift to the numismatics. González de Aspuru integrates Asturias and its *villae* into the empire-wide debates on late antiquity. In addition, the chapter gives a great overview of the late antique numismatic finds in Asturias and how these should be used to date the *villae*. Entering late antiquity, we come across the rise of Christianity and its evidence in or relation to late *villae*. The final thematic chapter, by Narciso Santos Yanguas, turns to this relation between *villae* and Christian cult sites. With the late rise of Christianity in the region - the earliest finds date to the 5th and the earliest churches to the 7th century - most *villae* were already in disuse when Christianity got a foothold. Therefore, the construction of churches and chapels on *villae*-sites must be seen as a reoccupation rather than a continuation of the site, similar to the *castros* that are often the site for chapels, possibly both functioning as a *lieu de mémoire*. Santos Yanguas states that the study of the Christianisation of the *villae* needs a full study of their archaeological record and should be dealt with in another monograph (p. 124-125 footnote 27).

The catalogue of *villae* (p. 139-282) takes up a significant part of the book. The presentation of the data and bibliography is an important and useful addition to the volume. Each entry has a table with information taking up at least two pages, followed by maps for the location. In some cases, aerial photographs or archaeological plans are provided. Logically the amount of data for each of the twenty-six *villae* is uneven; some have been excavated extensively and know a vast academic debate whereas others are less known and have got short entries. These latter cases raise a point of caution. The first chapter of the book gave the impression that the authors would not use the term *villa* lightly; however, the catalogue includes entries of complexes whose nature remains uncertain. Only eight *villae* are identified with certainty, whereas the remaining eighteen supposed *villae* need further investigation in order to establish their true nature.

The book raises an important question not related to the subject but to its conception: the students of a course organised by the editors (DPA & PAA) collected data and created the extensive catalogue (p. 16 & 140). The editors wrote most of the main chapters of the book and revised each catalogue entry. Even though the students are mentioned by name in two lists (p. 6 & 139) and are referred to in the catalogue entries they created, which the editors `rigorously and exhaustively´ revised (p. 140), the arrangement of using student work to publish a book needs to be discussed. As the authors rightly point out (p. 16 footnote 4), the whole process of data collection and publication could, or maybe should, be included in our curricula at universities. However, I question the ethics of using student labour to create a volume published with a well-known publishing house. Revision of, or maybe better, feedback on student work is part of our function as teacher, not as investigator or author. If we were going down the road of publishing the results of university courses, I would say that these should be published under the name of the students. In such a case, the book could have been an edited volume by the authors with (thematic) chapters written by groups of students based on their data, this could have been in collaboration with the experts. This way they would fully appreciate the process of publishing, including the satisfaction of seeing your work appear under your name.

The book provides an overview of the *status quaestionis* of *villa* culture in Asturias. Even though the book does not identify new *villae* besides the eight well-studied ones, the collection of eighteen possible *villae* and their bibliography could become a starting point for future research. Thanks to the nature of the chapters introducing themes related to *villae*, which seem to have been developed from the student course they were part of, the book could be used in teaching. Yet, the high price does not permit for it to be used as a handbook for a course on *villae*. In addition, its extensive treatment of the debate regarding *villae* on the Iberian Peninsula gives the reader a solid background concerning this interesting building type on the crossroads of urban and rural.

Pieter Houten

P. Gołyźniak, *Ancient Engraved Gems in the National Museum in Krakow*. Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2018. 318 pp., 30 figs, 112 pls., 21,0 x 29,7cm, ISBN 9783954902439.

For the study of Greek and Roman Ancient history an overview of the representations on ancient engraved gems is just as necessary as that of the images on ancient vases. For the gems, unfortunately, coordinated catalogues were not initiated in time, as with the *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*. It is therefore quite commendable that -- in addition to the Beazley archive at Oxford – international museums and individual authors have ensured that many collections are now well published, as certainly also in this case. A further compliment must be offered to the publisher, because the book is genuinely nicely edited and contains excellent, clear illustrations. A disadvantage compared to the *CVA* is that apparently few university libraries understand the importance of purchasing such catalogues. The author apparently had little trouble with this because he makes impressive use of a large number of publications. What is beginning to be missing nowadays are overview works, extensive studies on gem engraving and the use of gems in special periods and/or regions. In this regard, too, the author has taken a laudable initiative with his new book, entitled *Engraved Gems and Propaganda in the Roman Republic and under Augustus (*Oxford 2020, http://archaeopress.com/ArchaeopressShop/Public/displayProductDetail.asp?id={F81E84A2-AEA8-4EBF-A141-8E57469A3E07}). Such overviews written by experts are needed to find answers to the many questions ancient engraved gems still evoke and to stimulate archaeologists, art historians and historians to make use of the information gem images provide. After the publication of Erika Zwierlein-Diehl's *Antike Gemmen und ihr Nachleben* (New York 2007), a very reliable hand book, this is less complicated than usually thought.

One must start at the very beginning, because the origin of the important role of engraved gemstones in ancient society has much to do with its perception of Egypt: "Egyptian magic, with its enormous variety of expressions, promised an all-encompassing protection of human existence, both on earth and after" (Günther Hölbl, in prep.). This is confirmed for instance by the imported scarab amulets from children's graves on Ischia in the Late Geometric period and their import and imitation at many other places (e.g. G. Hölbl, *Beziehungen der ägyptischen Kultur zu Altitalien*, Leiden 1979) and further with the scarab shape of the majority of the ancient engraved gems up to the 3rd century BC (the relation between the publication of J. Sliwa, *Egyptian Scarabs and Magical Gems from the Collection of Constantine Schmidt-Ciazynski*, Cracow 1989 -- see also Golyzniac 2017 'Introduction' note 9 -- and the present publication is because of unavailability of the former book not clear to me). The Greek scarab from the late 4th century BC with the representation of a sphinx (Cat. 4) is, together with its many parallels, a clear illustration of the fact that the scarab shape should be regarded as a call for magical protection 'in Egyptian style'. In this vein one could read the development of ancient Greek gem engraving as a gradual 'take-over' with Greek imagery of this special branch of iconography. Special, because directly connected with people's personal beliefs and ideologies.

Ancient man must have been aware of and helped by the virtually indestructible character of the *intagli* in precious stone or precious metal, rendering the individually chosen representations valid for ever, long after the original owner's death. The author's explanation as a grave gift of the gold ring Cat. 7 (from the late 4th century BC) showing a woman burning incense on a *thymiaterion* is based on the fragility of the ring and sketchiness of the representation. The ring would be a very moving consolation for the burying family, recommending the woman to the gods with this image. An acceptance of the author's plausible explanation makes it possible to interpret other *intagli* and rings that seem too fragile for daily life in this way.

One may also wonder how the Etruscan scarabs Cat. 43-48 with their beautiful 'tough' images of Greek heroes supported Etruscan men in real life. For Cat. 46, with the depiction of a 'Peleus washing his hair' – inscribed Pele – the author suggests ritual cleansing after the murders the hero committed. To serve as a personal seal with some worth as *exemplum*, this explanation requires much Etruscan implementation of Greek mythology. Hair-washing at *thymiateria* as here depicted is also used for female nudes on engraved gems (see Golyzniac's references), which makes it possible to understand this intaglio as praise of Peleus' beauty (and that of the owner?). In any case, this Peleus is engraved so well that the weird pose does not much disturb. It is a pity that a photo of an impression of this seal is lacking, because pictures of impressions always show details different from those in pictures of the engraved gems themselves with their many light reflections.

Thanks to the clear photos of the stones and most of their impressions, the catalogue offers a welcome opportunity to muse on questions concerning what the first owner of the stone saw in the image; for example, with respect to the rather uniform "heads of deities in profile" that are an important part of the book. A big advantage of Golyzniac's approach is that he separates "human portraits" (e.g. p. 101) from "busts and heads of deities and personifications" (e.g. p. 99) and is commendably precise. See, for instance, his comments on a young man's head (Cat. 28), which he interprets as a young Hellenistic prince with several valid arguments: the raised head, the chromium chalcedony, a kind of gem characteristics of similar portraits, etc. Together with the remarkable quality of the *intaglio*, these arguments do convince me, but I quite understand that for people who are not familiar with such gems it is difficult to see the difference with for instance the Hermes head of Cat. 20, a qualitatively disappointing *intaglio* but seemingly with similar characteristics. How to discern 'portraits' from 'busts and heads' is a puzzle also for experts, especially because in ancient portrait images assimilation with well-known cult statues is always strongly present (see D. Plantzos, The iconography of assimilation: Isis and royal imagery on Ptolemaic seal impression, in P.P. Iossif/A.S. Chankowski/C.C. Lorber (eds), *More than men, less than gods, Studies on royal cult and imperial worship, Proceedings of the international colloquium organized by the Belgian school at Athens (November 1-2, 2007)*, Leuven/Paris/Walpole, MA 2011, 389-417). Only more study can bring us any further and especially study of the many new archives of ancient clay sealings that nowadays have become known and are under expert review (e.g. the conference 'Hellenistic Sealings & Archives', Allard Pierson Museum, Amsterdam 2018). An explanation for the many standardized heads, including that of Apollo with laurel wreath (Cat. 72-81), which we also know from Roman Republican denarii, has been found in their use as 'token' for the party to which the owner of the *intaglio* belonged (Cat. 72). But does that mean that the image was not a distinctive personal seal, for how could a trading partner distinguish one Apollo head with laurel wreath from another if so similar? Between the various groups of many similar *intagli* only details, such as the precise hair arrangement or the number of leaves on the wreaths are different and these may not come out clear enough to be distinctive on seal impressions in wax or clay. Yet, such *intagli* must have functioned as personal seals, as is clear from the addition of name inscriptions by some sensible Roman owners (Cat. 80-81). They include "Apollo heads with corkscrew hair locks", an archaic type, and (without inscriptions) "Apollo head with braid/hair roll around the head", which indicates standardization but with a degree of variation. Moreover, the difference between the one type of head with the braid – traced by the author and others to the cult statue of Apollo by Skopas on the Palatine (cf. Cat. 72) – and the other type with corkscrew locks – traced to the Apollo statue on the market in Alexandria (Cat. 80) – makes clear that the *intagli* with Apollo heads derive from known cult statues. To what extent the wearers of rings with such Apollo heads could still see them as representing 'Apollo the mighty god' and not the 'celestial head of political groups' is a question one must ask. Did the frequent use of *intaglio* types after famous statues 'flatten' the latter? Gertrud Horster, a dedicated and excellent *studiosa* of ancient engraved gems who sadly recently, passed-away, paid already very early in her career attention to the association between cult statues and engraved gems and continued to do so, but much work remains to be done because by means of gem study, the (political? magic? gender specific?) influence of cult images and thus cults *tout court* on the individual Greek or Roman may become clearer (G. Platz-Horster, *Statuen auf Gemmen*, Bonn 1970).

Did the gem images influence identity and did people associate themselves with the heads they were wearing in their rings? We take selfie after selfie but do not consider those snapshots to be portraits, although young adults stylize their photos until they think they have reached portrait quality. The satisfaction with such a portrait turns often out to be based on a – usually unconsciously – obtained likeness to an influencer, a famous painting, etc. For the Hellenistic and Augustan periods, the popularity of a series of intaglio images is evident but their 'agency' is still worth more study, and the latter will much benefit from this catalogue.

The human figures in full chosen as gem images are hardly ever individualised and are even more strictly standardised than busts and heads. Some gem images may answer why: Cat. 10 for instance, a late Hellenistic gold ring with a garnet shows a frontally standing goddess. She is not helmeted and holds a *phiale* in her right hand and a spear upright in her other. Because the image is sloppily engraved, details are not clear and thus it is uncertain if the engraver hinted at a shield at the base of the spear, a feature that would identify Athena. If not, she could be Hera with a sceptre (both goddesses are suggested by the author). The *intaglio* must indeed represent a goddess, because although mortal women may be offering in sanctuaries with a *phiale*, they will not carry spears or sceptres in doing so. The addition of that object points to a statuary goddess type. The original owner of the gem knew of course which goddess was meant, but did the goddess know?? (That is, did ancient owners of the stone think the right goddess would respond to their prayer for support or protection?). To avoid such puzzles the ancient owners usually opted for standardisation, Athena is most frequently rendered in the iconography of the Parthenon cult statue, helmeted, holding a Nike and with spear and shield (e.g. Late Hellenistic Cat. 12-13). Although most of the many images of this type are mediocre, their strength must have lain in the belief that the image could evoke the goddess to the benefit of the owner of the object. More imaginative is Cat. 11, an Athena on tiptoe, *en route* so to say. 'Mars gradivus' (Cat. 386-388) is alluring for the same reason. Cat. 386, an imperial-period 'common' *intaglio*, shows the god on tiptoe and actively proceeding with a flapping *subligaculum* (loin cloth). This iconography challenges to follow the god (and the goddess), and if such an image coincided for a Roman soldier with the deity, the influence of ring stones within the Roman army becomes somewhat clearer. But how the representations of cult images on gems coincided with the deities for the users of the ring stones, for example soldiers, requires more study. The red cornelian with the frontal representation of a cult image of Mars Ultor near a burning altar (Cat. 382) seems rather to evoke the fragrance of holiness around the cult statue, which had been set up since 2 BC in his temple on the Forum of Augustus. The author points to the possibility that the altar is Ultor's. Local elements rendered like this, possibly allowed the owner of the seal to move mentally to the sanctuary. Jupiter Victor with eagle is another of such images for *legionarii* (e.g. Cat. 379) as Golyzniac shows. Why soldiers so often possessed rings with engraved gems, even of a fragile kind like glass pastes is still a question. Did they travel more often than other people and needed to write on wax-tablets and seal their messages or did their precarious existence ask for belief in the images on the seals?

The book has many surprises to offer, too many to write about or enumerate here. An example is the intaglio of Virtus Augusti (Cat. 444) known from Roman coins, as the author tells us, but there never rendered in this alluring, classical style. The portrait of a woman, who must have lived in the environment of Faustina the Elder (Cat. 510) is perky and seems to convey some of the confidence of the imperial class, but that may be my imagination. The gems grouped under the heading ''of uncertain dates" should be studied under the microscope before I dare to suggest dates for them.

The history of the collector, Constantine Schmidt-Ciążyński (1818-1889), makes clear that a 19th-century Polish collector could still fully believe in his collection, as did his predecessors from the Renaissance onwards, something that we profit from, but which got lost in the 20th century. Engraved gems were attractive for people with a collector's mentality, especially since the desire for completeness could be satisfied with *dactyliothecae*. The high prices of the originals also played a role, as they automatically implied an aristocratic selection of owners and thus desirable contacts and influences. Developed historical or art historical interests are less prominent and are also more difficult to discover.

We should be grateful that collectors like Constantine Schmidt-Ciążyński brought together these gems, which changed the fate of these objects and eventually allowed them to pique our interest. I always wonder where in the past all those gems that entered the learned world through dealers and collectors came from, because subrecent and recent excavations hardly ever render engraved gems and do not provide an answer. Nor are the very thorough studies about the collectors (as the excellent one in this book) helpful in this respect. But as said above, the objects have a very long life because of the semi-precious material, and many may always have been 'above ground'.

Marianne Kleibrink

T. de Groot, J.W. de Kort (eds.), *Veilig naar de overkant. Onderzoek naar een muntvondst uit de Romeinse tijd in het dal van de Aa bij Berlicum (gemeente Sint Michielsgestel)*. Amersfoort: Rijksdienst voor het Cultureel Erfgoed, 2021. 160 pp., 11 tab., 30 cm. (Rapportage Archeologische Monumentenzorg nr. 267) - ISBN 978-90-76046-69-3.
To be downloaded free of charge at https://www.cultureelerfgoed.nl/binaries/cultureelerfgoed/documenten/publicaties/2021/01/01/ram-267-veilig-naar-de-overkant/RAM267_Veilig+naar+de+overkant.pdf

Though this publication analyses and discusses a Roman coin find in the Netherlands, the report is reviewed here because the coin find can be identified as an accumulated ritual deposition on a river bank, most likely near a ford. Ritual coin depositions in connection to rivers, springs, lakes and falls are also found in the Mediterranean area, and such depositions have recently become the object of scientific study. In 2017 the brothers Wim and Nico van Schaijk, both detector amateurs, discovered 107 Roman coins in a field bordering the rivulet Aa near Berlicum, part of the municipality Sint Michielsgestel in North-Brabant, the Netherlands. As the coins were found in an area classified as one with a high expectancy of archaeological finds and the coin find suggested a ritual deposition of individual coins over time rather than a hoard, a desk research and a field survey were carried out. The survey entailed augering in lines parallel to and across the river bed and digging a trial trench of 30 by 2 m. across the find spot. The geophysical properties of the soil were established and charted. Most of the collected find material (pottery, brick, glass etc.) dated from the modern era, with the notable exception of some Mesolithic flint artifacts, a few Roman pottery sherds, two Roman bronze coins and a bronze pendant from a horse's bridle. A ^{14}C dating of the botanic material showed that the soil layers covering the layer wherein the coins had been found were formed not before the late Middle Ages.

The coins were found in the upper level of an OSL-dated late glacial sandy layer, the wet infiltration zone of the river valley. The authors assume that the coins were found *in situ* and that the soil layer was not disturbed or eroded, although a micro-morphological survey could not rule out a slight lateral drift of the coins, caused by the stream. The individual coins were covered by a layer of iron hydroxide, formed when reduced and iron rich seepage water reacted with the oxygen in the superficial layer of the soil and built up upon and chemically interacted with the copper coins. Chemical analyses showed that the layer of iron oxides was formed shortly after the coins had been deposited. In the report, this encrustation process and the microscopic, submicroscopic and tomographic techniques used to analyze the encrustation are described. The find spot is situated on a narrow stretch of the river, bordered by a sand ridge, an appropriate location for a bridge, dam or ford. However, although the first cadastral map of the Netherlands (1832) indicates a ford near the find spot, no traces of a ford in the Roman period were found.

In total 109 coins were found: 107 by the Van Schaijk brothers using a detector, and another two during the field survey (see chapter 6 for a description an analysis). Amongst these were four silver denarii: the earliest coin was struck during the Republican period for *triumvir monetalis* Lucius Calpurnius Piso Frugi in 90 B.C. Two of the denarii were issued for the emperor Vespasian (A.D. 69-79) and one for Trajan (A.D. 78-117). The denarii were well-preserved, the bronze coins found were corroded as explained above.

Of many coins the denomination cannot be determined, or not with certainty. Only 30 coins can be attributed to a reference number in the *Roman Imperial Coinage* series, the other coins are too corroded. The as is the denomination best represented with a total of 39 coins, many of which are issued for Trajan. Thirteen sestertii were found: two for Trajan, four for Hadrian and one for Antoninus Pius. The oldest coin is the Republican denarius and these coins circulated until well in the second century. The oldest datable bronze coin was struck in A.D. 71 for Vespasian, the youngest in A.D. 162-163 for Marcus Aurelius. These dates are no direct indication for the period of deposition of the coins, because bronze coins also circulated long after their production date. The supply of bronze coins to the northern provinces diminished considerably during the reign of Marcus Aurelius' son Commodus and bronze coins supplied earlier circulated until quite far in the third century. Thus, the *terminus post quem* of the coin deposition does not have to be shortly after the production of the last coin. Reviewing the coins, the author proposes that deposition started after the Batavian revolt in A.D. 69.

Discussing the reverse types of the coins, the author concludes that 13 reverses are of a military nature, many of which show the 'walking Victoria' type for Trajan. Nine reverse types refer to the ample and correct supply and distribution of coins, showing Abundantia, Aequitas and Moneta. An intentional selection of the coin types chosen as an offering has been noted before in coin depositions in a ritual context, e.g in the temple of Sulis Minerva in Bath. In the source of the healing spring within the temple complex thousands of coins have been found, including 52 coins with a Salus reverse type, produced for Hadrian (*RIC* II 975). Coins with this reverse type are absent from Italian sites and are very scarce (only 16 specimen known) in the Rhine/Danube area.

The paragraph on the coin find is concluded by a contribution on the metals composition of the bronze coins. Many coins contain a high share of iron, not intentionally added to the alloy. The iron penetrated the coins during the period of deposition in the ferruginous soil. Further analyses suggests, that most of the coins filed under de headings 'dupondius?', 'dupondius or as' and 'undeterminable' are produced from copper and are most likely asses and coins of a lower denomination. The metallurgic analyses also shows, that the clear-cut notion that post-Augustean asses were produced from copper and that the dupondii and sestertii were made of zinc-containing brass *(orichalcum)* does not apply in a strict sense during the second century. In the dupondii and sestertii less zinc was added to the brass alloy in the course of time and the brass was gradually replaced by bronze, leaded bronze and gunmetal (copper with tin and zinc). This evolution of the alloy has usually been dated to the end of the second century but the coins from the Berlicum deposition suggest that this replacement was started earlier.

The authors discuss the nature of the coin deposition. The coin find is tested against the characteristics of nine types of coin deposition which are summarized in a comprehensive and very useful table. The characteristics include intentions of the owner of the coins, the moment or period of deposition, geographical and archaeological context and objects associated with the coins, etc. Each type of deposition (including lost coin, lost purse, emergency hoard, circulation hoard and votive deposition) is exemplified by (a) characteristic and well-documented find(s) in the Netherlands. The authors conclude that the coins were deposited individually over a long period in a ritual context. The (low) denominations used, the spatial distribution and the geographical context (on a river bank, plausibly near a fordable spot) all contribute to this conclusion. The association of coin depositions and water(ways) is subsequently discussed. Rivers, sources, springs etc. were a *locus sacer* where votive objects like weapons, coins and other gifts were offered to the gods. Well-known examples include the baths of Sulis Minerva mentioned before, Coventina's well in the United Kingdom and the Aquae Borvonis in Bourbonne-les-Bains in France. While at the time the Berlicum report was written, few French ford depositions had been published, the authors mention two Gallic depositions near a river ford only: Saint-Léonard and Namur. I can now add seven more ford depositions in France and Germany summarized in a more recent publication: J. Chameroy/B. Lambot. Offrandes bien tempérées. Monnaies offertes lors du passage d'un fleuve, à l'exemple du gué de Selles (dép. Marne/F), in *Honesta Missione. Festschrift für Barbara Pferdehirt*, Mainz 2014). All depositions show that the vast majority of deposited coins were asses and this supports the identification of the Berlicum find with its large share of these coins as a ritual deposition at a river ford.

Six Dutch coin depositions in relation to rivers or fens are compared to the Berlicum find, some of which (Nederwetten and Meierijstad, both near the rivulet The Dommel) closely resemble the Berlicum deposition. Subsequently, the nature of Roman religion is highlighted, with its notion of reciprocity. The authors conclude that the coin find at Berlicum is a conglomerate of ritual-sacral offerings, deposited by travelers hoping for or in recognition of a safe crossing of the river. They point out that votive offerings near rivers, marshes, lakes etc. date back to the Iron Age and even the Bronze Age, when valuable ornaments and weapons such as swords and axes and (from the third century B.C. on) coins were deposited. According to the authors coins with a military reverse were selected because this choice anchored the offers in the tradition of offering weapons by their ancestors in eras long gone. This hypothesis is appealing, but can only be established as plausible by comparing the reverses of the coins in the Berlicum find to the reverse types of the coins in a number of well-published ritual depositions in relation to fordable rivers and other waterways.

The report is an important contribution to the scientific discussion of ritual coin deposition in relation to rivers and other waterways. Unfortunately, as no summary in English or other language current in the international scientific discussion is provided, its practical use will be limited to those mastering the Dutch language. I can only hope that the authors will publish the results of their study in an international journal and subsequently on an open source platform. The results of this well-organized, well-written, carefully edited and profusely illustrated report with its convincing identification of the Berlicum find as a ritual deposition at a river crossing definitely deserves international attention.

Antony Kropff

A.L. Fischetti, P.A.J. Attema (eds.), *Alle pendici dei Colli Albani. Dinamiche insediative e cultura materiale ai confini con Roma / On the Slopes of the Alban Hills. Settlement Dynamics and Material Culture on the Confines of Rome*. Groningen: University of Groningen/Groningen Institute of Archaeology & Barkhuis Publishing, 2019. 268 p., ill., 29.7 cm (*Groningen Archaeological Studies*, vol. 35) - ISBN 978-90-429-2538-0.

This volume consists of the proceedings of the symposium "Tra Appia e Latina: dinamiche insediative e sviluppo del territorio alle pendici dei Colli Albani", held at the Royal Dutch Institute at Rome (KNIR) on February 9, 2017. The 23 papers concern subjects relating to the area of the Alban Hills, adjoining the southern suburbium of Rome, from Prehistory to the Middle Ages, with a special focus on 'minor' settlements and the interaction between human and natural elements in the landscape of this part of the Campagna Romana. In the following, the contributions are not presented in their order of publication, but rearranged with reference to the relevant arguments.

The introductory paper by Peter Attema (1-14) is devoted to the tendencies of landscape archaeology at a regional scale and presents, first, a review of the different positions of scholarship from the earliest phase of the discipline in the nineteenth century to the contribution of archaeological field survey and environmental studies in current research. The alleged 'great divide' between the in-depth analysis of specific sites and a broader geoarchaeological survey that takes into consideration also 'marginal' spaces is only apparent when considered in an integrated approach to archaeological landscapes at a regional scale.

A practical example of this approach is provided by the international research project presented by Francesca Diosono, Consuelo Manetta and Birte Poulsen (133-149), whose goal is to gather integrated information on the residential, sacred and funerary buildings along the via Appia between the XII and XVIII miles. The effectiveness of this critical approach is confirmed by their evaluation of the relationship between villas and mausoleums.

The contribution of Paolo Carafa and Maria Cristina Capanna (15-28) derives from the results of recent studies for the *Carta dell'Agro Romano*, carried out by a team of the Sapienza University of Rome. Three local case-studies in the Suburbium around the via Nomentana, the viae Latina and Appia and the via Aurelia highlight the inevitable differentiation of the relevant landscapes, as a consequence of historical phenomena of continuity and discontinuity in the settlement patterns and the exploitation of resources.

Gijs Tol, Tymon De Haas and Carmela Anastasia (29-42) present the result of their research into the minor centers in the Roman economy through the analysis of two case-studies at *Forum Appii* and the *statio ad Medias* along the via Appia. Despite the different scale and historical development of the two settlements, their role as central places is evidenced, as well as the relevance of water and the road connectivity.

In his contribution (91-104) Paolo Garofalo discusses the identification and localization of sites mentioned in ancient literary sources. First, there is the case of the *Fossae Cluiliae*, which refer to Tullus Hostilius' war against Alba Longa and probably were placed along the via Latina, and next the case of the *Lucus Ferentinae* with its namesake *Caput Aquae* that are connected to a *Porta Ferentina* mentioned in a single passage by Plutarch, and which probably led to the via Castrimeniense studied by C. Daicovici (1930) and A.L. Fischetti (2009-2019).

An extended, though preliminary study on the route of the aqueducts heading towards Rome from the south-eastern Campagna Romana is the subject of Diego Blanco's and Piero Sebastiani Del Grande's paper (157-170). The authors systematically combine data deriving from earlier scholarship, historical maps and new excavations related to the activities of the Soprintendenza, thus highlighting the close link between protection and research.

The impressive continuity of the human presence in the Alban Hills is introduced by Flavio Altamura and Mario Federico Rolfo (43-50). In particular, the distribution and chronology of the remains of *homo Neanderthalensis* from the Mid- to the Upper Paleolithic are probably related to a reduction of the volcanic activity in certain periods.

Silvia Aglietti and Alexandra W. Bush (197-206) dedicate their work to the *Castra Albana*, whose monumental *Porta Praetoria* is presented, as well as the social aspects of the *canabae legionis*, where the foreign soldiers and their families lived, having severe problems of integration with the local population.

The role of the epigraphical evidence is highlighted by the paper of Diana Gorostidi Pi (239-250), who surveys the relationships of the *gentes* of Tusculum with Praeneste (*Decemii*), Gabii (*Plutii*) and Aricia and Nemi (through the legendary *flamen Dialis* Brixus Amonius). Andrea Pancotti (77-90) also makes use of epigraphical and archaeological sources to provide an interesting hypothesis on the identification of ancient Castrimoenium with the so-called Castellano at the boundary between Marino and Ciampino. In the same area, a number of villas are analyzed by Alessandro Betori (223-230) with reference to inscriptions on lead *fistulae* and recent discoveries.

In the proceedings equal relevance is given to those papers that had been originally conceived as posters at the conference, thus providing the authors with the possibility to broaden their topics. This is the case, for instance, of the archaeo-speleological contribution of Luca Attenni, Angelo Mele and Giuseppe Granata concerning the underground levels of the sanctuary of Juno Sospita at Lanuvium (207-216); a paper on the cult of Hercules in the Alban Hills by Chiara Baranello, Laura Mazzoni and Sara Polvere (171-178); the archival research presented by Andrea Pancotti (51-56) on the placement of proto-historical sites discovered by Alessandro Visconti in 1817; two short contributions on classes of finds from specific sites at Ciampino, such as the architectural fragments of peperino from Marcandreola (Giulia Coccagna, 251-260) and wall painting from Colle Oliva (Federica Pollari, 261-268).

Further papers present new discoveries, such as the *mansio* at Casale Molara, to the south-east of Tusculum, introduced by Lucio Benedetti and Alessia Palladin (151-156); the diverse structures found at S. Lorenzo in Lanuvio, as recorded by Luca Attenni (207-216); the new data from the Bronze Age habitation at Villaggio delle Macine, near Castel Gandolfo, presented by Micaela Angle, Pamela Cerino, Andrea Cesaretti, Giuseppe Granata and Noemi Tomei (179-184).

A special mention deserves the outstanding discovery of boundary sites at Castel Savello, placed between the adjoining territories of Aricia and Bovillae. The research group including Paolo Dalmiglio, Giuseppina Ghini, Maria Grazia Granino Cecere and Alessia Palladino (105-132) presents a masterly essay on the archaeological contexts in which watercourses, sacred areas and inscriptions are intertwined.

Archival research is the subject of the papers of Alessandro M. Jaia (185-196) and Giuliana Calcani (231-238): the former dealing with unpublished drawings of 1928 of the Villa di Pompeo at Albano; the latter identifying on the ground two lost archaeological sites where important sculptural finds were made in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The last contribution, which originated the whole publication as part of the research project of Agnese Livia Fischetti (57-76), contains an analysis of the route of the via Castrimeniense with important achievements for the geomorphology of the area, the identification of several sites, the study of road connectivity throughout the centuries and the outstanding excavation at Marcandreola, where an impressive continuity has been detected with funerary, productive and sacred activities from the seventh century BCE to the late Imperial period. This preliminary report precedes the forthcoming publication of the research work that Fischetti has been carrying out in the past ten years.

In conclusion, besides presenting the proceedings of a congress, the volume *Alle pendici dei Colli Albani* has become an opportunity to introduce the current state of the art of archaeological research in the Alban Hills and the neighbouring areas. As a consequence, the variety of arguments and approaches presented by the authors of the contributions has already started to stimulate further research in the relevant fields and even, in some cases, will be the starting point for future studies.

Daniele F. Maras

EVELYN E. BELL, HELEN NAGY, *Corpus Speculorum Etruscorum. U.S.A. 5: West Coast Collections.* Roma - Bristol: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 2021. 186 pp., b/w ill., 33 cm. – ISBN 978-88-913-2185-5.

The thirty-seventh fascicle of the international corpus of Etruscan mirrors (*CSE*) is a carefully edited *catalogue raisonné* of twenty-eight items, one of which is a modern forgery (no. 20). Those in the University of California, Berkeley, Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology, San Francisco State University, and the Frank V. de Bellis Collection are described, analyzed and dated by Evelyn E. Bell, those in the Los Angeles County Museum, Malibu, the J. Paul Getty museum, the City Museum of Santa Barbara, University of California, Santa Barbara, University Art Museum and Seattle Art Museum by Helen Nagy. Both present the history of the collections. The drawings were made by Barabara A. Forbes.

Several unengraved circular mirrors, handles and fragments were not published before. Some discs are dated by referring to *comparanda* from Bologna. In some cases, it is not clear whether they are Etruscan or Roman, for example no. 1 (studied without chemical analysis) and no. 8. The original of type handle no. 5, from Orvieto, without context, is presumed to have been made in Praeneste and subsequently imitated in Etruscan workshops during the third century BC. This is unlikely as Praeneste only produced the typical piriform mirrors. Etruscan mirrors were exported from Etruria to Latium and not vice versa.

As for the engraved scenes on mirrors, there are the well-known ones like the 'sacred conversation' scenes, the Dioskouroi (alone or flanking *dokana*) and Lasa or pseudo-Lasa. The winged, armed Menerva on tang mirror no. 14 imitates the scheme of the latter (ca. 300-275 BC). Tang mirror no. 11, from Chiusi (ca. 300 BC), shows Perseus running, holding the head of Gorgon between two seated onlookers, one of whom is armed (one of the Dioskouroi?). Enigmatic is the scene on tang mirror no. 15 (ca. 330-300 BC): Eros holding a hare opposite to a warrior, Ares or a hero of the Trojan War, e. g. Menelaos or Alexandros (Paris). Handle mirror no. 16 (ca. 300-275 BC) represents the Recognition by Tyro of her twin sons Neleus and Pelias, a scene known from one of Sophokles' *Tyro* tragedies. The scene is visible on eight other mirrors, some of which bear inscriptions. The unique scene on tang (?) mirror 21 (end fourth century BC) may show the Toilette of Helen, Helen being observed by Alexandros and a nude woman in front of a basin (*labrum*) or fence. Above them are a star, the moon and the sun. Box mirror lid relief appliqué no. 23 represents Dionysos leaning on Eros, preceded by a female *kithara*-player. It is tentatively dated between ca. 250 and 180 BC. Handle mirror no. 24, that belongs to the so-called Spiky Garland Group, is the only one with inscriptions (on the border). They read from right to left: *menle* (Menelaos), *palmithe* (Palamedes), *mera* (Menerva) and probably *prumathe* (Prometheus). The only recognizable person is Mera. The scene looks like a 'sacred conversation', with 'a symbolic, not narrative' meaning (p. 58). But what does this symbolism mean? The proposed date of the mirror (late 3rd, early 2nd century BC) has to be raised to ca. 300 BC (see my *Interpretatio etrusca.* Amsterdam 1995, 228). Tang mirror no. 25 probably illustrates Menelaos threatening Helen (ca. 400 BC). Tang mirror no. 27 shows a running Maenad who is about to tear apart a small fawn. The engraving may be modern. Tang mirror no. 28 may show the Judgement of Paris (ca. 300 BC).

The Appendix presents the results of the chemical analysis of fifteen of the twenty-eight mirrors. Table 1 contains the raw results of the analyses by Inductively Couples Plasma (ICP) Atomic Emission Spectroscopy and Table 2 the normalized results. According to the authors 'analysis of the chemical composition of the mirrors is an invaluable tool to help scholars determine where the mirrors were manufactured...' (p. 9). In my opinion, their view is too optimistic since bronze casters may have travelled from place to place.

As for the Indexes, a perfume dipstick is not a *discerniculum.* Instead of *me'ra* has to be read: *mera* (p. 182).

The fascicle is dedicated to Richard D. De Puma, great connoisseur of Etruscan mirrors. He will be proud of CSE USA 5.

L. Bouke van der Meer

ANNARENA AMBROGI, RITA PARIS (eds.), *Il Museo della via Appia antica nel Mausoleo di Cecilia-*Castrum *Caetani*. Rome/Bristol: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 2020. 607 pp., figs., 24 cm (Studia Archaeologica 234). – ISBN 978-88-913-1951-7.

Thanks to the initiatives of the former director of the archaeological area of the Appian Way, Rita Paris, nowadays there are several public visiting centres in the archaeological park of the Via Appia. Next to S. Maria Nuova and the Casale Cederna, the *Castrum* Gaetani, built as a medieval extension of the famous Tomb of Caecilia Metella serves as an antiquarium showing material from various tombs and other monuments collected over the past decades. Its display may not be very 'sexy', but provides a fine impression of the various structures, mainly funeral monuments, constructed in the Roman era. Paris opens the book with a presentation of the Tomb of Caecilia Metella cum *Castrum* and (re-)tells their vicissitudes from the tomb's erection ca. 27-10 BC, via the erection of the *castrum* by Francesco Gaetani in 1302-1303, up to the most recent restorations and explorations in 1997-2000. Pope Sixtus V wanted to demolish the Tomb and use the material for building projects in Rome but abandoned his plan due to fervid protest of the Romans. From the early 19th century onwards, the complex has become a depot and open-air museum sheltering stray finds from the Appian Way. An enigma not solved by Paris and Claudia Ferro (in an appendix on Caecilia's epitaph) is the question who commissioned this grandiose tomb. Carla De Stefanis describes the restoration and further interventions on the monument in the 19th century, especially focusing on Giuseppe Valadier's fundamental work in 1824, when the tomb and the *castrum* were in a woeful state. Valadier's project was innovative, since he wanted to keep the finds of the area together rather than transfer them to the Papal and Communal museums. Due to political and personal intricacies Valadier's work suffered from a total *damnatio memoriae*, so that his successor in the field, Luigi Canina, not even mentions him. De Stefani also sketches the sequel: Canina's interventions in 1851-1853 and, more extensively, those of Antonio Muñoz in 1909, who created the 'Museo di Via Appia', many pieces of which still form the core of the collection. In 1997-2000 finally the modern Antiquarium got its shape. One more contribution by De Stefanis describes excavations carried out during the latest restoration of the *Castrum* Gaetani. The *Castrum* lies against the south-eastern side of the tomb, its ancient entrance in the *Castrum*'s courtyard. After quarrying lava basalt for the road's pavement from 189 BC onwards, three round monuments were erected in the last decades of the 1st century BC, followed by some further modest graves in the time of Constantine. While the older tombs were demolished, that of Caecilia Metella probably became a fortification in the 8th century. The later developments, known from written sources, have been ascertained by the excavations.

The bulk of the book is a catalogue of 186 objects, coordinated and briefly introduced by Annarena Ambrogi and described by her and six more colleagues, De Stefani already mentioned, Daniela Bonanome (most 'figurative' items), Eliana Fileri (idem), Cecilia Proverbio (idem), and Anna Maria Rossetto (architecture). Claudia Ferro has done a fine job with her presentation of the many, exclusively funerary inscriptions, both on plaques and altars and on (fragments of) architectural and figurative monuments.

Especially Bonanome's extremely learned and dense analyses of pieces that often seem extremely unattractive call for attention. We may distinguish the following categories: (1) some 75 architectural elements, mainly in marble stemming from funerary buildings, (2) ca. 60 funerary statues, urns, sarcophagi and reliefs in travertine and marble, (3) 10 altars and cippi, (4) 50 epitaphs on slabs or blocks as well as texts on monuments of the other categories, in tuff, travertine and marble, (5) 6 pieces with mythical themes, probably from villas and other non-funerary contexts. Here one of the red porphyry Dacians of the Forum of Trajan (cat. 140) is a *rara avis*. The pieces vary from tiny chips broken of larger monuments to complete and precious items, among which the standing *togati* and *palliatae* (cat. 144-149) which grace the book's cover, as well as the superb fragmentary late Republican head (cat. 106) also illustrated on the cover.

Most objects have no exact provenance, apart from 'Via Appia', whilst one group stems from the 1877 excavations at the Appian Fort at the third mile. Some pieces entered the collection more recently, after the modern restoration and excavation campaigns and thus have a more precise provenance. The catalogue is a *Fundgrube* for the study of funerary monuments, not only those in the area of the Via Appia, but far beyond. Although the authors do not try to reconstruct complexes, every student of the ruinous tombs and other buildings along a *Gräberstraße* can use the well documented items as comparanda in his or her work. It is a pity that there is no synthesis of, say, the architectural pieces of the subsequent periods (Republic from 150 to 30, Augustus, Julio-Claudians, Flavians, etc., up to Constantine), like the studies by Barbara Borg on the tendences in funerary architecture and connected practices in the second and third centuries (B. Borg, *Crisis and Ambition. Tombs and Burial Customs in Third-Century Rome*, Oxford 2013; *Roman Tombs and the Art of Commemoration*, Oxford 2019), but this would not match the chosen format of a catalogue. Consequently, there are repetitions of interpretations in, e.g., descriptions of fragments of round monuments (like Caecilia Metella) and dado-shaped tombs with friezes and relief adornments. The same is true for urns and sarcophagi, occurring from the mid first century until 300. The number of 10 strigil sarcophagi is relatively high (here I miss references to J. Huskinson, *Roman Strigillated Sarcophagi. Art & Social History*, Oxford 2015). The absence of indexes (e.g. *CIL*, names, topics, museums) is a great flaw: in this way, the book cannot easily be used as a (rich!) database for various aspects of Greco-Roman sculpture and architecture. This lack is all the more serious since the arrangement of the entries is not helpful either. The descriptions are arranged according to the display of the objects in the five exhibition rooms in the *Castrum* Caetani and in its façade. The reader has to go through the entire book to find pieces he or she is specifically interested in and may therefore miss substantial data on the interpretation of larger categories hidden within detailed descriptions. Nevertheless, the book is a fine working instrument for all scholars interested in Roman funerary art and architecture.

Eric M. Moormann

ALIX BARBET, *Coupoles, voûtes et plafonds peints d'époque romaine, I^{er}-IV^{e} siècle apr. J.-C.* Paris: Hermann Éditeurs, 2021. 365 pp., 456 figs., 2 maps, 28.5 cm. ISBN 9-791037-006806.

In her long career as a scholar working on ancient (especially Roman) painting, Alix Barbet has always been keen to call attention to the decorations of ceilings and vaults. Field archaeologists who find fallen fragments of stucco and plaster in their digs usually connect them to mural decorations, whereas the option of collapsed coverings of buildings should be accounted for as well. This monograph is the first ever to present a huge dossier of ceiling and vault decorations and relies on Barbet's long-lasting studies as well as work by other scholars, which she always generously mentions. Barbet's book opens with some brief remarks on the types of room coverings (flat = ceiling; curved = vault; variations and combinations). She observes the lack of exact terminology in various languages or better, the frequent absence of distinction between ceilings and vaults. Some remarks on the technicalities (Chapter 1), such as the supporting material and the application of the decorative schemes are too brief for non-specialist readers. The work relies on an articulation of seven decorative schemes Barbet conceived in previous papers. She gives no explanation or justification of the origin and development of these schemes, neither does she venture a discussion of recent proposals by Paul Meyboom (in E.M. Moormann/P.G.P. Meyboom, *Le decorazioni dipinte e marmoree della Domus Aurea di Nerone a Roma* I-II, Leuven 2013) and Johannes Lipps (*Die Stuckdecke des oecus tetrastylus aus dem sog. Augustushaus auf dem Palatin im Kontext antiker Deckenverziehrungen*, on which see my review in *BABESCH* 94, 2019, 267-268). Unfortunately, Lipps' book has entirely escaped Barbet's attention, despite its fundamental character. The bulk of this book is formed by a catalogue of more or less lengthy descriptions of the decorations of hundreds of ceilings and vaults, arranged according to her classification (and a chapter on material not attributed), dating from the early Augustan time to late Antiquity. The statement that the catalogue entries are presented in a chronological order is not borne out by the text and the topographical arrangement is not clear either. Happily, there is a topographical index which permits an easy consultation of the described cases. It is difficult to assess the completeness of the collection of the 600 vaults and ceilings assembled (not complete, see p. 315, 317). The entries sometimes include succinct references to 'more' cases, apparently belonging to complexes badly explored. The group of vaults studded with stars, for instance, has one mithraeum (Bordeaux, p. 44), whereas various other examples are well known. And other mithraeum vaults are almost entirely absent, although they have decorations. The numerous examples of rectangular and circular trellises could be enriched, but here we often see that the same schemes occurred on walls as well. Barbet is aware of this problem and includes a few murals (e.g., p. 80: Voerendaal): would they be ceilings according to her? At p. 311, 315, 317 Barbet admits that many examples can be added. My remark on (in)completeness is not meant as a criticism for failing ambitions, but only as a wish for the selection of the dossier to be better explained.

Chapters 2-4 are dedicated to three large groups of articulation schemes: 'décors à réseau' or trellis and coffer decorations, *vela* and draperies, and free compositions. It would be easy to quibble about the attribution of one scheme from one group to the other. The stray flowers and stars within the trellis types (p. 43-49) can be seen as free compositions of the last category as well. Especially the detailed articulation of the trellis and coffer schemes into 27 groups (chapter 3; see Lipps 2018 on this scheme) looks too complicated and might give rise to discussions for which this review unfortunately cannot be a platform. For me the 'coffers' of figs. 75, 100 and 103 do not differ greatly, all having floral motifs in a cross scheme within square fields. Plastically detailed renderings of coffer mouldings do not principally differ from simpler cases of outlines, but demonstrate stylistic developments of the same notion rather than different concepts (cf. figs. 76, 77, 138-139, 143, 163, 169, 172). Especially the octagonal coffers constitute clear translations from 3D originals in wood or marble into 2D paintings (many cases, pp. 94-112; some circle schemes are, undeservedly, included in this class, e.g., figs. 144, 146-147). In this group, one of the first cases would be the vault of the subterranean garden room of the Villa of Livia at Primaporta. In a brief comment, Barbet tries to define specific contexts like corridors and passage rooms. However, the presence of central scenes (a sort of *emblemata*) in various instances points at static rooms. The connection between floors and ceilings or vaults cannot be established in most cases, although Barbet has pointed at the relevance of the formal dialogue of two media in other publications. The iconographic analysis is laconically brief.

Chapter 4 inventories the small, but fascinating set of decorations composed with veils (*vela*) and other elements of fabric, seemingly suspended above the users of a room as a dais. In Hellenistic tombs in Alexandria, they protect the exposed corpses of the dead. Etruscan tomb ceiling could be cited as well in this context. In Roman times, this practice was not followed in tomb decorations, as evinces from Barbet's dossier. Some adornments look like seashells and adorn semi-circular niches (figs. 197, 305). 'Free' compositions (Chapter 5) include decorations of freely arranged figural motifs like flowers, flower scrolls, fish, birds, and human figures, as well as combinations thereof. They contrast, according to Barbet, with the more systemized equally free-standing elements ('jonchées' vs. 'sémis') of Chapter 2 (p. 143), but as said, I fail to observe great differences (cf. figs. 53-54 with figs. 214-215). Not rarely, *vela* form part of larger compositions, which could belong to Barbet's typology of centralized compositions discussed in chapter 6 (e.g., figs. 195, 210-212, 305). This chapter 6 dossier is the largest among her sets of ceiling and vault decorations. Figural motifs seem to play a major role, since they occupy small and big fields inserted into schemes of parallel bands as well as into the central rectangle or circle (sometimes reminiscent of a cupola's *oculus*, as in the Volta Dorata of Nero's Golden House; e.g., figs. 249, 270, 317). Chapter 7 has similar decorations, but now characterized by large fields placed in juxtaposition. This group differs from the previous category by the absence of concentric bands as organisational features, although frameworks occur (e.g., fig. 305). Among the earliest examples are the House of Augustus and the Aula Isiaca from the 40s-30s BC (figs. 297-302). Barbet dates them to the early Third Style (p. 211), although she also gives the correct earlier dating for the House of Augustus (p. 26; cf. Lipps 2018 for the chronology). In Chapter 8, vaults with a central accentuation and diagonal and/or rectangular axes are assembled. As those of previous classes, they run from the beginning of the 1st through to the 3rd and 4th c. with dating based rather on stylistic criteria than on archaeological data. The final chapter 9 contains cases which cannot be attributed to one of the seven categories. In most cases, these are fragments found in excavations. The cryptoporticus of the Domus Tiberiana (p. 307-308) is the same as was discussed in Chapter 7 (p. 241-243, fig. 374). In my opinion, the depicted section belongs to the Flavian era, rather than the time of the Severi and can be compared to post-Neronian examples in the Golden House (figs. 305-307).

A major positive quality is the lavish apparatus of figures which present almost all decorations treated, a treasure trove for all future students of this sort of material. Many photos were taken by the author in a timespan from the late 1960s to recent years and testify to Barbet's enviable knowledge of the original material. A special feature is the insertion of photo montages around the ground plan of a building, which offer the opportunity to study all decorations at the same time (e.g., figs. 188-189, 193, 259, 269, 305, 307). Similar compositions show ceiling or vault decorations and their details in one picture (e.g., figs. 249, 270, 272, 318-320). In this way, the reader can easily determine the width of variation and/or single scheme (e.g., Ostia, figs. 370, 373). If I see it correctly, the Domus Transitoria and Domus Aurea display the greatest variation of compositions (figs. 290, 303-313).

Thanks to the large amount of material, the book offers in the first place a reference catalogue. The author has not tried to sketch a chronological or typological development and regarding iconographical themes she says a few words in the brief conclusion only. We would like to know more, but the book can be a starting point for interpretative research. In coming works on interior decoration, it will be an indispensable tool. Painted ceilings and vaults as such stimulate other question as well. One of them: did the painters, who were responsible for both walls and ceilings or vaults (p. 42), take into account the standpoint of the viewer? The many floating figures seem to give an affirmative example, but the architectural elements do not (or barely) have 'distorted' forms. Take a set of images in portico 1-2 of the Villa of San Marco in Stabiae (fig. 281). The Mercury flanked by nymphs is rendered frontally, as seen on a wall, whereas the stellar hemisphere should indeed be looked at from below. The same is true for a portrait medallion in the nearby Villa of Ariadne and surrounding mythical figures (figs. 282-284).

The name index is not complete; I missed *i.a.* Actaeon, Gigantes, Vents (p. 207), Hector and Andromache (p. 222), Hylas (p. 230).

In sum, Barbet's monograph is an important addition to the vast literature on interior decoration of houses and public buildings in the Roman Empire. The data collection does not get an assessment by the author and is now above all a jewel box from which future students may, and will, pick relevant treasures. A sequel would be an interpretative study of ceiling and vault decorations, tackling questions on décor and space, style, iconography, time and region, and many more.

Eric M. Moormann

Henri Broise, John Scheid, *Recherches archéologiques à La Maglina* 3. *Un bois sacré du* Suburbium *romain. Topographie générale du site* ad Deam Diam. Rome: École Française Rome / Soprintendenza Speciale Archeologia Belle Arti Paesaggio di Roma, 2020. 522 pp., 410 figs, 18 folding plates, 28.5 cm (Roma antica 8). – ISBN 978-2-7283-1476-8.

Between 1975 and 2014, archaeologists from the French School in Rome have carried out investigations in the area around the railway station La Magliana, between Rome and Fiumicino. As early as the sixteenth century, vestiges were known of a monument associated with the *fratres arvales* thanks to the find of inscriptions with their protocols and calendar. The editors of the volume, prime experts in both the field project and the political and religious aspects of the Arval Brethren, were involved in this project from the outset and have delivered an excellent final report of their explorations, carried out in close collaboration with colleagues from the Superintendency. The book's authors include French, Belgian, and Italian collaborators, each writing in his or her native tongue, so that sometimes within the same chapter the readers have to reset their linguistic minds, changing from French to Italian and vice versa. All fifteen authors have signed their sections with initials listed at the end of the book.

Antonella Corsaro is responsible for two historical chapters. The first is on the sixteenth-century explorations, mainly known from some drawings and notes by Alonso Chacón, Sallustio Peruzzi and Pirro Ligorio. Although Ligorio has yielded the most extensive notes, he compiled his remarks after his stay in Rome and gleaned his information indirectly. These first explorations brought to light part of an allegedly tetrastyle temple in which bases and busts of second- and third-century emperors were found in their quality as Arval Brethren. Between 1857 and 1890 local tenants, the Ceccarelli brothers, carried out more or less yearly excavations. Corsaro has worked out the notes and (few) publications of these hardly systematical works and provides a detailed year-by-year overview, sometimes difficult to follow due to the lack of contemporary illustrations and plans of the trenches. The active interventions of the German scholar Wilhelm Jensen were instrumental for the study of the numerous fragments of inscriptions related to the Arval Brethren. Both chapters are supplemented by transcriptions of relevant source material.

The lion's share is the documentation of the 1975-2014 excavations, presented in clearly articulated chapters and subchapters, with contributions on specific material categories by experts (e.g. architectural pieces of the round Severan temple, published by Emmanuelle Rosso, pp. 212-242). There is a difference in documenting the explorations between the Italian and French parts: the French authors include separate lists of important finds within the descriptions of the archaeological fieldwork, whereas diagnostic objects get a place in the narrative of the Italian sections. The maps of figs. 51 and 58 (pp. 181, 184) are extremely relevant to the understanding of the descriptions, but unfortunately show some inconsistencies or lack details like excavation dates and indications of stratigraphic units (US). Yet, the reader can get a perfect insight from the meticulous presentations, – and displaying the results of fieldwork is not always as easy as it might seem. The reader also obtains a good overview of the remains and the reconstructions of the various phases and their defining elements. Whereas traces of the Republican and Augustan phases are scarce, some elements of a large Flavian intervention can be distinguished. The bulk of traces and finds belongs to the Severan era, viz. the rotunda reconstructed like a small version of the Pantheon, the southern part of the portico around the sacred terrain, and the adjacent baths. A precinct surrounded three sections which corresponded, as becomes clear in the evaluation of these findings, with three terraces, with the *lucus* around the rotunda 'on top' (on the highest level), a gathering place connected with a sanctum for the emperors in the middle (the *Tetrastylum* found in 1570), and baths at the lowest level. The location of the circus remains uncertain, although some blocks found outside the precinct seem to belong to the starting line and would, therefore, present a clue as to its location.

The third part of the book entails the interpretation of vestiges and cult practices and gives an important *summa* of the knowledge acquired over decades of meticulous research. The discussion of the various aspects includes a reassessment of some previous sections (e.g. the value of the 1570 documentation), but the users of the book, many of whom will presumably not read the entire text, will get an easier access to the work in this way. For this reason some repetition is not irritating, but welcome as a help to give more easy access to the results. Since, in the view of the editors, all purely interpretative parts apparently belong to this section, the reader finds here 'comments' on material presented before. So the shell motif present on cornices described before by Rosso is now explained by Scheid in detail: the shell would refer to heaven and express the qualities of Dea Dia as a celestial goddess who stimulated the growth of grain. A fine section is Cécile Evers' discussion of the three (out of originally nine) imperial portraits, also mentioned before. An important issue is the specific crown composed of grain stalks and long fabric ribbons which fall on the shoulder ('couronne d'épis et bandelettes blanches'). Evers discusses the old references and collection history and gives fine reflections on possible further candidates in this gallery, as well as effigies of other Arval priests. Scheid interprets the 'bois sacré' – part of the complex located on the upper terrace around or near the rotunda – as a realm of the gods, where men should not change anything, and which connects human and celestial spheres. The extensive inscriptions of the Arval Brethren published previously and most extensively by Scheid, are contextualized by Carlotta Caruso who discusses the texts in a chronological order. Whereas the texts from 20 BC until Claudius probably featured on columns, from Nero to Diocletian the text were inscribed on arcaded walls of a monumental structure. In the Flavian age they were 'published' on the walls of the tetrastylum, dedicated to *diui* Vespasian and Titus, on the second terrace. Later on, other walls were graced with these 'minutes' of the Arval activities which became less frequent and extensive over the subsequent decades. A brief section on the late-Antique interventions, including the installment of a nearby Catacomb complex, and a summary of the results complete this impeccable publication.

This brief presentation can barely do justice to the importance, intellectual depth, and richness of this study. It forms the superb conclusion of a long series of publications and adds important data to suburban religious practices in and around Rome throughout the Republican and Imperial era.

Eric M. Moormann

Paolo Giulierini, Antonella Coralini, Valeria Sampaolo (eds), *La pittura vesuviana: picta fragmenta: una rilettura*. Cinisello Balsamo, Milano: Silvana Editoriale, 2020. 680 pp., ills., 29.5 cm. (Le archeologie. Storie, ricerche, metodi) - ISBN 978-88-836643943.

This huge volume contains 53 papers plus pre- and postfaces by editor Antonella Coralini, based on conference contributions presented in 2018 and peer-reviewed after submission. The involvement of the director of the Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli (MANN), Paolo Giulierini, and his predecessor Valeria Sampaolo, is justified since much of the research deals with musealized material from the Vesuvian area. Moreover, Sampaolo is an acknowledged scholar in the field of Pompeian wall painting. The format of the book is similar to a volume edited by Coralini (*Vesuviana. Archeologia a confronto*, Bologna 2009) and it precedes proceedings to be edited by her of the 14th international congress of the Association Internationale pour la Peinture Murale Antique (AIPMA) held in 2019 in Naples. An overkill of painting studies, therefore, or a fine and necessary addition to the wide field of *pompeianistica*? I would answer positively, since the contributions presented here show methodological rigour and innovative aspects, planned as desirable outcome by Coralini, as formulated in her introduction. These qualities complement the 2009 volume considerably. Since it is impossible to discuss all papers, I will touch only upon the main themes.

In the footsteps of pioneering studies by Agnes Allroggen-Bedel, Coralini has advocated over the years that the re-contextualisation of paintings stored in museums (esp. those from Herculaneum, Stabiae, and Pompeii in the MANN, but also elsewhere, e.g. Pozzuoli, see D. Neyme in this volume) or in private collections (see A. Barbet) is important in order to get a better understanding of those isolated pieces and their original contexts, and also of the methods and history of their excavation. The secondary 'excavations' in the museum storages are wittily labeled 'Alibi' by the editors and presented in contributions on material from some of the oldest excavations in Pompeii: the *Praedia* of Julia Felix (Sampaolo) and the so-called Villa of Cicero (R. Ciardiello) as well as Stabiae (M.C. Napolitano). Many orphaned pieces are returned to their original context in a virtual form (e.g. 'Area Sacra' in Herculaneum: M. Notomista). An unexpected source is the model of Pompeii made in the 1860s in the MANN, where murals are rather precisely represented (paper D. Malfitana et al.), so that it can serve to reconstruct decorative contexts. A separate section 'Alibi' has, *i.a.*, papers on an manuscript by F. Galiani, member of the 18th-century Accademia Ercolanese, about paintings. P. D'Alconzo, known for many contributions on the early excavations and their documentation, shows how this scholar gave a fascinating sketch of ancient painting much beyond the antiquarian presentation of the fragments cut from the walls in the earliest excavations. The importance of old drawings as well as their flaws (G. Stefani on the Macellum in Pompeii) and virtual refitting of fragments into schemes (Coralini and M. Lioncelli) are made clear as well.

August Mau's famous 'Four Styles' have been criticized since their 'invention' in the 1870s, but are still a workable format or tool. Allroggen-Bedel gives a fine portrait of their inventor, who was more admired outside than within German academia despite his great achievements. Indeed, in most papers Mau's articulation is used as a tool to date and interpret paintings from campanian sites. D. D'Auria discusses some pre-Roman decors at Pompeii, whereas R. Benassai, C. Regis, and O. Vauxon present (pre-)Second-Style material from Campania and Cuma. Some other complexes, *i.a.* the Villa of Oplontis, display murals from various phases and are good cases to discuss changing tastes, including the 'marmorization' of opulent villas in the first century AD (R. Gee and J. Clarke, main reseachers of this villa and (Clarke) editor of the magnificent e-book volumes on Oplontis). Genres and iconography yield one more section, with *i.a.* contributions on still lifes, brilliantly analysed within the house contexts as token of prosperity and luxury (S. Costa), villa depictions and the possible relation with real villas (Josef Souček), and dogs (M. Di Gerio and A. Fuscone). R. Federico interprets the lavish architectural backgrounds of mythological scenes as reminiscences of Second Style paintings in a new setting of (suggested) wealth in the course of the first century AD. L. Caso suggests a relation between a priest of Venus, Istacidia Rufilla, and the elderly lady ('domina') in the grand frieze of the Villa of the Mysteries. Entirely new and an incentive for further study is an essay on gestures in figural scenes by F. Fagioli, M. Salvadori, and C. Sbrolli: they analyse finger snapping as a specific gesture. A mix of iconography and connection with space is addressed in papers on Egyptianizing and garden scenes (A.K. Koponen, R. Montella, É. Morvillez), paintings in specific rooms like *alae* and baths (E. Cova, L. Narès). Montella proposes a three-dimensional rendering of Pompeian garden paintings on the basis of the eye of the beholder versus the objects and statues standing in the greenery and surrounded or separated by fences. Frankly, I doubt whether the 3d suggestions (here translated into models) were envisaged so precisely by the artists.

Another programmatic topic is the archaeometric study of paintings, both *in situ* and in museum contexts. Coralini, again, gives a state-of-the-art paper, addressing the various questions and methods, and introduces the diverse approaches in the section dedicated to these matters. Economy is one of the topics involved as well: how long did the work last and how many painters did you need? See F. Bologna's paper on the House of the Unfinished Murals in Pompeii. Hence, what would be the price, also taking into account the pigments used. A fascinating source, unexpected in this mainly Campanian context, is the painters' shop (also workshop) dating to the third or fourth century AD excavated in the area of Sant'Omobono in Rome, mainly known thanks to the archaic temples. The sets of pigments found contain ingredients for different blues and for other colours, each with different prices (M. Ceci and H. Becker). The restauration projects presented pertain to both fragments in the MANN and Campanian houses and villas. We can observe a combination of documentation, virtual re-assembly, and *in situ* interventions, providing a huge mass of data and a wide array of new insights (e.g. Herculaneum, House of the Bicentenary: F. Sirano et al.; L. Rainer et al.). Coralini concludes the volume with a brief, but promising statement: '*Picturae*. Per una lettura al plurale' in which she shows the perspectives of large and collaborative projects which have the advantage of working together of archaeologists, restorers, historians, and information technology people (to mention just a few…) and the combination and integration of their different approaches. Let us hope that this volume will get a good diffusion and will become an example for further projects, both in Campania and beyond.

A full general bibliography (luckily, instead of separate bibliographies for each paper), name and place indices, English summaries (unfortunately not flawless), and a list of authors constitute the conclusion of this perfectly curated volume. Compliments to the editors, therefore, and in the first place to Antonella Coralini who, with her many briefer and longer interventions has become a leading scholar in this exciting field of pluriform approaches to ancient mural painting.

Eric M. Moormann

Umberto Pappalardo, Sybille Galka, Amedeo Maiuri, Carlo Knight, Lucia Borrelli, Massimo Cultraro, *Heinrich Schliemann a Napoli*. Con una nota di Paolo Giulierini. Napoli: Francesco D'Amato editore, 2021. 262 pp., 21 cm. Orsa Maggiore - ISBN 978-88-55250528.

The 'discoverer' of Troy and excavator of mainland Mycenaean sites, Heinrich Schliemann (1822-1890), was a great lover of Naples. Pompeii, the main archaeological site in the area, also got his intensive attention and it has long been known that he fostered a friendship with its post-1860 excavator Giuseppe Fiorelli. The director of the Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli (MANN), Paolo Giulierini, opens the book with a passionate introduction into the topic, revealing that Schliemann had thought of selling 'Priam's Treasure' to the Naples museum, since there it would attract many visitors. A brief introduction by the editor, Umberto Pappalardo, is followed by a succinct biography of Schliemann by the director of the Schliemann museum in Ankershagen, Sibylle Galka. She describes the extraordinary development of Schliemann's fortune (both economic and intellectual). Although her sketch does not contain many novelties for readers acquainted with this subject, it offers a fine, slightly romanticized but at the same time critical assessment. A brief essay by the 20th-century excavator of Pompeii and Herculaneum, Amedeo Maiuri (1886-1963), does not shed much new light on Schliemann, while it is a nice historical document. No source is indicated for this piece, the introduction to an Italian translation to Schliemann's autobiography (mentioned at pp. 77-78, where part of it is quoted again).

Galka hints at one of the main topics of the book, the possible transfer of Priam's treasure to Naples. Pappalardo, rather unnecessarily, retells Schliemann's *vita* before passing to his ten documented trips to Naples which can be reconstructed on the basis of his own documents. Pappalardo is right in defining the visits as those of (1) a general tourist, (2) a *cognoscente*, and (3) a professional archaeologist (p. 61), as we may glean from the pages of his diary (p. 159-160), Like his letters to Fiorelli edited in 1926 in a nowadays rare booklet presented in facsimile at the end of this publication, these pages are written in an "italiano talvolta davvero ostrogotico" (facsimile p. 18). These pages show how his insights regarding various archaeological sites grew in the course of his stays in Naples. During his visits to Pompeii and the MANN, Schliemann apparently paid more attention to minutiae than to important pieces. Despite his wealth he was extremely parsimonious and did barely enjoy the amenities Naples offered the well-to-do traveller. Among his contacts we find the famous Pompeii excavator Giuseppe Fiorelli (1823-1896) and the minister and archaeologist Ruggiero Bonghi (1826-1895), as well as the medical doctor/physical anthropologist Giustiniano Nicolucci (1819-1904), whose academic interests were comparable to those of Schliemann's friend Rudolf Virchow in Berlin. When he failed to get access to Hissarlık around 1875, Schliemann considered taking up residence in Italy and the study of prehistoric sites connected with the Homeric heroes and their *nostoi*. The idea of offering 'Priam's Treasure' to the MANN was proffered by Fiorelli, but seemed impossible to Schliemann due to its size, despite the great influx of tourists to Naples, interested in his finds rather than those of Pompeii and Herculaneum.

One of the possible sites of interest to Schliemann was Arpi, researched by Nicolucci, who is the subject of two contributions. In the first, Lucia Borrelli, director of the Naples University Anthropological Museum, describes the history of Schliemann's donation of a collection of finds from layer II at Troy to Nicolucci, now conserved in the museum. Borrelli describes the epistolary exchange of courtesies and books between the two self-made archaeologists. The donation comprised some 200 pieces stemming from Troy II's Yortan Culture (p. 97), dating to ca. 3000 BC. New research has procured a better understanding and the material has been newly displayed for the public. Thorough research on Nicolucci and other prehistoric archaeologists in Italy by Massimo Cultraro (who wrote extensively both on these scholars and on Schliemann in Italy) makes clear how the Italian scholars esteemed the finds from the early layers of Troy as *comparanda* for their own Italian finds. Schliemann also donated material to Luigi Pigorini, by far the most important prehistorian in 19th-century Italy, in Rome, and to Edoardo Brizio in Bologna. Due to various circumstances, there is no fourth Schliemann collection, planned for Reggio Emilia. The plans to donate material to its museum failed due to Schliemann's death in 1890. Cultraro sketches the place the lithic objects presented by Schliemann occupied in the growing number of studies on old cultures in Italy.

A not very relevant excursus is Carlo Knights' contribution about Fiorelli and Ersilia Caetani Lovatelli. He elucidates how the great Pompeii explorer got into problems due to a misalliance with a poor Neapolitan girl, and children who were never legalized. For this reason, Fiorelli was happy to leave Naples to pursue a career in Rome. In his fine piece Knight shows Fiorelli's dark sides, that is his bad behaviour towards the girl as well as his great vanity expressed by the erection of his portrait at the museum. He expands on Fiorelli's contact with Caetani Lovatelli, one of the earliest female archaeologists in Italy and holder of a grand cultural and political salon in Rome. Here Fiorelli was among the frequently returning guest (see on her Floris Meens, *Archeologe en muze. Ersilia Caetani-Lovatelli en het culturele leven in Rome tijdens het Fin de siècle*, PhD Radboud Universiteit, Nijmegen 2015, with English summary).

Pappalardo, finally, presents a transcript of the aforementioned diary pages pertaining to three of Schliemann's sojourns in Campania. At the end, there is the facsimile, also referred to above, of the rare booklet from 1926 with the correspondence between Schliemann and Fiorelli.

The book would have profited from a rigid editing process. The bibliographical references (in notes and bibliographies) are not standardized. Many quotes from letters and other documents occur more than once, but there are no internal cross references, although all contributions deal with the same topic. Yet, this small book deserves attention from all those who are interested in Schliemann's excavations in Mycenaean Greece and the formation of prehistory in Italy. The Neapolitan flavour conveys a fine background to Schliemann's Greek undertakings.

Eric M. Moormann

Patrizio Pensabene (ed.), *Il complesso di Augusto sul Palatino. Nuovi contributi all'interpretazione delle strutture e delle fasi*. Rome/Bristol: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 2021. 344 pp., figs., 8 pls., 24 cm (Studia Archaeologica 243). – ISBN 978-88-913-2050-6.

With this book Patrizio Pensabene wraps up recent and older scientific work in the complex commonly known as the 'House of Augustus'. Recently, it has become clear that the oldest structures excavated by Gianfilippo Carettoni, but never properly published despite many articles and books up to and including Maria Antonietta Tomei's 2014 edition of his excavation diaries, should be called the 'House of Octavian': the remains belong to the first house of Caesar's heir, built between 42 and 36 BC. The construction of the Temple of Apollo demanded a new, grander project and implied the obliteration of this dwelling. Like Johannes Lipps (*Die Stuckdecke des oecus tetrastylus aus dem sog. Augustushaus auf dem Palatin im Kontext antiker Deckenverzierungen*, Tübingen 2018; idem, Ceiling Decor Contextualised: A Case Study from the 'Casa di Augusto' on the Palatine, in A. Haug/M.T. Lauritsen (ed.), *Décor* 2. *Principles of Decoration in the Roman World*, Berlin/Boston 2021, 91-106), Pensabene and his team (here represented by Patrizio Fileri and Enrico Gallocchio) were actively involved in the most recent explorations in the house's surroundings (see P. Pensabene, *Scavi del Palatino*, Rome 2017). The present study is a mix of meticulous archaeological and architectural analyses and attempts at interpreting the vestiges, which mix makes it sometimes difficult to read. As to the 'House of Octavian', discussed in Part I, the possible ideological significance of the house's decorations are partly elaborated on, partly glossed over. The author sees connections with the prince's *vita*, luckily without overstating the supposed messages of the upcoming youngster. He suggests that the two rooms without windows, known as Stanza delle maschere and Stanza dei festoni di pini, were intended for 'rituali d'iniziazione' (pp. 65-67), a function we do not know from any ancient house, except for the Villa of the Mysteries in Pompeii (at least, according to some scholars). The veracity of such a specific suggestion should be argued more extensively. Personally, I would rather interpret them as private, cool *cubicula*, located at a certain distance from sections of the mansion which open to the south, as we know from Pompeii in great abundance. Vitruvius' remark on orientation and specific use in specific seasons might be apposite.

After 36, there came a 'casa interrotta': a never completed project, some bare walls of which can be observed in the complex labyrinth of remains (in later sections of the book some more vestiges are presented). This building was planned to be much larger than the House of Octavian and included luxurious *oeci*, called *cyzicenus* and *aegyptiacus* (unfortunately, both terms and the relevant features in the remains are not explained). Some marble elements from both the first and probably the second phase were taken out to be reused in the new still much grander complex around the temple of Apollo, constructed between 36 and 28 BC. The rooms themselves served as part of the substructures of the new complex's podium.

The shrine and its annexes constitute the subject of part II. Pensabene explains the religious and ideological match Apollo had with his neighbours Victoria, Magna Mater, Pales, and Vesta, all venerated in this area of the Palatine. There follows a detailed description of the substructures, the only remains of the temple which would have remained standing until a fire in AD 363, after which disaster the (cult) statues and marble elements vanished into lime kilns except for some tiny fragments. On the basis of these broken pieces, Pensabene reconstructs a façade of 28 m height, with columns cum capitals of 14.68 m; the capitals were gilded (p. 94, fig. II.1.c), while the building was left white, which corresponds to Virgil's, Propertius', and Ovid's evocations of the monument. Rising in a high position, the temple front shone brilliantly for spectators looking up from the Circus Maximus/Valle Murcia (p. 119). Pensabene gives sound reasons to reject Amanda Claridge's proposal to reconstruct the Temple of Apollo with its front directed towards the north. The author presents a fine reconstruction of the temple's huge doors. The iconography of the reconstructed door frame (i.a. griffins and tripods) corresponded to the mythical scenes executed in ivory relief on the *valvae*, with Apollo as the protagonist, known from Propertius: the slaughter of the Niobids and expulsion of the Celts from the Parnassus. The House of Augustus itself has left no traces, since on its location the Domus Flavia and Augustana (and maybe before them Nero's Palatine palace) were erected.

Part III is dedicated to traces of the edifices surrounding the temple, first and foremost of which is the Porticus of the Danaids, inaugurated in 25 BC. One of the first events taking place here was the *Ludi saeculares* of 17 BC. As in the previous sections the reader gets a mix of technical and detailed *Bauforschung* (e.g. the terraces extending to the South, see p. 169, fig. III.14) and interpretation, all documented with many images. Augustus' residence gets somewhat out of sight, but, Pensabene locates parts of it in the House of Livia at the northern side of the temple terrace (p. 171). A three-aisled 'basilica' at the eastern side and a round shape can be reconstructed as an extension, on top of the 'Casa interrotta' and with the 'Bagni di Livia' (older than the Neronian era, as is generally assumed, or Neronian after all, see p. 221) as elements of it next to the tholos-shaped Temple of Vesta. The nymphaeum was covered by the Domus Flavia and the Casino Farnese.

In the following, further arguments are given for the interpretation of the House of Livia as part of the house of Octavian/Augustus after 36. First, pilasters clad with opus latericium in the oldest house belong to the substructures of the Aedes Caesaris. Second, changes caused by both the reshaping of the Porticus of the Danaids as well as the construction of the Domus Flavia are described. There are some more elements discussed: a multi-column entrance and a memorial arch at the north side of the temple and a small shrine on the Scalae Caci, dedicated to Cybele and added in the late first or second century AD.

In the fourth section, the House of Livia is addressed one more time. Now a dense analysis of th architectural remains is given, in which various phases, from an archaic cistern up to the construction of the Aedes Caesaris, are distinguished. From the development sketched here, there results a sequence of buildings, such as a porticus connected with a portico around the temples of Victoria and Magna Mater, constructed after a fire in 111 BC, subsequently changed into the lower floor of a house, and then partly rebuilt after 36. The lower house, well known for its paintings, might be part of the House of Octavian just before or just after 36 BC. The correspondences of the decor (and of the flooring) with that of the House of Octavian would suggest both being simultaneously decorated. Pensabene argues that these rooms originally had a function as the *Curia Saliorum* (p. 274, 284), the Salii being an old sacred college known from the sources. It would be one more appropriation into Augustus' realm of an old institution on the Palatine. Yet, its new decor does not reveal anything but an interest in Egyptian cults and shows no reminiscence of the old cult. This section got new stairs and an 'atrium' accessible under the new house and its follow-up. A brief conclusive chapter brings together all elements.

The text is dense and abundantly provided with illustrations. However, these are often very small and for that reason less informative than one would like. This is a pity, especially while the situation is so complex and the site is not easily accessible, even for experts. In the bibliography, one misses a reference to Fleury and Madeleine 2019, very important in Pensabene's reasoning: Le sanctuaire d'Apollon, trait d'union entre le Palatin d'Auguste et celui des Flaviens. Proposition de restitution virtuelle, in *Neronia X : Le Palatin, émergence de la colline du pouvoir à Rome : de la mort d'Auguste au règne de Vespasien, 14-79 p.C.*, Bordeaux 2019, 167-182. It may be clear that this book will establish a firm foundation for further studies on this part of the Palatine, so important for the history of Augustan Rome and its connection with previous and later periods.

Eric M. Moormann

STEFAN ARDELEANU, *Numidia Romana? Die Auswirkungen der römischen Präsenz in Numidien (2. Jh. v. Chr.–1. Jh. n. Chr.).* Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2021. xii, 576 pp., 174 ill., 36 plates, 30 cm *(Archäologische Forschungen* 38) – ISBN 9783954905096.

Even before one has read any of the contents, one will be suitably impressed by this monograph: a hardcover folio-sized volume weighing a hefty three kilograms, almost 600 double-column pages on glossy paper, with 4430 footnotes, and many illustrations and maps. It looks like a worthy successor to the equally impressive 1979 catalogue of an exhibition at the Rheinisches Landesmuseum Bonn (*Die Numidier. Reiter und Könige nördlich der Sahara*, edited by Heinz Günther Horn and

Christoph B. Rüger). But while that catalogue was a tell-all-you-know about Numidia (now hopelessly outdated), the book by Ardeleanu has a more specific goal: as the question mark in the title, and the subtitle, "the effects of the Roman presence in Numidia", make clear, this study revolves around the perennial issue of 'Romanization'. That regrettably inexterminable word is avoided here, except to explain why the R-word is not used: the author questions the Romanization model, with its binary opposition of Roman and indigenous (Numidian, Libyan, Berber). For the same reasons, he also finds fault with a supposed Punicization in pre-Roman days, with its simplistic opposition of Punic and indigenous. Another break with much of scholarly tradition is Ardeleanu's rejection of the dogma of "l'Afrique retardée", a Northern Africa where nothing much happens until the early 2nd century AD when with the so-called "African boom" a Roman urban culture starts blossoming. As Ardeleanu pithily states: his main interest lies not with an impressive monumentalized townscape such as Thamagudi, but with "the road that led to Thamagudi" (4), the urban development in Numidia from Hellenistic days onwards – which he seeks to show was there, without the need to wait for Roman initiatives.

To study the settlement history of an area that stretches some 450 kilometres from east to west, and almost as much from north to south, over a period of three centuries, from the 2nd century BC to the end of the 1st century AD, seems something of a Herculean task. Of the few qualified to tackle this task, Ardeleanu certainly is one of the front-runners: he has an imposing bibliography to his name, largely dealing with Roman Africa. He shows himself in command of all types of evidence, and has an intimate knowledge of sites and finds that comes from autopsy. The present volume is the shortened and updated version of Ardeleanu's 2015 Berlin dissertation, incorporating relevant literature up to the spring of 2018 (and some more recent work by Ardeleanu himself).

In addition to the introduction and the conclusion, the book consists of two sections: I) the theoretical framework: concepts and models; and II) the developments from the 2nd century BC to the end of the 1st century AD, divided into six chapters. The first section is not the obligatory run-through of 'theories' encountered in many dissertations, but a thoughtful, important discussion of a number of central concepts, and as such it is an integral part of this book. Ardeleanu argues that his rejection of Punicization and Romanization, but also of Hellenization and "Autochtonologie", and the flawed binaries from which these depart (Roman v. Numidian and so on – the constituent parts of which are in fact also devoid of meaning) add up to an abandonment of the acculturation model. To my mind, this is not the case: despite frequent misuse, acculturation, originally, is a neutral concept that states that when human groups in the broadest sense meet, this will have some influence on all sides. Culture contact leads to culture change. It need not be a meeting between two sides: it could be any number, although the complexity of the analysis has of course led many to leave it at two parties – and obviously these were often reduced to ethnicities. Ardeleanu's alternative, of a Mediterranean-wide connectivity and its consequences, seems to me to be a beautiful example of the study of acculturation as it should be. But this disagreement about the right vocabulary aside, his conceptual discussion is exemplary.

Of the six chapters in the second section, the first deals with the developments per region, distinguishing between the western Pertica Carthageniensium (the area around Thugga), the Thusa, the Pertica Sicca Venerias, the Campi Magni of the valley of the Medjerda, the Cirtensis and the South, with the limes, every region with its own characteristics and specific history – which again shows how huge a subject is broached here. Delve deeper and things become ever more complex, and their analysis more complicated. There follow three chapters on specific kinds of building activity: private dwellings and workshops; sanctuaries; and necropoleis. Within the limits of this review it is impossible to summarize Ardeleanu's findings – his own summaries that conclude each chapter count from about 1500 to 4500 words. Two recurring conclusions are the long history of Numidian urbanism reaching back to Hellenistic days, and regional differentiation. A fifth chapter takes a closer look at urban buildings with an economic purpose (*macella*, *horrea*, and so on, but also harbour installations), but widens the scope to include the economic life of Numidia in general, discussing the grain trade, marble quarrying, and the distribution of pottery and of coins. Here again, it can be shown that trade networks – which embraced much of the Mediterranean – were already in place in pre-Roman days. In this chapter, even more so than in the others, Ardeleanu is doing ground-breaking work: the economic history of Numidia in Hellenistic and early imperial times is largely *terra incognita*. In the sixth chapter we zoom out and look again at the settlement history of pre- and early Roman Numidia. If we combine the evidence laid out in the previous chapters, we are confronted with a vibrant urban landscape from the 2nd century BC onwards: two maps (plates 35 and 36) with the consolidated sources make this abundantly clear.

In his conclusion, Ardeleanu underlines again that we have no *tabula rasa* waiting for the Romans to create an urban network. *The* urban settlements in Numidia have a three centuries long history – and along the coast five or more centuries before that (as far as that previous history is concerned, Ardeleanu stresses that Punic influence should not be overestimated either). A huge variety of late 3rd- to late 2nd-century BC settlements acquire urban characteristics, in a century in which the connectivity within the area reached an unprecedented level and the political situation changed completely. "Variety" is a key word here: a city like Thamagudi is utterly unrepresentative, every community is different. Town walls, sanctuaries, living quarters and workshops, funereal monuments, and the degree of monumentalization all show regional differentiation.

Picking individual elements (*tophetim*, podium temples, *opus signinum* floors, black-glaze pottery, and so on) as the correlate of Punic, Roman, or Hellenistic influence, Ardeleanu rejects as simplistic – as is the idea of local continuity because of the occurrence of certain grave types. All these things are contemporaneous and show how these communities become part of economic and political networks that are large enough to accommodate all these elements (and at the same they get a local twist – happily, the author refrains from the more obfuscating than illuminating use of terms like global and glocal). Certainly, Numidia was not, as it is still portrayed in many accounts, a *petite Rome*: the question mark behind the "Numidia romana?" of the title can stay. Roman influence is obvious, but it cannot explain everything that we see on the ground: to understand Numidia we need complex, multicausal clarifications.

There follow an English summary and a French résumé, 25 pages of tables (describing nine find complexes), 65 pages of bibliography, and indices. There is an index of African place names, of other place names, and of museums. Alas, there is no subject index: if you want to know what the author says about, for instance, *terra sigillata*, you have to study the tables, pp. 469-496, and also read the book – the tables do not contain references to possible further discussion of finds elsewhere in the volume. An index of epigraphic texts is also sorely missed.

This is an incredibly wide-ranging book, considering it is a monograph with single authorship. But as already stated: though wide-ranging it is not a general history of Numidia or a general guide to the many Roman remains, it has a purpose, namely to say something about cultural change and its driving forces. This is a study that is obviously of importance to anybody interested in the development of Numidia (or all of Northern Africa, or the whole circum-Mediterranean) between Hellenistic and early imperial days. But it is also an impressive contribution to the study of the mechanisms and modalities of culture contact and culture change.

Frederick G. Naerebout

Diego Chapinal-Heras, *Experiencing Dodona. The Development of the Epirote Sanctuary from Archaic to Hellenistic Times*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2021. 264 pp., maps and plans, 24,5 cm. – ISBN 978-3-11-072751-7.

Maybe this new study of the sanctuary at Dodona should have been titled *Contextualizing Dodona* as its main aim is to put the development of the sanctuary in the context of Epirus and beyond, and of Epirote/ Molossian history, from the beginning of the Archaic Period to 167 BC when Rome conquered Epirus (there is a lot of contextualizing going on throughout the volume, but not much experiencing: we have to wait for that until chapter 6). According to Chapinal-Heras, although a lot of attention has been paid to the oracular texts found at the site, studies of the site itself are relatively few and far between, let alone studies that situate the site in a wider landscape. Here Chapinal-Heras gives too little credit to Jessica Piccinini (*The Shrine of Dodona in the Archaic and Classical Ages. A History*, Macerata 2017) and Nikola Moustakis (*Heiligtümer als politische Zentren. Untersuchungen zu den multidimensionalen Wirkungsgebieten von polisübergreifenden Heiligtümern im antiken Epirus*, Munich 2006). It must be said, however, that he frequently refers to both studies, and acknowledges their contribution (see esp. p. 9). But he thinks they both fell short of what Chapinal-Heras has in mind: "a holistic treatment of the sanctuary" (1). This is the task that he has set himself to provide in the volume under review. Keywords are "paths and communications", not to be understood simply as plotting the routes leading to the sanctuary and listing the contacts established along those routes, but as the continuous creation, physically and mentally, of an interconnected landscape with cultural, political, religious, economic and social facets. His theoretical framework here is that of landscape archaeology.

Two chapters deal with the history of Epirus in general and of the Molossian kingdom in particular, and how this impacted Dodona. Another two chapters discuss the Dodona sanctuary and the cults established there against the backdrop of Epirus and the further Greek world. One aspect of Dodona's involvement with the outside world, pilgrimage, is treated in a separate chapter. A final chapter looks at the so-called polyfunctionality of the Dodona sanctuary. In addition, there are 16 pages of general conclusions, followed by an extensive bibliography and two indices: the first is a subject index which is rather perfunctory (computer generated?) and the second is not in fact an index, but a bibliography of excavation reports.

The chapters on the history of Epirus first outline the geography of the area, more specifically its orography and hydrology, When zooming in on Molossia and the Ioannina plain, and the valley of Tcharacovitsa a map would have come in handy to locate all mountain ranges, corridors and rivers mentioned. Epirus was made up of three areas: Thesprotia, Molossia and Chaonia. These areas were divided among many *ethne* – dynamic groupings with a constructed collective ethnicity/identity. The boundaries between, indeed, the number of these *ethne* are not known. Epirus itself has no clear boundaries. About the population we know next to nothing: as Chapinal-Heras notes, "there are … no extant Epirote authors to offer us insight about how the inhabitants of this territory conceived of themselves" (17), and any modern attempts in that direction are hampered by "the paucity of early epigraphic material in the region" (18) and the sparse information in literary sources (21).

Along the coast, we find *poleis*: products of colonizing efforts. In the interior of Epirus, *poleis* only arise between the Classical and Hellenistic age. They do not so much replace *ethne*, as coexist or coincide with them. In the area we encounter both oligarchies and monarchies. Molossia, ruled by the Aeacid dynasty from at least the early 5th century to 232 BC, when queen Deidameia died heirless, was pre-eminent and its power expanded over other Epirote *ethne*, in a complicated interplay with Macedonians and Romans. After 232 there existed an Epirote *koinon*, dissolved by the Romans in 167 BC.

This summary account of Epirote history takes up almost one half of the book, which might seem a bit much. But in defence of the author it should be said that the history of the Dodona sanctuary is deftly interwoven with the more general history. In this way, it becomes apparent that with the growth of Molossian power in the last quarter of the 5th century, the monumentalization of Dodona, previously an extremely simple open-air sanctuary, began and rapidly turned it into an impressive ensemble. Apparently, in the past there had been no power near Dodona that could have coordinated and financed such a building spree. But according to Chapinal-Heras the site may also have been an example of the deliberate avoidance of "anthropization" (42). Supposedly, this wish to remain a "natural" site was at that time overruled by political considerations. In 219, Dodona was plundered by the Aetolians: the damage done and the reconstruction afterwards are archaeologically attested. All this is illustrated by plans of the site and of individual buildings – taken from existing publications. The architectural features and finds are discussed at length, with many references. The lead plaques with oracular questions – surely the best known finds – are only dealt with as late as chapter 4 (116-119) and chapter 6. Some peculiarities are duly noted: the presence of a lot of Bronze Age pottery, but very few pottery remains after that. Which is certainly odd enough for some explanation to be called for – but we do not get any; permissible, because an analysis of the finds was not the goal of this study. Another anomaly is that when the building boom creates a monumental Dodona, the number of offerings decreases, not only of dedicated spoils of war, which decrease in number all over the Greek world, but of all votive and other gifts. Again we are left to contemplate its causes without assistance from the author (although later in the book there is some speculation).

Chapter 4 takes a closer look at the cultic activity at Dodona, and the way it developed over time, obviously with the oracular proceedings at the centre of interest. Here, there is nothing new – but the compilation is helpful, especially where Chapinal-Heras presents a very comprehensive overview of gods worshipped at some stage at Dodona. In 4.7, he discusses the religious connections between Dodona and the rest of Greece, focussing on Boeotia, Athens and Olympia. The connections are mainly mythical traditions, or sharing the main god; only in the case of Athens, there are documented contacts between the Athenian *polis* and the Molossian kingdom: Zeus Naios and Dione, probably the Dodonic ones, had an altar on the Acropolis, Athens had frequent recourse to oracular consultations at Dodona, and Tharyps, the Molossian king during whose reign the monumentalization of Dodona took off, seems to have spent his formative years in Athens.

In chapters 5 and 6 we come to the central part of this book: the landscape, the "paths and communications" of the introduction (although the previous chapters already contained several hints, e.g. by pointing out the mountain tracks that connected seemingly isolated *ethne*). Chapter 5 inventorizes the routes to Dodona, happily accompanied by six full-colour maps. It also takes a close look at the Molossian and further Epirote landscape. Chapinal-Heras lists sanctuaries and settlements in a very useful overview that makes available a lot of (recent) archaeological research. What it is all about, the connections between Dodona and the sites on the routes towards Dodona, and more generally with sites in Epirus, must remain largely hypothetical – the evidence simply is not there. Of course, in many instances it is extremely likely that there were links, even intimate links, and the maps show us where to look for them. But they cannot be substantiated. There have no oracular tablets from Dodona been found anywhere else than in Dodona itself, and – strangely – Molossian/Epirote place names are almost absent in the thousands of tablets found (however, in the majority of cases the place of origin of the individuals consulting the oracle is not listed, so this may be pure chance). Many sites in Epirus remain unexcavated, and there is a serious mismatch between the archaeology and the written sources: to the majority of archaeological sites as yet no ancient name can be assigned, and vice versa.

The tablets take centre stage in chapter 6: after a general account of pilgrimage and oracular divination, Chapinal-Heras offers an analysis of places (cities, regions, *ethne*) mentioned in the tablets – nicely captured in a table. He also points out the importance (and frequent pitfalls) of the onomastics and dialectal features of the tablets, other inscriptions by dedicants, and the provenance of offerings and of coins. It appears that people travel to Dodona from far and wide – which we already knew. Alas, no clear patterns are recognized, and no conclusions drawn, except for the observation that very few pilgrims come from nearby Illyria, explained by Dodona's preference for customers from Hellenic areas (184). But one would not expect an oracle choosing which people to serve, rather people choosing what oracle to go to, if at all. The Illyrians may have had other sanctuaries which they thought served them better.

Chapter 7 looks at the "polyfunctionality" – another keyword – of the Dodonic sanctuary. Already in the introduction we had been told that polyfunctionality is no exception, but rather the norm. Sanctuaries are religious, political, economic and socio-cultural centres. These different functions cannot be seen separate, but they are entangled – a fashionable word that Chapinal-Heras seems quite enamoured of. It is a nice word, though: I daresay that this proposition of "entangled functions" is quite correct and that – of course taking into account the huge variability across sanctuaries – nobody will contradict this. Which also implies that it does not tell us very much about Dodona. More helpful is the discussion of Catherine Morgan's concept of the "inter-state sanctuary": originally on neutral ground (but tending to be overshadowed by some neighbouring power), and usually panhellenic. Chapinal-Heras presents an able defence of the idea of panhellenism, that recently has come under some fire.

This is a study of Dodona full of interesting observations and with an important central thesis: the sanctuary as situated in a landscape, or maybe we should say landscapes, plural, when dealing with a sanctuary as Dodona that fulfils local, regional, supra-regional and panhellenic functions (as fully acknowledged by Chapinal-Heras). Its overview of the archaeology of Epirus in general and Dodona in particular is valuable for anyone who wants a quick update. It could, however, have been a far better book when more time and effort had been put in editing. It really is a pity that there has been no or insufficient copy-editing. Now we have some annoying repetition, and an arrangement of the contents that could have been more clearly structured, especially in the chapters 4-7 and in the conclusion (which is mostly a summary). The landscape archaeology might have been treated more prominently. Now it is a *very* implicit theoretical framework: after the introduction it gets a mere two mentions towards the end of the book. The English is not always idiomatic and could have benefited from the attention of a native speaker, and there are some small, but sometimes worrying mistakes, e.g. Piccinini 2019 for Piccinini 2017 (n.11), 370-378 for 370-368 (39), Aphodite for Aphrodite (130). The English practice of capitalizing nouns, pronouns, adjectives, verbs and adverbs in titles is sometimes erroneously extended to German and other non-English titles. Otherwise the book is very decently produced as can be expected from De Gruyter.

Frederick G. Naerebout

MARCO GIUMAN, *La trottola nel mondo classico. Archeologia, fonti letterarie e iconografiche*. Roma: Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, 2020. 146 pp., 24 ill., 19 plates, 24 cm (Quaderni di Otium 4). – ISBN 9788876893247.

Anybody familiar with the work of Marco Giuman – a long list of publications – will not be surprised that his latest book, *La trottola*, the spinning top, does not limit itself to toys and child's play. Toys in a literal sense in fact account for only a small part of the text: most of it is dedicated to spinning tops and a range of related objects, all characterized by a gyrating movement and a humming sound, in the context of ancient religion and symbolic thought. Movement and sound have been the subject of previous studies by Giuman: (with Federica Doria) The Swinging Woman. Phaedra and Swing in Classical Greece, *Medea* 2.1 (2016) 115-147; «Ho incatenato lingue ostili e bocche nemiche». Magia, parola e silenzio nel culto romano di Tacita Muta, *Medea* 1.1 (2015) 301-324 (in a special issue 'Frontiere sonore' also edited and introduced by Giuman et al.); *Melissa. Archeologia delle api e del miele nella Grecia antica*, Rome 2008; as an editor (with Romina Carboni) *Sonora. La dimensione acustica nel mondo mitico, magico e religioso dell'antichità*, Perugia 2015 (Quaderni di Otium 1).

Despite it relatively modest size of 120 pages, this is an extremely rich, dense text that touches upon a wide range of subjects: the spinning top as a children's toy, but above all its ritual and symbolical dimensions, which are many. This need not surprise us: a spinning top, which spins without falling over, and would do so forever (if it was not for the friction), is something magical and hypnotizing – 'hypnotizing' being the word that Giuman uses of his own childhood experience with his "trottola di latta rossa" (xiii). My spinning tops, richly decorated with push pins and my mother's nail polish, evoke comparable memories.

After a short introduction there follow four chapters and no conclusion. There is an index of ancient names (Zagreus was overlooked) and an index of ancient authors (just names, so not an *index locorum*). A subject index would have been helpful in dealing with this text stuffed to bursting with detail, and with many twists and turns, as befits the subject. Only a summary account can be presented here, let alone detailed criticism of particular items. Departing from actual tops and scenes of child's play, by way of Hermes spinning his top, we arrive at the *rite de passage* from boyhood to manhood, as associated with Hermes. Scenes with girls or women with tops have been usually interpreted as merely illustrating that these were playthings not just for boys, but for females as well. Departing from burial ensembles, Giuman argues for the connection of the top with Eros and Aphrodite, and again Hermes, as an oracular god. Tops as grave gifts, "the spinning tops of Hades", correspond to the "nexus between marriage and death", when a *parthenos* dies before her wedding day. This leads on to the top and other toys as symbols in Dionysiac mystery cults, and as votives donated at sanctuaries: especially the Theban Kabirion. "Spinning" and other circular motions, sometimes in combination with buzzing or whirring sounds, are connected with ecstasy. This connects to other objects related to tops, several of which share the name *rhombos*, amongst them bull-roarers. Another word for *rhombos* is supposed to be *iynx*. Giuman sees the two as different and dedicates a chapter to the *iynx* in its own right, as a magical instrument, a spinning love charm. The mythical character Iynx who was changed into a bird, *iynx*, the wryneck, and the charm are intimately connected. More generally, circularity and repetition are essential elements of the world of ancient magic.

Confronted by this roller coaster ride, one might entertain some methodological misgivings: Giuman's appreciation of authors such as Jane Harrison, Mircea Eliade and Karl Kerényi who do not shun some quite speculative notions, raises some doubts. These centre on what I have previously called the 'scrapyard approach' to ancient religion: every disparate bit of evidence that might be relevant is adduced to support a hypothesis, with a certain disregard for dating, genre, context, and so on. Although Giuman is not nearly the worst offender, and builds up his arguments quite carefully ("procediamo per gradi", 37), these doubts linger in my mind. Is not too much made of too little?

The subject matter, both the *realia* and the religious-symbolic analysis that accompanies them, reminded me of studies of a century ago, by authors like A.B. Cook (of the mind-boggling three-volume *Zeus, 1914-1925*). And indeed, Cook has a long section on Iynx in his first volume and discusses the bull-roarer (referring to, i.a., J.G. Frazer's *Golden Bough* and Jane Harrison's *Themis)*. Giuman's work presents a comparable combination of classics, archaeology, ethnography and folklore. But even more than by these Cambridge Ritualists, Giuman appears to be influenced by French scholarship: when we look at the entries *s.vv. Rhombus* and *Turben et turbo* in Daremberg and Saglio's *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines*, 1877-1919, authored by respectively Edmond Saglio himself and Georges Lafaye, we meet with exactly the same blend of *realia* and symbolic-religious interpretation (one could add to the entries in *DAGR* the 1948 contribution by August Hug in *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Alterthumswissenschaft s.v. Turbo,* not mentioned by Giuman). Saglio and Lafaye are duly included in Giuman's bibliography, but are not given enough credit. Both figure in his text and annotation quite sparingly (except for a lengthy quote from Saglio on p. 83) and he does not give us a historiographic account of previous work on the spinning top and related objects where he could have lauded them. But in fact, Giuman's chapters read like an amplification and elaboration of the two entries in *DAGR.* This feeling is strengthened by his use of a number of illustrations deriving from these publications, including the image on the cover. This is a study with an admirable time-depth: if only everyone would read what was published a century ago. But the author seems to find this not worthy of comment, or takes no pride in it. I say he should have flaunted it.

It is definitely not my intent to say that Gumann is a hundred years behind his time. Not only does he include new source material, even unpublished, but his analysis is also very much of the present: it partakes in the so-called material turn, and reflects current interest in the senses, performance and play, and lived religion. Taking a – necessarily very selective – look at the extremely voluminous literature dealing with the religions of the ancient world, I find that much subject matter tends to come full circle: it falls out of fashion and comes back into fashion. But it will be equally obvious (when it is *not* obvious, we are not dealing with legitimate scholarship) that something has happened in the meantime. The subjects may re-appear, the ways in which they are dealt with are different, and I daresay, on the whole more sophisticated. Giuman's book about the *trottola* builds on a century of publications since Frazer, Cook, Harrison, Saglio, or Lafaye. I have not been able to come up with any immediately relevant title that is not in his bibliography, or it should be Huizinga's *Homo ludens* (in the preface by Mauro Menichetti we find the homo ludens referred to in general, without mention of Huizinga).

In sum total: a very thorough account of an old-fashioned subject updated for today. Despite the misgivings already mentioned, I feel that anyone interested in ancient religion should engage with it – and with Giuman's other publications which do not seem widely known outside Italy. For those with a primarily archaeological interest, there is a large selection of archaeologically attested spinning tops and related objects illustrated: not only the spinning tops themselves, but also relevant vase paintings, reliefs, statuettes, a wall painting and a piece of jewellery. This study, however, contains no catalogue. Giuman's main focus lies elsewhere, as we have seen above. But this will interest the archaeologist as well: in addition to the *realia*, there is the social and religious embedment of these objects and images in a whole world of play, games of chance, fortune telling, divination, love magic, initiation and mystery cults.

Frederick G. Naerebout

LUIGI LAFASCIANO, *Archeologia del sogno rituale. Dall'arcaismo alla tarda antichità nel mondo greco-romano.* Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 2021. 368 pp., ill, 24 cm (Studia archaeologica 248). – ISBN 9788891321213.

Lafasciano studies dreams and visions in a number of different contexts, from archaic hero cults by way of epiphanic and healing gods to Christian saints. He does so in order to establish diachronic change in the ways in which such dreams and visions functioned within religious life and within communities at large, and to show how this impinged upon the construction of sacred space. And as if this was not enough – and maybe he is right and it is not – he wants to go beyond these already large questions by asking even bigger ones about the ways in which visionary rituals were used to create meaning and forge a cultural identity. This multi-pronged research goal is pursued across three chronologically arranged chapters, and a fourth chapter that takes one particular case study to illustrate and /or illuminate the historical development outlined in the previous chapters. The book concludes with an almost 50 page bibliography and three indices: an *index locorum*, an index of personal names (including classical authors and thus in part replicating the *index locorum*), and one of place names. A subject index is, as so often, sorely missed.

In the first chapter, which deals with archaic and classical Greece, we are straight away confronted with the pluriformity of the phenomenon of 'visions' in a ritual context: on the one hand there are epiphanies perceived by the subject while he/she is awake, on the other dreams that come to the subject while he/she is asleep – in a ritual context, that would be during incubation. Lafasciano focuses on incubation: see the title of his book. Incubation in its turn is also pluriform: its purpose can be oracular (oniromancy; but also more specifically a type of necromancy, where the dead appear in a dream), and its purpose can be healing. The healing can have an oracular aspect, when the sick individual is not forthwith cured, but is instructed on what to do in order to effect a cure. Despite the incubation focus, however, Lafasciano's account also takes in Pre-Socratic philosophizing, 'waking' oracles, and mystic initiation – true to his introduction where he speaks of "sogni *e* visioni" as two complementary phenomena. Another complication. Though I readily subscribe to the idea that everything has to do with everything else, it is not always practical to pursue this idea in one's research. However, Lafasciano argues, and not unconvincingly, that he needs to take this wide view because for part of the period dealt with in this chapter, incubation ritual as generally understood is only *in statu nascendi*. From Pre-Socratic wisdom branches out therapeutic cults and medical *techne*, the two from the start not in competition, but in symbiosis with one another.

In the second chapter, about the Hellenistic world and Republican/Imperial Rome, it appears that a more uniform incubation ritual with healing as its purpose has crystallized out, "l'incubazione terapeutico-oracolare" as it was progressively codified from the 5th century BC onwards, largely at sanctuaries dedicated to Asclepius (epiphanic techniques, however, were never the exclusive province of Asklepieia). Not only is the ritual more uniform, it is also practised over a wider area, which development Lafasciano calls "la formazione di una cultura visionaria mediterranea": one could say that incubation is sharing in the advance of an all-embracing Hellenistic *koine* which also extends to Italy beyond Magna Graecia. Uniformity, diffusion and increasing popularity also bring state regulation in their wake.

The third chapter, on Late Antiquity, looks at early Christianity's ideas about dreams and dreaming, with martyrs and saints as the new intermediaries between man and the supernatural, concerned with what Lafasciano calls the nexus between physical well-being and spiritual salvation. In the tension between continuity and discontinuity, there develops from the 5th century AD onwards a Christian incubation ritual, with eastern saints as Tecla, Cosmas and Damian and Demetrius. But Lafasciano stresses that there are also examples in the West, usually neglected – to which we will return below.

These three chapters are an admirable work of synthesis, a bit breathless because of the brave (or foolhardy) attempt to fit all of the above in a mere 185 pages, but based on a very wide reading in the relevant literature, punctuated with well-chosen quotes from the primary sources and useful illustrations, mostly of plans or aerial photographs of important sites. However, at this point, we cannot avoid mentioning the *magnum opus* of Gil Renberg, *Where Dreams May come. Incubation Sanctuaries in the Greco-Roman World* (Religions in the Graeco-Roman World 184, Leiden 2017), of over 800 pages. This must have become available while Lafasciano was writing his study, two years before it was accepted as a PhD in a Salerno/Paris cooperation, in the summer of 2019. A quick scan of his first three chapters turns up a mere three references to Renberg. Now, of course, there is no obligation to refer a certain number of times to whatever publication, and even less so when what you write is the fruit of your own labour and there is no imperative to credit someone else with its results. Nevertheless, it seems proper to at least engage with a predecessor's work, especially when it is so encompassing, and to indicate where one's arguments differ and where they are in agreement. I will not attempt here to remedy what Lafasciano has neglected: a comparison of Lafasiano and Renberg is not the goal I here have set myself, and would not be fair. But there is one discrepancy that cannot go unmentioned: Lafasciano's *index locorum*, with an impressive range of literary authorities, lists only some 50 epigraphic sources, almost exclusively from *IG*, while Renberg has over 800 entries in his list of epigraphic sources, taken from a wide range of epigraphic publications. This contrast has to do with the amount of detail that could be fitted in, but also with a different approach: Renberg focuses on incubation throughout, Lafasciano's ultimate objective is to answer the bigger questions mentioned above. At least, that is what I surmise: one would like to see it addressed explicitly.

There definitely is no overlap with Renberg in Lafasciano's fourth chapter, where he looks at a particular locality, viz. Akragas/Agrigentum, and retraces his steps from archaic days to late antique, early Christian ones (there is no Akragas in Renberg's index). From this retracing of steps one gets the impression that the first three chapters are in fact a kind of outsized introduction to the analysis in the fourth chapter, the longest chapter (though not by much) and the only chapter to have conclusions of its own. We get an analysis of relevant religious phenomena in Akragas/Agrigentum, from possible precursors in chthonic cults and *theoxenia*, to an extra-urban Asklepieion, next a transference of the Asclepius cult to inside the city in Roman days, possibly connected with the theatre, and ultimately Christian epiphanic cults at some of the old pagan cultic locations: the so-called Temple of Concordia and the old Asklepieion. The account here is thorough, and well-illustrated (alas, some of the plans are blurred and murky, and difficult to read).

A general conclusion follows. Some of its summary points have already been mentioned above. Otherwise Lafasciano's concluding remarks centre on, first, the interplay of individual and community: in the ancient 'multiverse' the sick person is situated between the supernatural world and the human community (as opposed to the modern "bio-medical paradigm" where disease is something in and of the individual). There is no heuristic dichotomy to be drawn between the individual and the collective. Indeed, in the Hellenistic/Roman era of soteriological divinities, the sick individual can be seen as a privileged member of the community, in direct contact with the supernatural. But one can wonder in how far Aelius Aristides and Galen, the main sources in this context, can be considered as representative. Secondly, Lafasciano stresses the performative character of therapeutic ritual. He supposes a particularly intimate relationship between dramatic *mimesis* and *mimesis* in therapeutic ritual. Here one may argue instead that all ritual is performative. When Lafasciano for late Antiquity refers to Averil Cameron's notion of a "spectator's culture" this would hardly apply mainly or only to therapeutic ritual. Thirdly, identity: one can readily believe that the different modalities of visionary experience and its agents, and the mechanisms of sickness and healing add up to different "racconti identarii" and reveal something about "ideologie dominanti" (278-279), but to operationalize this is difficult without stating the obvious or losing oneself in speculative thought. Most interesting for readers of BABESCH might be the attention paid by Lafasciano to the settings of visionary cult and incubation: originally, the favoured locations were grotto's (natural and artificial), sacred woods, and springs. As incubation ritual becomes codified, we see a "relazione osmotica tra cultura medica e pianificazione urbanistica" (274; I suppose that Lafasciano includes extra-urban sanctuaries, well-represented in this text, in his concept of urban planning). The performative aspects lead to the inclusion of theatrical amenities, literally: theatre spaces form part of, or are associated with, healing sanctuaries, from the 5th-century BC Amphiareion onwards. Lafasciano also wants to see the theatricality of therapeutic ritual in Asclepius reliefs with scenes of healing: he considers these as truly scenic, which I find difficult to believe – that we find dramatic scenes in vase painting does not seem a valid argument. As we progress in time, we see further monumentalization and enlargement of healing sanctuaries. In the Christian world the topography becomes rather diffuse: *memoriae*, altars, *atria*, *hospitia*, and *xenodochia* can all attest to the power of martyrs and saints to impinge upon daily life. Most of the information on sanctuaries is well-known, with the probable exception of the archaeological evidence for the healing cults connected to Ambrosius of Milan, Vittricius (or Victricius) of Rouen, and Paulinus of Nola (at Cimitile, the ancient necropolis of Nola). The detailed information on Akragas/Agrigentum will also be new to most readers.

It is difficult to arrive at to a proper appreciation of this book: it is neither fish nor fowl, not just a synthesis of much previous work on incubation (it is that too – and does a proper job), and not just a piece of original research shedding new light on the religious history of Akragas/Agrigentum (it is that too – and again does a proper job). Trying to do both things at the same time, the author might have done an even better job pursuing the one or the other course, maybe a lengthier book on incubation in general and a major article on Akragas. But now I am sinning against the rule that a reviewer should never tell what book he/she should have written instead. Lafasciano's study should be judged on its own merits. And it has considerable merits. It not only amasses a lot of information, but tries to find use for it, sometimes rather speculative, however well-documented, but always interesting. Despite – or maybe because of – its ambiguous nature, this book can be recommended to those seeking a sweeping overview of incubation ritual in the Greek and Roman world (with some provisos), and to those interested in the finer points of the religious history of Magna Graecia.

Frederik Naerebout

FANNY OPDENHOFF, *Die Stadt als beschriebener Raum. Die Beispiele Pompeji und Herculaneum.* Berlin: De Gruyter, 2021. 398 pp., 125 figs, 6 maps, 24,5 cm (Materiale Textkulturen 33). – ISBN 978-3-11-072269-7.

This revised version of a 2014 dissertation (Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg) deals with a townscape where the inhabitant or visitor walking through public space is at every turn confronted by textual messages: inscriptions in stone and metal, dipinti and graffiti (in the following all subsumed under "inscriptions", as does Opdenhoff, following common practice). The Campanian cities buried by the eruption of Vesuvius offer the only instance where we can study such a townscape in its quasi totality. But there are some important caveats: walking the streets and necropoleis of Pompeii and Herculaneum can easily lead the modern observer to think that (s)he can re-live the ancient experience of the omnipresent texts. In fact, many texts are no longer in situ or have been lost. And might the ways in which ancient observers experienced public space, and the texts in public space, not have been very different from our observations? In this monograph, Opdenhoff tries to reconstruct the textual townscape and problematize the way in which that landscape was created and was looked at. Her four leading questions are: 1) who was responsible for the inscriptions and who was addressed by the inscriptions; 2) what did the inscriptions communicate; 3) what is the relationship between materiality and contents; 4) how did context and circumstances interact with the inscriptions and influence the way in which they were understood, *inter alia*, are inscriptions put up at the most appropriate places for communicating their specific messages?

Opdenhoff opens with an excellent historiographical account which also highlights the most important controversies and outstanding questions, many of which have to do with literacy and agency. Also, the concepts of context, public space and communication are discussed against a number of theoretical backgrounds – for reasons of space we cannot go into any detail here, except to say that there is quite some knocking on an open door: "[context is] the connecting or interweaving of things in a particular situation" (Ian Hodder); the modern understanding of public and private cannot be transposed one-to-one to the ancient world (Peter von Moos); the transfer of information is only one of several purposes of text production and every recipient of a message will reconstruct that message anew (Charles Sanders Peirce). It seems fairly obvious that Opdenhoff could have, and will have, thought of these things herself. From this section it is (too) apparent that this study started life as a dissertation. Theory had to be mentioned, but otherwise this is not a study that is in need of a lot of theory (or contributes anything theoretical), except for the field of materiality, which, however, is not problematized at all.

The bulk of the book consists of three main parts: one looks at the materiality of the inscriptions, their contents, their number and their distribution across urban space. Another looks/focuses at the different contexts in which the inscribed texts occur: streets, amphitheatre and surroundings, and necropoleis are analysed. Sandwiched between these two is a shorter section dealing with the manner in which a Roman observer will have looked at texts in public space, in as far as literary sources, imagery and the texts themselves inform us about this. A conclusion is followed by an 80 page catalogue of the texts, again arranged in the three categories streets, amphitheatre and necropoleis. There also are 40 pages of plans and colour photographs (in addition to the over 50 black-and-white images in the text). There is an excellent index (names and subjects), and an index of CIL and Ve (E. Vetter, *Handbuch der italischen Dialekte* I, Heidelberg 1953, for Oscan texts) numbers which refers to pages in the main text and in the catalogue – the inscriptions in the catalogue are not numbered (which on the one hand seems like a wise decision: the CIL and Ve numbers will do very well, and there is no need of yet another concordance; on the other hand, Opdenhoff has new readings where necessitated by autopsy or photographs: whoever wants to refer to those new readings cannot easily do so and will have to refer to CIL etc., together with an Opdenhoff page number).

Inscriptions on stone and dipinti are official texts originating with the town council and other bodies, and also texts originating in the private sphere, but addressing the public at large, such as grave inscriptions, building inscriptions, *programmata* or *edicta* *munerum*. Such official, semi-official or legal content is never found in graffiti: the latter messages are of a more personal nature – but dipinti can also serve comparable purposes (greetings, warnings, advertisements). Opdenhoff presents a detailed analysis of materials used, types of lettering, size and shape. The results are sometimes predictable: grave inscriptions show a lot of variety depending on the wishes of the deceased or his/her relatives and the financial means available, but honorific inscriptions are put up by the community and answer to fairly strict rules as to their execution. Inscriptions are generally ruled by conventions, and this is as obvious with the dipinti as with the inscriptions in stone or metal. Graffiti, however, show a large range of letter types and so on: they generally have an impromptu character, and their writers range from those clearly accustomed to writing to the semiliterate. Most important conclusion here is that the way an inscription looked, already gave something away about its contents.

There is, as might be expected, a correlation between contents, formal aspects and spatial distribution: from a very strong correlation (epitaphs) by way of an almost as strong correlation (honorific inscriptions) to a slightly weaker correlation (building inscriptions, dipinti, graffiti). But it is fairly obvious that these three things hang together, e.g., one would not expect to find a dipinto advertising something in a small alley that is little frequented. But in case one would have entertained certain doubts concerning the correlation mentioned above, these are removed decisively by Opdenhoff. So now we can add the conclusion that also the spot where an inscription was employed assisted in categorizing and thus interpreting that inscription.

The (third) section about contexts takes this one stage further, and looks not only at inscriptions in relation to walls or other carriers, but also to other inscriptions in their immediate surroundings. Also the general surroundings where the prospective audience passes by, is taken into account: we have to consider sight lines, the general direction of movement, and so on. Again, there is this correlation between formal aspects, contents, and spatial distribution. Apart from some interesting asides about who decided to put up what where (and whether people were paid for making available their wall space), the main result of this section is the insight that there is an interaction between inscriptions and public space: an inscription is placed at position X because of certain qualities of that particular spot, but the inscription(s) also help shape and maintain the qualities that distinguish X. And as Opdenhoff stresses, certainly rightly so, aesthetics play their part – the colour, size, and lay-out of an inscription assure that the audience is aware of it, without the need to actually read it.

The middle section, dealing with the 'Roman gaze', could have tied everything together. It seems somewhat perverse to suggest that the Roman view of their textual townscape would have subverted all or some of Opdenhoff's conclusions: they look quite convincing to me. It would be nice, however, to have them confirmed. But – as might be expected – ancient authors are more interested in the contents of inscriptions than in the act of inscribing and the ways in which different people react to texts in public space. Otherwise, information is sparse. Literary texts show that the spatial distribution of inscriptions as seen in Pompeii and Herculaneum is 'representative': it is what a Roman writer/reader would expect. As to the question with whom a text would originate, we do not learn anything specific, except for the interesting fact that everyone was seen as a potential writer of graffiti – there is no intimation that this would be a lower class activity, and the modern idea of graffiti as 'deviant' seems absent. In this context also meta-texts are interesting: Opdenhoff discusses the well-known graffito "admiror te paries non cecidisse / qui tot scriptorum taedia sustineas" in an interesting excursus (141-144) in which she makes clear that this is far from a critique of graffiti; it might even be poking fun of any such critique. Altogether, we have to make do with the texts themselves.

Some of the results of this study are self-evident, others are of a nature that anyone who would more or less familiarize her/himself with the inscriptional evidence from the Vesuvian cities could fairly easily come up with the same hypotheses. What this study contributes, however, is first of all to put all these hypotheses on a firm evidential base. Secondly, this evidential base is very well documented in an extensive catalogue and in many pictures – part of them in full colour. Proper pictures – other than drawings – of dipinti and especially of graffiti, difficult to photograph, are quite hard to come by: what we have here is as good as it gets. That is, except for The Ancient Graffiti Project, directed by Rebecca Benefiel: http://ancientgraffiti.org/Graffiti/ (accessed December 9, 2021). This important site is mentioned by Opdenhoff in two footnotes only: her work is valuable, but also in danger of being eclipsed by the rapid development of online resources. Joining forces should be the motto, I guess.

Frederick G. Naerebout

Massimo Osanna, Annalisa Capurso, Sara Matilde Masseroli (eds.), *I calchi di Pompei da Giuseppe Fiorelli ad oggi.* Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 2021. 560 pp., numerous ill., 27,5 cm (Studi e ricerche del Parco Archaeologico di Pompei 46). – ISBN 9788891321169.

Ever since they started to be made in 1863, the plaster casts of victims of the 79 AD destruction of Pompeii and the surrounding area have been the subject of an often somewhat morbid interest. They have served, and still serve, to turn an abstract story of a volcanic eruption into a very human, timeless tragedy. The immediacy of the bodies of the dead (mind: not mere bones, but bodies, or in fact plaster-filled cavities left by their impressions in the volcanic material in which they were embedded, which is in effect the same thing) evokes the viewer's empathy. We read things like (we give a random selection from online sources): "bodies preserved in the positions in which they died," "an imprint of that person's last moment alive," "victims caught at the instant of death" or "the last moments of the ill-fated Pompeiians, frozen forever in plaster."

Also, some of the casts have been provided with hypothetical biographies.

But as so often, reality can be expected to differ from such essentially romantic notions. What we were in need of was a thorough scholarly study of the casts: strange to say, no proper study existed at all. With the present publication at long last it has arrived: a hefty volume that is the collaborative effort by an interdisciplinary group of 36 authors. What was started in 2014 as a restoration project has grown into a comprehensive study that illuminates many different aspects of the casts (but not their rich *Nachleben – see* Eugene Dwyer, *Pompeii's Living Statues. Ancient Roman Lives Stolen from Death*, 2010, and Eric Moormann, *Pompeii's Ashes. The reception of the cities buried by Vesuvius in literature, music, and drama*, 2015).

The first section (200 pages) deals with archaeology and vulcanology. The first chapter provides a volcanological analysis of the Vesuvian eruption and discusses how this created our archaeological artefacts. It is a full account, with clear maps and graphs, of the deposition of pumice and ash, and of the pyroclastic surges or flows, and (gruesome) details about how those caught in the pyroclastic surges met their end – if they had not been killed before by roofs collapsing under the weight of volcanic debris, or by inhaling ashes and toxic gasses. A second chapter adds some new data from recent excavations in Regio V.

In a third chapter (which, though very interesting, does not seem very relevant for the subject of the casts) Michele Borgongino and Grete Stefani contribute the most extensive discussion so far of the dating of Vesuvius' eruption: they do not set out from the recently discovered charcoal inscription that is thought to contain the date of October 17 as a *terminus post quem* (it is mentioned in their final paragraph), but analyse the textual tradition of Pliny and Cassius Dio, the archaeological finds and especially the botanical remains as indicative of that year's harvest. They conclude that October 24 (the *nonae* of the Kalends of November) is the most likely date. It is a conclusion that has been drawn several times before, but was still contested. After this very thorough examination of the evidence that will be difficult.

The next three chapters present in exhaustive detail the complete history of producing the casts: they deal with the 19th century and early 20th century, the 20th century from the 30s to the 60s, and the most recent 50 years respectively. Separate chapters deal with the casts from Boscoreale, and from Civita Giuliana. The Civita Giuliana victims – being the most recent casts (2020; nrs 92 and 93) – are analysed anthropologically and there is a section on the clothing of these two victims. In this way the chapter also functions as a kind of addendum to later chapters on textiles and on the casts' anthropology.

Two chapters deal with archaeological finds other than the bodies themselves, but associated with them. 43 casts can be linked to objects, sometimes embedded in the plaster of the cast, otherwise now stored separately: jewellery and other personal items. A lengthy chapter deals with clothing. Pompeian textiles are discussed generally, and more specifically through a number of case studies of casts. There is an appendix on the conservation of actual textile fragments from Pompeii. The authors caution that the clothing worn by the victims will not have been representative because of the unique circumstances; nevertheless, they argue, and indeed they show to an impressive extent, that the evidence of the casts offers excellent possibilities for contributing important details to a history of ancient textiles. A table list the 36 casts where items of clothing can be identified, and a further 24 with evidence of some kind of cloth. Different types of weave and quality (rough, medium or fine) are distinguished.

The second and third sections of the book (100 pages) are dedicated to diagnostics, restoration and exhibition. A first chapter reports on CT scans and x-rays of the casts. It is a first report only, discussing a quite limited number of case studies – for a full account we will have to wait until all casts have been fully studied. But already the preliminary results are quite important: skeletons are never complete, sometimes the number of bones remaining within the cast is very small, in one instance (the famous dog, cast nr 8, one of only three animal casts), there are no bones at all. A resin cast from Oplontis – not discussed in this volume – containing a complete skeleton, had led to the expectation that the Pompeiian casts would also contain more or less complete and articulated skeletons. It appears bones have been consistently removed, also apparent from the many post-mortem fractures of remaining bones. The older casts appear to have been re-worked after casting, and have frequently been restored. They contain a remarkable amount of iron supports and tenons, both inserted when the casts were made and during restorations. That some restorations had been "creative" was already obvious, but now the authors of this chapter go a step further and conclude more generally that "it is increasingly evident that there is some artifice in the creation of these forms of victims" (221). They observe stylistic differences between the casts made at different points in time. Osanna, in the introduction, suggests that the differences between high quality casts with much detail (19th-century ones) and lower quality ones (20th century) were caused by the use of inferior materials (vii; cf. 257 for a discussion of the composition of the casts). The one explanation and the other do not, I think, exclude one another: if an inferior cast, as Osanna would have it, answers to one's aesthetic sensibilities, it will be quite acceptable. Anyhow: caution in considering the casts as furnishing direct, unmediated contact with ancient Pompeians, which would have been a healthy attitude under all circumstances, is now an imperative. It is also quite obvious that we must revise several identifications, where age and/or sex have been misjudged, and that we must reject the stories that have been woven around the casts. The chapter provides us with two examples: the pregnant woman (cast nr 10) is not pregnant and maybe not a woman; the crippled old beggar (cast nr 15) is neither old, nor crippled, but a healthy young man or possibly woman, without whatever indication that (s)he would have been begging for a living. More such debunkings are likely to follow. But also new stories can be written, about health and well-being, and many other aspects – as also the following chapters illustrate.

Next is an anthropological analysis of the casts of victims found at the Nola Gate. It is suggested that the cause of death was asphyxiation by volcanic ash and toxic gasses, and that the effects of the pyroclastic flow occurred *post mortem*. A short and very technical chapter on DNA sequencing of samples taken from bones, shows that despite degradation of the material this can be used to establish sex and to investigate possible blood relationships. In the test case here, what the archaeologists thought a family group, are shown to be unrelated individuals. Again, new stories are called for. A final chapter, which widens the view to include Herculaneum and Oplontis, reprises some of the anthropological analyses, and offers additional information on the effects of pyroclastic surges of differing temperatures. Hidden in the caption of an illustration (248, fig. 10) is the remark that fanciful restorations can be exposed by looking for anatomical improbabilities – as in cast nr 26 with its "fattezze poco plausibili", improbable features (the catalogue entry for nr 26 is a bit less confident, but notes some anomalies).

Two chapters discuss restoring the casts. The first deals with past restorations, the current state of preservation and types of damage and decay, how restoring is now being undertaken and, quite important, how the restorations are documented (the lack of any documentation for past interventions is repeatedly regretted throughout the volume). The second describes scanning the casts and making 3D copies. Another two chapters are dedicated to exhibiting the casts past and present, and to the ethical issues involved. To issues like visible skeletal material or casts of infants as opposed to adults, I would like to add something that to me seems quite specific for these casts. The last time we came really close to some of the more poignant examples was at the 2013 Pompeii exhibition at the British Museum and it felt like a rather voyeuristic and disconcerting experience. Most likely this was because of the visibly violent death of these individuals. As can be seen in the popular comments on the casts quoted above, it is not so much the fact that these are humans from the 1st century AD that arouses most interest, as the fact that they are humans from the 1st century *on the brink of death*. In exhibiting these casts, it would seem that quite some contextualizing is required to avoid a purely sensationalist urge to watch people's agony and death throes.

The fourth section is a 250-page catalogue of the 93 extant casts, and another 8 known from photographs, but now destroyed or missing. For each cast, there is a general description, find context, presence of any clothing, measurements, further provenance and present location, bibliography and anthropological data: sex, age, what laboratory research it has been subjected to, and its restoration history. Some 10 casts are fragmentary (the exact number depends on what you call fragmentary: only two numbers in the catalogue are labelled *frammenti*), 3 are of animals (a dog, cast nr 8, pig, nr 66, and horse, nr 91). Not included are casts of plants or other organic matter such as woodwork (there are some relevant images on pp 32-33, and cf. p.231: "vari calchi degli alberi caduti"). That makes less than 100 casts – of the about 1150 victims of the eruption known (of course, how many human remains went unrecorded we cannot quantify). Their impact on the public imagination for the past one and half century, however, belies their relatively small number.

For Pompeianists, and all interested in the anthropological study of human remains and of taphonomic processes, this is an indispensable publication. But it also makes clear that this is definitely not the last word to be said on these exceptional finds.

F.G. Naerebout & K. Beerden

Stefania Pafumi, *Disiecta Membra. Frammento di statuaria bronzea di età romana del Museo Civico di Catania*. Roma: «L'Erma» di Bretschneider, 2020. 238 pp., ill., 24 cm (Bibliotheca archaeologica; 64). – ISBN 978-88-913-1649-3 (carta), ISBN 978-88-913-1936-4 (pdf).

Pafumi's volume constitutes a valuable contribution to the history of bronze collecting as well as to the analyses of the bronze fragments themselves from an interdisciplinary perspective. The book under review inserts itself into the long tradition of bronze studies, marked by conferences related to the topic, as the latest volume edited by P. Baas (*Proceedings of the XXth International Congress on Ancient Bronzes: resource, reconstruction, representation, role,* Oxford 2019) attests, as well as by several other publications. It analyzes a group of fragments of large bronze statues housed in the Museo Civico di Castello Ursino in Catania. The volume is organized in six sections: "Introduzione", "Bronzi per due collezioni", "Dalle collezioni ai contesti", "Archeologia e archeometria", "Dal frammento all'intero", "Catalogo".

The *Presentazione* by Andrew Wallace-Hadrill emphasizes the connection between the title (*Disiecta Membra*), borrowed from Horace's famous verse *disiecti membra poetae* (*Sat*. 1.4.62), and the conditions in which many of the artifacts were discovered in the Vesuvian area, citing in particular the equestrian statue of Marcus Nonius Balbus as an example. This constitutes a good introduction to Pafumi's topic, since a significant number of the fragments belong to the Catanian collections of the Paternò Castello family, princes of Biscari, as well as those of the Benedictine monks of the monastery S. Nicolò l'Arena (for the history of these collections, see "Bronzi per due collezioni"), including fragments from Herculaneum, Porto d'Anzio (ancient Antium, see "Dalle collezioni ai contesti"; however, the author expresses doubt about the provenance of these fragments, perceiving a possible error) and Syracuse ("Introduzione"; "Bronzi per due collezioni"), as the sources attest ("Dalle collezioni ai contesti"). The author's attempts to trace the origin of each fragment merit particular mention: she dates their discovery to the mid-eighteenth century, although it is still difficult to recover all the motivations behind the acquisition of each piece (see, for example, pp. 49–50).

The fourth chapter – "Archeologia e archeometria" – which constitutes one of the volume's most interesting contributions, describes how modern technologies (e.g., X-ray fluorescence) have been applied to the fragments. Their production techniques are highlighted along with joins or repairs to statues (e.g., lost wax, p. 60; joins and restoration, 64 ff.). These analyses have been applied on an international level, for instance in the already mentioned volume edited by Baas, or in that edited by M. Kemkes (*Römische Großbronzen am UNESCO-Welterbe Limes. Abschlusskolloquium des Forschungsprojektes „Römische Großbronzen am UNESCO-Welterbe Limes" am 4./5. Februar 2015 im Limesmuseum Aalen*. Darmstadt 2017).

The subsection "Colore e policromia" devoted to the gilding or silvering processes of the statues' surfaces is also interesting, particularly the part dedicated to the "*decorazione ad agemina*" (among them, the use of the so-called *aes Corinthium*; s. A. Giumlia-Mair/J. Pollini, Past and Recent Metal Analyses of the Germanicus Statue from Amelia, 25–34, esp. 31–32, and J.-M. Welter, Corinthian bronze: was it just wrought high-tin bronze?, 155–164, in Baas 2019). Furthermore, chemical analyses of the alloys allowed several fragments (e.g., the *calcei patricii*, cat. 8-9, inv. nos. 3224, 3228; the hand with *anulus*, cat. 1, inv. no. 1694: chapter V, *Dal frammento all'intero*) to be attributed to the same bronze workshop.

From the fragments, Pafumi was able to identify the original statuary types, which are essentially imperial (equestrian or chariot type; togate or heroic), or idealized (e.g., youthful, perhaps also as *lychnophoros*) depictions (cf. chapter V, especially p. 86). For each type identified, Pafumi draws appropriate comparisons with well-known bronze statuary examples, including the equestrian portrait of Octavian from the Aegean and the bronze group from Cartoceto di Pergola.

The book's sixth chapter comprises the catalogue, divided into two parts: the first dedicated to fragments from the Benedictine collection ("Catalogo dei frammenti provenienti dalla collezione Benedettini") and the second devoted to pieces from the Biscari collection ("Catalogo dei frammenti provenienti dalla collezione Biscari"). Each piece is presented in detail, with a suggested date and bibliography, when applicable. In the Benedictine collection, noteworthy pieces include fragment n. 1 (inv. n. 1694), a left hand presumably holding the rein of a horse, which recalls the statue of Octavian from the Aegean, and the right (front?) hoof (cat. 3, inv. no. 3314) of a horse with hair subtly incised above the hoof itself, which resembles both the gilded hoof without any hairs from Durach (Raetia; s. Sascha Heckmann, LfdNr. 1167, http://grossbronzenamlimes.de/database/node/2222, consulted July 29, 2021) and two exemplars with accurately worked hairs from Kempten (Raetia; cf. Sascha Heckmann, LfdNr. 1171, http://grossbronzenamlimes.de/database/node/2226, and LfdNr. 1176, http://grossbronzenamlimes.de/database/node/2231, both consulted on July 29, 2021). Particular highlights of the Biscari collection include the bare foot cat. 12 (inv. no. 3313), where – as remarked on by the author – the insertion point for the base peg is recognizable and the horse's mane piece (cat. 13, inv. no. 3312) that finds comparisons in some newly discovered evidence coming from Raetia.

The bibliography is followed by an archaeometric appendix by L. Pappalardo and F.P. Romano, which contains the detailed results of the chemical analyses performed on the fragments. The variety of the sources used for comparison is indubitably one of this volume's strengths. Examples quoted do not only stem from Italy but also from the provinces. In this way, the research's international character is notably enhanced.

Aura Piccioni

PAOLA PELAGATTI, ROBERTA SALIBRA, WITH ROSALBA AMATO, REINE-MARIE BÉRARD, CONCETTA CIURCINA (eds), *Per Françoise Fouilland. Scritti di Archeologia*. Athens: Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene, 2021. 407 pp., figs in text, tables in text; 31 cm (Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni in Oriente, Supplemento 9). – ISBN 978-960-9559-26-3/ISSN 2653-9926.

This volume recalls the figure and work of Françoise Fouilland, defined in the preface as a *rara avis*, by the Director of the Italian Archaeological School of Athens, Emanuele Papi, or as "l'amie insolite", in the words of Cathérine Virlouvet, director of the École française de Rome, author of the afterword. Her archaeological and archival work went with a highly sensitive and empathic personality that emerges from the memories of friends and colleagues.

The contributions of the volume reflect the interests of Fouilland's scientific work and in the first part they are divided by themes and geographical areas, and almost always present unpublished or original results, which unfortunately cannot be exhaustively commented upon here.

In the section "tra Archeologia e Storia", for example, Paola Pelagatti touches on an extremely interesting aspect of the sixth-century BC Samian *lekythoi*, scarcely investigated by critics: their use as containers for perfumes, ointments, essences and drugs, products addressed to an elite market, as already highlighted by other scholars with regard to miniature ware in general. Most importantly, the author connects the specific formal typologies with the possible content.

The careful historical-social study of the context of the conquest of Megara Hyblaea by Gelon presented by Michel Gras and Piero Guzzo dispels the traditional Diodorean myth of the supposed practice of sharing lands in Lipara, which is completely contrary to the founding practice of an *apoikia*. This is certainly a conclusion of considerable importance.

After a fascinating examination of the feminine names of Kamarina offered by Federica Cordano, we get to the section on Syracuse, opened by Marcella Pisani, starting from work by Fouilland who had her first experiences at the Superintendency of Syracuse and at the Museum "Paolo Orsi". Here she was welcomed by Luigi Bernabò Brea and collaborated with Pelagatti in the 1970s. The excavation of a *bothros* near the Ionic temple of Ortygia carried out by Fouilland yielded fragments of a terracotta statuette which Pisani convincingly identifies as a young Dionysus carrying a crater on his shoulder. It was probably connected, like the remaining filling materials, to the spring festival of *pythoi* and the first tasting of wine.

The black-figure *deinos* with three figural metopal zones in which Giuseppina Monterosso recognizes the representation of the myth of Helen kidnapped by Theseus and Peirithoos and then freed by the Dioscuri, offers another example of an unpublished or less known object for which an explanation is proposed. The elegance of the hatchings could even point to the circle of Exekias.

Angela Maria Manenti examines some helical metal objects, perhaps connected to an indigenous ornamental fashion, that were also found in the excavations of Fouilland. Concetta Ciurcina analyzes the grave goods of the archaic tomb of an adolescent excavated by Paolo Orsi in 1923. Rosalba Amato illustrates two painted *arulae* belonging to the Hellenistic period, one of which seems to be related to nuptial themes and female rites of passage.

The study of Sophie Bouffier of a cave chamber crossed by the aqueduct descending from the Hyblaean mountains, is of great interest as well. Fascinating and convincing is her hypothesis of an extra-urban sanctuary in the rural *chora*, as attested in other places in the Greek colonial world and among native populations.

The archaeological excavation of Megara Hyblaea remains the main French one in Italy up to today, and Françoise Fouilland made a significant contribution to the study and understanding of this site. Based on yet another work of Fouilland is the contribution of Reine-Marie Bérard on some Megarian sarcophagi, and in particular on the function of holes, already observed by Orsi, placed at their base and connected to a channel: probably a drain for corpse liquids, to facilitate the decomposition of the deceased, in view of a reuse of the monuments as collective tombs.

Still in the wake of Fouilland's Megarian research, Henri Duday resumes the identification and recontextualization of some sarcophagi of the archaic southern necropolis that were moved because of construction works.

The section dedicated to Kamarina, Castiglione di Ragusa and Monte San Mauro opens with a very interesting essay by Roberta Salibra paying due homage to the works of Fouilland at the archaic necropolis of Rifriscolaro in Kamarina. Salibra convincingly reconstructs the scene painted on a *lekythos* as the episode of the killing of Tityos by Apollo and Artemis, after he had kidnapped their mother Leto. With an impeccable method of comparison, the author attributes this work to the painter Lydos, therefore assuming its Attic provenance, dating back to the mid-sixth century B.C.

The interpretation of the bronze pomegranates of Monte San Mauro by Massimo Frasca, which were restored and inventoried by Fouilland, is also fascinating. He considers these as symbolic objects connected to rites of passage, chtonian cults and female fertility, as it comes to an end with death and burial.

The essay of Laurence Mercuri on the cultural relations between the Greek and the indigenous populations generated a particular interest from the writer of this review, because the cases of Castiglione di Ragusa and Monte San Mauro would suggest that social distinctions are more important than ethnic differences. His analysis assumes that a higher social role among the Epicorian population could facilitate privileged contacts with the colonists. However, we had better be more prudent when relegating the ethnic component to a secondary role and speaking of a "phénomène mimétique".

In the section dedicated to Calabria, Etruria, central Italy and Liguria, Maria Letizia Arancio pays homage to the great work done by Fouilland in relation to the second important French excavation in Italy, in Bolsena (1946-1986), where the archaeologist and archivist between 1981 and 1982 ordered and inventoried all the materials, which enabled the setting up of the local Civic Museum. Extremely instructive is the history of archaeology in Liguria from the restoration to the unification of Italy outlined by Giuseppina Spadea, from antiquarian efforts to collecting practices and issues of regulation and protection of antiquities.

To Greece is dedicated the contribution by Aliki Moustaka, which deals with the interpretation of the clay base of an Athenian *kore*, perhaps from a provincial workshop.

Finally, the section "Archivi" retraces the work of Françoise Fouilland when she was at the direction of the archives of the École française de Rome, from 1981 to 2015. Here she carried out invaluable work reorganizing, inventorizing, and cataloguing, and also taking the first steps towards digitization. Pelagatti and Emmanuel Turquin, who succeeded Fouilland in this position, tell us about it.

Roberta Salibra summarizes the scientific activity and publications of Françoise Fouilland, enriched by beautiful, older or more recent, photos.

The second part of the volume offers two unpublished writings by Françoise Fouilland, both part of her Diplôme d'études approfondies which she obtained in 1997 in Paris under the direction of Michel Gras. The first one is the study of the *bothros* from Ortygia, of which Fouilland has analyzed the material, taken pictures, while she also drew all the filling materials with precision and great detail. The second paper offers a precious example of archival-archaeological methodology: the analysis of the unpublished excavations of 1891 in the western necropolis of Megara Hyblaea of the sixth century BC, largely conducted through the consultation of the notebooks of Paolo Orsi and the general inventory of the Syracuse Museum. An emblematic example of how archival documentation is extremely useful to the study and understanding of archaeological contexts and historical analysis. This is Françoise Fouilland's great teaching, to whom this rich volume pays precious and everlasting homage.

Stefano Struffolino

BABESCH 97 (2022), 255. doi: 10.2143/BAB.97.0.3290543

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